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PREFACE.

HISTORY has been well defined, by an English poet, as "Time's slavish scribe." It stands charged with the task of narrating past events, and carrying them down to that awful period when time shall give place to eternity.

Looking at Ancient History in this broad light, its importance to mankind must be obvious. Its value, however, is not confined to the mere knowledge of past events which may be derived from its pages. The harmony which subsists between the events it records and the Divine predictions unfolded in the Bible; the evidence it contains of there being a Divine Almighty Governor ruling and directing all the affairs of our lower world according to his holy will and pleasure; the varied display of human character it presents to our view; the response it gives in every page to the declaration of Holy Writ, that man has no abiding city on earth; and the scope it affords for Christian reflection and improvement, whereby we are called to press forward in the ways of righteousness,—are features in this department of literature which increase its importance a hundred fold. It is true, that historical works, in general, take no note of these features. A mere detail of facts is placed before the reader, and he is left to draw his own inferences. Of the writers of such histories, it may be said that God was not in all their thoughts; that although he was placed in legible characters before them, they carefully excluded Him from the notice of mankind. A work, therefore, upon an opposite and better plan, must be acknowledged by all Christian readers to be a desideratum; and it is hoped that, in the accompanying pages, it will be in some measure supplied. The precious fragments, which other historians have either despised or not searched out, are here gathered together and presented to the world.

There are two sources from which our knowledge of the ancients is derived—from sacred and from profane history. The Bible relates chiefly to the Jews, and does not, indeed, afford a consecutive history of any other people. They are only noticed incidentally, or in so far as some historical facts respecting them are connected with the history of the ancestors of the Jewish race, or with the Jews considered as a nation. As, however, the Bible is the oldest historical record extant, these incidental notices are very valuable, and hence they form a prominent feature in this work. Before their light, the narratives of Ctesias and Diodorus Siculus, which Rollin has vainly endeavoured to combine with them in his history, and which have been seriously believed by some of the greatest names in the literary world, whether of ancient or modern times, have been found to be but the tales of romance—tales utterly at variance with sober reason, sacred chronology, and Scripture statements. To separate those fictions from the truth, which have been deemed worthy of credit by many, has cost much anxious thought and care. It is hoped, however, that this desirable object has been accomplished. Not that every statement here given can be pronounced indisputably true; for sacred history alone can be fully depended upon for veracity. Profane historians, among the ancients, were liable to err from superstition,

ANCIENT HISTORY:

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS, ASSYRIANS, CHALDEANS, MEDES, LYDIANS, PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS, THE SILEUCIDÆ IN SYRIA THE
PARTHIANS AND CARTHAGINIANS

OF THE

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN

WITH SIX MAPS

LONDON
THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY,

Instituted 1799

SOLE AT THE DEPOSITORY, 14, PATERNOSTER ROW, AND 61, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD,
AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS.

1842.

prejudice, and a love of the marvellous; and to record the palpably erroneous emanations from these evil sources, has formed no part of the plan of this publication.

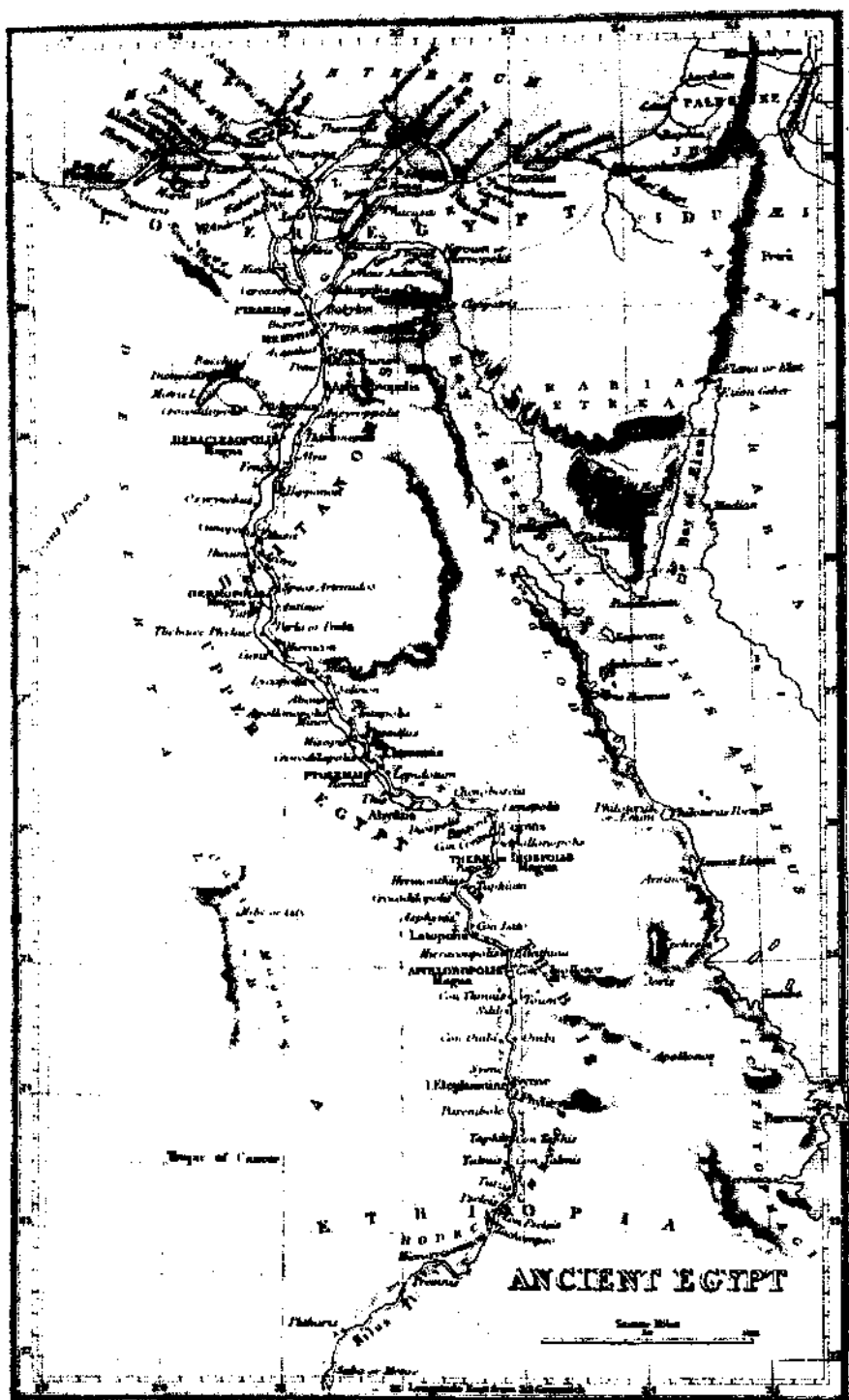
A distinguishing feature of the work placed in the hands of the reader, is the concentrated view it affords of the countries and cities which the different nations inhabited, and which will be found in the various physical and topographical sections. It is strange, that while historians have dwelt upon the political history of nations, while they have recorded the lives of monarchs, warriors, poets, philosophers, orators, statesmen, etc., at great length, they have deemed the knowledge of the country in which they lived, a matter of such small importance, that they have excluded it from their pages. Concerning some countries, indeed, our knowledge, till of late, has been very imperfect, such information having formerly been deemed wholly unnecessary in the routine of a general education. Now, however, this knowledge is deemed desirable; and the researches of modern travellers have enabled us to present a concentrated view of the different countries to our readers. These subjects are here also rendered more interesting, by illustrations from the pages of ancient poets, which throw much light on the physical condition of a large portion of both Asia and Europe in their days.

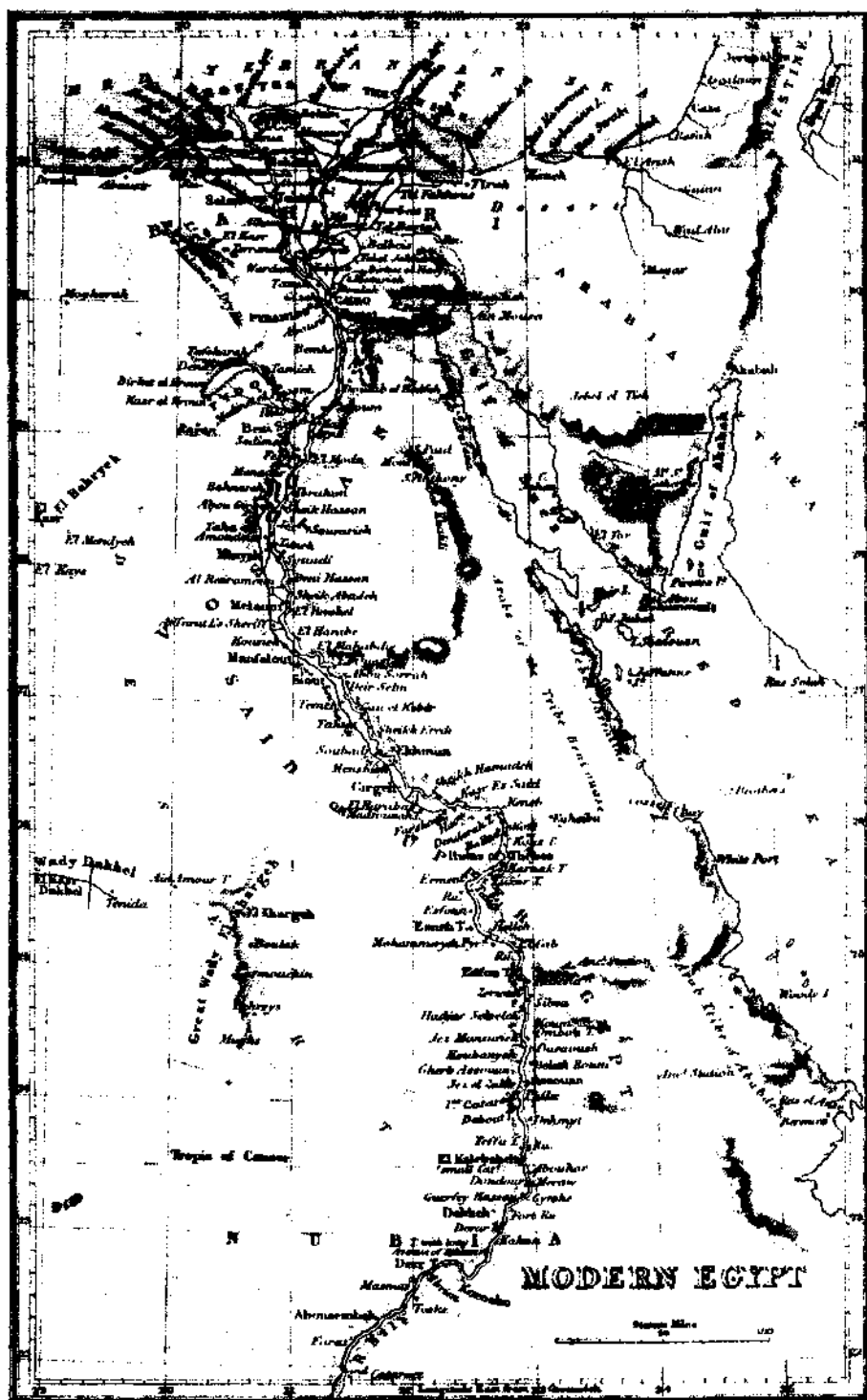
The geographical and topographical information is not confined to the particular countries in which the people lived whose history is recorded. It is of little avail to tell the reader that such an event happened in such a place, by name; the spot must be identified, and then it becomes associated in his mind as a reality. This feeling will be realized by the reader, more powerfully, if he refers to the maps which have been engraved for this work, and which are believed to be accurate.

The title page states that this history is compiled from "Rollin, and other authentic sources, both Ancient and Modern." That portion which has been derived from Rollin, is entirely re-written: he was not sufficiently cautious on some points, and much additional information has been accumulated since his time, of which great use is made in this volume. The information derived from the other sources alluded to, may be termed twofold, geographical and historical. Among the geographical authorities consulted, may be enumerated Ainsworth, Aristotle, Asiatic Researches, Bell, Bochart, Chardin, Clark, D'Anville, Dodwell, Frazer, Gell, Hanway, Hawkins, Herbelot, Herodotus, Holland, Hughes, Ker Porter, Kinnier, Laurent, Lenke, Morier, Niebuhr, Pausanias, Pechio, Pliny, Ptolemy, Rennel, Rich, Strabo, Tavernier, Waddington, Xenophon, etc. etc.

Among the historical authorities, may be mentioned Bossuet, Diodorus, Gibbon, Gillies, Halea, Heeren, Henderson, Herodotus, Josephus, Keightly, Kitto, Malcolm, Mitford, Plutarch, Polybius, Prideaux, Raleigh, Rosenmuller, Taylor, Thirlwall, Universal Ancient History, Wilkinson, Xenophon, etc. etc.

Such is, briefly, the nature of the following pages. They are based upon the broad and solid foundations of Christianity, and they are sent forth into the world with prayer that the Divine blessing may rest upon them; that the Christian reader may find, in the perusal of them, his faith strengthened, and his soul animated, to pursue with alacrity his heavenly race; and that the infidel may be convinced that there is a God who ruleth in the earth. May this History prove what ancient history ought to be, the handmaid of religion!





ANCIENT HISTORY.

HISTORY

THE EGYPTIANS.

FROM

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN

WITH TWO MAPS.

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THE HISTORY

THE EGYPTIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF EGYPT.

EGYPT is generally reckoned within the limits of Africa, though several geographers have considered it as more naturally belonging to Asia. It is situate between latitude $24^{\circ} 3'$ and $31^{\circ} 37'$. It is bounded on the north by the Mediterranean; on the east by the little river El Arish—supposed to be the scriptural "River of Egypt," Numb. xxxiv. 5—on the borders of Palestine, and the Syrian or Arabian desert, which extends from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Suez, and from thence, southwards, by the west coast of the Red Sea; and on the west by the Libyan desert. From the earliest ages, its boundary to the south has been fixed at the rapids or cataracts of Assouan, the ancient Syene, which are formed by a number of granite rocks that stretch across the bed of the Nile, over which this great river rolls its foaming stream.

The length of Egypt is very disproportionate to its breadth: its extent from the mouth of the Nile to Syene, the border of Nubia under the tropic of Cancer, is about 500 miles, but it is little wider than the valley through which the Nile flows in Upper Egypt, until it reaches Lower Egypt, at some distance above the head, or vertex of the Delta—a plain so called by the Greeks from its resemblance to the letter Δ —where the valley expands itself. The average breadth of the valley, from one mountain range to the other, between Cairo in Lower, and Edfou in Upper Egypt, is only about seven miles; and that of the land capable of cultivation, the limits of which depend on the inundation, scarcely exceeds five and a half miles, being, in the widest part, ten and three-quarters, and in the narrowest, two miles, including the river.

The extent, in square miles, of the district between the pyramids and the sea is considerable; that of the Delta alone, which forms a portion of it, is estimated at 1,976 square miles. This portion is very narrow about its apex, at the junction of the modern Rosetta and Damietta branches; but it gradually widens on approaching the coast, where its base is eighty-one miles. The whole northern district, with the intermediate Delta included, contains about 4,500 square miles, or double the whole arable land of Egypt, which is computed at 2,255 square miles, exclu-

sive of Faiou, a small province consisting of about 340 miles.

In Scripture, Upper Egypt, or Thebaid, seems to be called Pathros, as distinguished from the Lower, properly called Caphtor, or Egypt. Compare Isa. xi. 11. with Ezek. xxiv. 11; and Jer. xlv. 1, with Ezek. xxx. 14—16, Deut. ii. 23, Jer. xlvii. 4. The latter term appears to denote, generally, the whole of Lower Egypt; which is the part of the country best known to the Hebrews, but of which occasionally the Delta separately taken is called Rahab. See Psa. lxxxix. 10, and Isa. li. 9. Bochart thinks the word Rahab or Raah, is the same as *Rib* or *Riph*, the Egyptian name of the Delta, which was so called from its resemblance to a pear—"Rib" being the name of that fruit. Hence there was, it is said, in the middle of the Delta, a nome, or district called *Athribis*, "the heart of the pear."

The country of Egypt attained an earlier and a higher degree of civilisation and refinement than any other in the world. It was the seat of a royal government in the days of the patriarch Abraham, and it abounded at that time with provisions, while the neighbouring countries, and even the fertile regions of Palestine, were exposed to frequent famines, Gen. xii. 10. How far they had advanced in civilisation in these remote ages, we may gather from Gen. xxxvii. 25, where we find the Ishmaelites conducting a caravan by the way of Shechem, loaded with the spices of India, the balsam and myrrh of Hadramaut for the Egyptian market. From the sculptures of Beni Hassan, (grottoes on the east bank of the Nile,) it is seen also that the Egyptians were well acquainted with the manufacture of linen, glass, cabinet-work, and numerous objects indicative of art and refinement, and that various gymnastic exercises were common at a period approaching these ages.

The peculiar fertility of the soil of Egypt arose from the fertilizing influences of the annual inundation of the Nile.

A reference to the fertility of the Nile is found Deut. xi. 10—12. The Hebrew lawgiver, speaking to the Hebrews concerning Palestine, says, "For the land, whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowest thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land, whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the

rain of heaven : a land which the Lord thy God earth for : the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year." The reader will be mindful that there is no intention here to compare the two countries as to fertility, Egypt being, without exception, the most fertile country in the world ; but there is an interesting comparison as to the process of irrigation. Of Palestine it is said, that it is watered by the rains of heaven. But this is not the case in Egypt. In that country, rain seldom or scarcely ever falls, especially in the interior ;* but its fertility depends upon the annual overflow of the Nile, which is made available for the purposes of irrigation in the fullest extent, only, by means of the numerous canals and trenches, which require every year to be cleaned out, and the dykes carefully repaired. The word rendered "foot," is supposed by some to have been used metaphorically, to denote labour ; and the force of the comparison would then be, that Egypt was watered by labour, while Canaan did not require such artificial means to make it fruitful. The foot, however, it must be remembered, was literally used to conduct the streams of water, which makes it more impressive. Many suppose that the digging and cleaning of canals, for the purposes of irrigation, was among the "hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick," with which the lives of the Israelites were made bitter in Egypt ; if so, it must have been a great satisfaction to them to know that no such manual labour was required in Palestine, and the point of the comparison must have been very emphatic.

This grand feature in the landscape of Egypt demands particular notice. The various branches of the Nile have their rise in the high lands north of the Equator, and flowing through Abyssinia and other regions westward of it, meet in the country of Senaar. The united stream flows northwards through Nubia and Egypt, and after a course of more than 1,800 miles from the farthest explored point of its principal branch, enters the Mediterranean by several mouths, which form the Delta of Egypt. In a distance of 1,350 nautical miles from the mouth of the Taccaze to the Delta, the Nile does not receive a single tributary stream ; which Humboldt remarks is a solitary instance in the hydrographic history of the globe.

* Thunder occurs occasionally in the Delta, in the rainy season, or about the time of the equinoxes, especially the autumnal one. These storms constantly come from the Mediterranean, and they are accompanied with violent showers, and sometimes with hail. In general they happen either in the evening or morning, and rarely in the middle of the day. When, therefore, it is said that no rain falls in Egypt, it must be taken as a general expression, and not without some exceptions, or be understood of Upper Egypt, or the Thebaid. Mallet says, that in Lower Egypt, it rained five or six times from November to April in 1662, and the flowing two years, but that frequently three or four years passed in Upper Egypt without rain, and it is such a rarity there as to cause public rejoicings. This is confirmed by Dr. Pococke, who mentions also that the rains are frequent and heavy on the coast, and in Lower Egypt, particularly from November to March, but that in Cairo they are moderate, and only in the months of December, January, and February ; and that in Upper Egypt they had rain but twice, half an hour each time in the course of eight years. On this subject, however, there is a great variety of statements among travellers, from whence it is probable that Egypt is visited sometimes more and sometimes less with rain from heaven.

The ancients assigned many reasons for the increase of the Nile ; but it is now universally acknowledged, that its inundations are owing to the copious rains which fall in Ethiopia, from May to September : a fact which was first discovered by Agathangelos. These rains swell it to such an extent, that Ethiopia first, and then Egypt, are overflowed ; and that which at first was but a large river, rises like a sea, and spreads its blessings over the face of an extensive country.

Herodotus says, the Nile begins to increase about the summer solstice, and continues to rise for a hundred days ; and then decreases for the same time, and continues low all the winter, until the return of the summer solstice. Diodorus writes to the same effect, stating that the inundation begins at the summer solstice, and increases till the autumnal equinox. This is confirmed by the reports of modern travellers. According to Pococke, the river began to increase at Cairo, in 1714, June 30 ; in 1715, July 1 ; in 1738, June 20. So precisely is the stupendous operation of its inundation calculated, says Bruce, that on the 25th of September, only three days after the autumnal equinox, the Nile is generally found at Cairo to be at its highest, and begins to diminish every day after. It would appear, then, that the river begins to swell in June, but the rise is not rapid nor remarkable till early in July ; that the greatest rise is attained about the autumnal equinox, and the waters remain upon the same level until the middle of October ; and that, after this, the subsidence is very sensible, and the lowest point is reached in April.

The swell of the river varies in different parts of the channel. In Upper Egypt, it is from thirty to thirty-five feet ; at Cairo, it is about twenty-three feet ; whilst in the northern part of the Delta it does not exceed four feet, which is owing to the artificial channels, and the breadth of the inundation. The four feet of increase is, however, as requisite to the fertility of the Delta, as the twenty-three or thirty feet, and upwards, elsewhere.

As the riches of Egypt depended on the inundation of the Nile, all the circumstances and different degrees of its increase have been carefully considered ; and by a long series of regular observations, made during many years, the inundation itself discovered what kind of harvest the ensuing year was likely to produce. The kings caused to be placed at Memphis a measure on which these different increases were marked ; and from thence notice was given to all the rest of Egypt ; the inhabitants of which knew by that means, beforehand, what they might expect from the ensuing harvest. Strabo speaks of a well on the banks of the Nile, near the town of Syene, made for that purpose.

The same custom is, to this day, observed at Grand Cairo. In the court of a mosque there stands a pillar, on which are marked the degrees of the Nile's increase ; and the public criers proclaim daily in all parts of the city how much the river has risen. The tribute paid to the Grand Seigneur for the lands, used to be regulated by the height of the inundation. Sixteen cubits is the proper height for the opening of the canal, by cutting down the dam, that so the waters of the inundation

may enter the canal which runs through the midst of Cairo to the north-east, watering the plain to the extent of twenty leagues, and filling the Lake of the Pilgrims. If the river be wanting a single inch of this height, no tribute is due, the produce being then scarcely sufficient to pay the cultivator. If it increase to the height of twenty-three or twenty-four cubits, it is judged most favourable. If it rise beyond that, it overthrows houses and destroys cattle; and it also engenders a host of insects, which destroy the fruits of the earth. The day on which it rises to a certain height is kept as a grand festival, and solemnised with fireworks, feasting, and all the demonstrations of public rejoicing; and in the remotest ages, the overflowing of the Nile was always attended with a universal joy throughout all Egypt, that being the fountain of its happiness.

Not only the fertility and riches of Egypt depend on the overflowing of the Nile; its very existence is owing to the same wonderful cause. We say, *wonderful*, for although the phenomenon is by no means peculiar to the Nile,—it being more or less common to all rivers whose volume is annually augmented by the periodical rains which fall within the tropics,—there is no river, the annual swelling of which is so replete with important consequences, or so essential to the existence of a nation. The very soil of Egypt was, no doubt, originally formed by the earth brought down by the river from Abyssinia and the interior of Africa, and deposited during the annual inundation. That it has been progressively elevated in the course of ages, from this cause, is demonstrated by a number of distinct facts. Towns and monuments, for instance, which are known from history to have been originally built on mounds, to secure them from the effects of the inundation, now lie so low in the plain as to be inundated every year. Thus, in the plain of Thebes, the alluvial mud has accumulated to the height of nearly seven feet around the statues of Amenophis III., which were erected probably about B. C. 1320. From this, however, it would not appear that the increase of the soil was so great as some authors imagine. Dr. Shaw estimates this increase at rather more than a foot in a century, and he observes that Egypt must have gained forty-one feet eight inches of soil in 4,072 years. From this cause he apprehends that, in process of time, the river will not be able to overflow its banks, and that Egypt, from being the most fertile, will become one of the most barren countries in the universe. But this hypothesis is not well founded. There is, in the wise order of Providence, an equilibrium preserved by a nearly corresponding elevation of the river's bed, so that the point of overflow is maintained nearly in the same ratio with the elevation of the soil. This is demonstrated by the ancient Nilometer near Elephantine, mentioned by Strabo, and which is still existing. The highest measure marked upon it is twenty-four cubits, about thirty-six feet; but the water now rises, when at its greatest elevation, nearly eight feet above this mark; while it appears, from an inscription on the wall, made A.D. 300, that the water then rose only a foot above that level. This gives an elevation of about five inches in a century; and it has been collected from other data, that the rise

in the circumjacent soil is nearly in the same proportion.

To secure the blessings of the waters of the Nile, through the whole breadth of their country, the inhabitants of Egypt have, with great labour, in different ages, cut a vast number of trenches and canals in every part. These canals are not opened till the river has attained a certain height, nor yet all at the same time; for if they were, the distribution of the water would be unequal. When the water begins to subside, these sluices are closed, and they are gradually opened again in the autumn, allowing the waters to pass on to contribute to the irrigation of the Delta. The distribution of the stream has always been subject to minute and distinct regulations, the necessity for which may be estimated from the common statement, that scarcely a tenth part of the water of the Nile reaches the sea in the first three months of the inundation. During the inundation, the whole country appears like a series of ponds and reservoirs; and it is not merely the saturation of the ground, but the deposit of soil which takes place during the overflow, that is so favourable to the agriculture of Egypt. The alluvial matter annually brought down and deposited by the Nile, is estimated by Dr. Shaw as equal to a one hundred and twentieth part of the volume of water which it pours into the sea. This soil contains principles so friendly to vegetation, that it is used for manure in those places which have not been adequately benefited by the inundation; while, on the other hand, where the deposit has been abundant, the people mingle sand with it to diminish its strength. As soon as the waters have retired, cultivation commences; and where the soil has been sufficiently inundated, very little labour is demanded. The seed is sown in the moistened soil, and vegetation and harvest follow with such rapidity, as to allow a succession of crops wherever water can be commanded.

At what period the system of irrigating the Delta of Egypt by canals drawn from the Nile and its branches commenced, it is impossible now to determine. The Egyptians ascribe its invention to Osiris and Sesostria. Osiris, say they, inclosed the river on both sides with strong dykes, and erected sluices in proper places for letting out the waters upon the fields as they had need of it. The probability is, that as the demand for agricultural produce would increase with the population, so the idea of increasing the supply to the greatest possible quantity would suggest the propriety of banking the river, and of drawing canals from it throughout the whole breadth of the country. And this would be done, not in the reign of one prince, but in several successive reigns.

The influence of the Nile upon the condition and appearance of the country can only be estimated by comparing its aspect in the season which immediately precedes, with that which follows the inundation. Before it occurs, it exhibits a parched desert of sand and dust, but afterwards a level verdant plain.

There cannot be a finer sight in nature than Egypt exhibits at two seasons of the year. In the months of July and August, if a traveller should ascend some mountain or one of the famous pyramids, he would behold a vast sea, in

the midst of which numerous towns and villages appear, with several causeways leading from place to place, the whole interspersed with groves and fruit trees, whose tops only are visible. This view is bounded by mountains and woods, which terminate, at the utmost distance the eye can discover, the most beautiful horizon that can be imagined. On the contrary, in January and February, the whole country is like one continued scene of beautiful meadows, whose verdure, enameled with flowers, charms the eye. The spectator beholds on every side flocks and herds dispersed over all the plains, with infinite numbers of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then perfumed by the great quantity of blossoms on the orange, lemon, and other trees, and is so pure that breezes more salubrious or agreeable are not enjoyed in the wide expanse of creation. Contrasting the country at such a season with its inhabitants, the language of the poet may be adopted, who said of the idle and the natives of Ceylon, with beautiful simplicity :

"Every prospect pleases,
And only man is vile."—HESIOD.

"A man cannot," says De Bruyn, in his Travels, "help observing the admirable providence of God towards this country, who sends, at a fixed season, such great quantities of rain in Ethiopia, in order to water Egypt, where a shower of rain scarcely ever falls; and who, by that means, causes the most barren soil to become the richest and most fruitful country in the universe."

The Egyptians did not look at this wonderful circumstance in such a pure and Christian light. Feeling their entire dependence on the Nile, and prone by nature, like the rest of mankind, to look to secondary causes rather than to the infinitely great and good God, from whom all blessings are derived, the Egyptians were led to deify their Nile. Heliodorus says : "They paid divine honours to this river, and revered it as the first of their gods. They declared him to be the rival of heaven, since he watered the country without the aid of clouds and rains." The priests of Egypt told Herodotus, that one of their kings, Pheron, the son of Sesostris, was struck blind by the river god for an act of impiety : that, at a time when the inundation had risen to the extraordinary height of more than eighteen cubits, a violent storm of wind having arisen, which greatly agitated the waters, the king, with a foolish temerity, took a javelin in his hand, and flung it into the midst of the foaming billows, for which he was immediately seized with a pain in his eyes, which made him blind for ten years. The principal festival of this imaginary god was at the summer solstice, when the inundation commenced ; at which season, by a cruel idolatrous rite, the Egyptians sacrificed red-haired persons, principally foreigners, to Typhon, or the power said to preside over tempests, at Busiris, Heliodorus, etc., by burning them alive, and scattering their ashes in the air for the good of the people. Bryant infers the probability that these victims were chosen from among the Israelites during their residence in Egypt.

From all this it may be seen how excessive was the superstitious adoration which the Egyptians

paid to their river. How impressive, then, must those miracles have been in which their sacred river was turned into blood, and made to pour forth loathsome frogs in such abundance, that they covered the whole land of Egypt. See Exod. vii. 15—25, and viii. 1—15. At the present day, though under the sway of the sterner Moslem religion, the reverence entertained for this stream, still called the Most Holy River, and the rites with which its benefits are celebrated, exhibit in the present inhabitants of Egypt a tendency towards the same superstitious form of adoration and gratitude.

One feature of the Nile remains to be noticed; namely, the qualities of the water. Ancients and moderns, with one voice, declare it to be the most pleasant and nutritive in the world. Why it should be so, Plato could not conceive, but he states such to be the case ; and he relates that the Egyptian priests refrained from giving it to their bull-god Apis on account of its fattening properties.

Savary, in his "Letters on Egypt," says, in a note, that Ptolemy Philadelphus, marrying his daughter Berenice to Antiochus king of Syria, sent her water from the Nile, which alone she could drink, (*Athenæus*) that the kings of Persia sent for the waters of the Nile and sal ammoniac, (*Dion. Hist. of Persia*) ; and that the Egyptians are the only people who preserve the water of the Nile in sealed vases, and drink it when it is old with the same pleasure that we do old wine, (*Aristides Rhetor*.) The same author also bears his own testimony to the agreeable qualities of the water of the Nile. He says, "The waters of the Nile, also, lighter, softer, and more agreeable to the taste than any I know, greatly influence the health of the inhabitants. All antiquity acknowledges their excellence; and the people certainly drink them with a kind of avidity without being ever injured by the quantity. Being lightly impregnated with nitre, they are only a gentle aperient to those who take them to excess." Maillet is more enthusiastic in his description of the Nile water ; affirming, that when a stranger drinks it for the first time, it seems like a drink prepared by art, and that it is among waters what champagne is among wines.

THE LAND OF GOSHEN.

With reference to this part of Egypt, so celebrated in the sacred page, Michaelis remarks :—"Concerning the situation of the land of Goshen, authors have maintained very different opinions; but have without made it impossible for themselves to ascertain the truth by consulting in the representation of Goshen, as the most beautiful and fertile part of Egypt. But is it at all probable that a king of Egypt would have taken the very best part of his territory from his own native subjects to give it to strangers, and these, too, a wandering race of herdsmen, hitherto accustomed only to traverse with their cattle the deserts and uncultivated commons of the east?" But, notwithstanding that it would appear from this learned writer doubtful where the land of Goshen was, and whether it was a rich land, it has been satisfactorily shown that the "best of

the land," as applied to Goshen, means no more than that it was the richest pasture ground of Lower Egypt. It was called Goshen from Gush, in Arabic signifying "a heart," or whatever is choice or precious; and hence it was that Joseph recommended it to his family as the "best," and as "the fat of the land." See Gen. xlv. 18; xlvii. 11.

The land of Goshen lay along the Pelusiac, or most easterly branch of the Nile, towards Palestine and Arabia: for it is plain that the Hebrews did not cross that river in their exode from Egypt, as they otherwise must have done. Thus situate, it must have included part of the district of Heliopolis, of which the "On" of the Scriptures is supposed to have been the capital, and which lay on the eastern border of the Delta. Eastward of the river, the land of Goshen appears to have stretched into the desert, where the nomad shepherds might find sustenance for their flocks. In some places it may have extended in this direction to the Gulf of Suez. Thus defined, the land of Goshen included a quantity of fertile land, answering to Joseph's description of it.

In the territory of the tribe of Judah, there was another Goshen; and it was probably so called from being, like the Goshen of Egypt, a district chiefly appropriated to pasture.

THE CLIMATE OF EGYPT.

It will be seen from the foregoing pages, that Egypt possessed in an eminent degree the three elements of fertility—water, soil, and warmth. Without the latter blessing, the former two would have been of little avail. The climate of Egypt, during the greater part of the year, is indeed most salubrious. The khamsin, or hot south wind, however, which blows in April and May, is oppressive and unhealthy. The exhalations from the soil, also, after the inundation, render the latter part of the autumn less healthy than the summer and winter, and cause ophthalmia, dysentery, and other diseases. The summer heat is seldom very oppressive, being accompanied by a refreshing northerly breeze, and the air being extremely dry. But this dryness causes an excessive quantity of dust, which is peculiarly annoying. The thermometer in Lower Egypt, in the depth of winter, is from 50° to 60° in the afternoon, and in the shade: in the hottest season, it is from 90° to 100°, and about ten degrees higher in the southern parts of Upper Egypt. The climate of this part of Egypt, though hotter, is much more healthy than that of the lower country. This is proved by the fact that the plague seldom ascends far above Cairo, and that ophthalmia is more common in Lower than in Upper Egypt. The winds in Egypt are in some degree periodical, and governed by the seasons. Thunder occurs in the Delta, accompanied with violent showers, and sometimes with hail. In Lower Egypt dew is very abundant. Even the sands of the desert, says Clarke, partake largely of the dew of heaven, and in a certain degree of the fitness of the earth.

THE PRODUCTIONS OF EGYPT.

Under this section of the "Physical History of Egypt," it will be sufficient to treat only of some of the principal plants indigenous to Egypt, and of the abundance of corn it produced.

Linum.—This plant is an annual, and has been cultivated from time immemorial for its textile fibres, which are spun into thread and woven into cloth. It has a green stem, from a foot and a half to two feet high, and it puts forth a blue flower, which is succeeded by a capsule, containing ten flat oblong seeds of a brown colour, from whence an oil is procured, which is used both in manufactures and painting. We learn from Scripture, that Egypt was anciently celebrated for the production and manufacture of linen from this plant. It was one of the plants which the plague of hail destroyed. See Exod. ix. 31. The fine linen which was composed of flax is also spoken of in several passages. Joseph was arrayed in "vestures of fine linen" when he interpreted Pharaoh's dream. Gen. xli. 42; and Solomon makes mention of it in the book of Proverbs, (xii. 16.) The prophet Isaiah also speaks of those that worked in "fine flax" of Egypt. (xix. 9;) and Ezekiel, enumerating the luxuries of Tyrus, says,

"Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt
Was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail."
Ezek. xlvii. 7.

To the same effect ancient authors write. Herodotus says, that, wrought into inner garments, it constituted the principal dress of the inhabitants, and the priests never put on any other kind of clothing. The mummy chests, also, which occur in the ancient tombs of Egypt in large quantities, and of many different qualities and patterns, appear, upon examination, to be made with flax. In the ancient tombs, moreover, which are found in the neighbourhood of all the great cities of Egypt, the culture and manufacture of flax is a very common subject of the paintings with which their sides are covered; and it is clear that the Jews derived their fine stuffs from Egypt, and that from the variety of terms employed, fabrics of different qualities, and all highly appreciated by foreign nations, were produced by the Egyptian loom. The manufacture of flax, indeed, is still carried on in that country, the articles of which are represented as being of the most beautiful texture, and so finely spun that the threads are with difficulty observed. There appear to have been two kinds of flax, the *Abessinum* and the *Byssus*. Pliny holds the former in the highest estimation, and notices a remarkable property peculiar to itself, that of being incombustible; but this partakes of the fabulous, an error which too frequently mars the pages of ancient writers. This author says of the *Byssus*, "that the dress and the ornaments were made of it, and this may have been the material of which "the fine linen with broidered work" was composed, as mentioned by the prophet Ezekiel.

Papyrus.—This was the Egyptian reed, or the *Cyperus Papyrus* of Linnæus. It is described by two names in Scripture, which our translators render "rush" and "bulrush." It is distinguished by its cluster of elegant little spikes, which con-

sides of a single row of scales ranged on each side in a straight line. These clusters hang in a nodding position, a circumstance alluded to by the prophet Isaiah. (lviii. 5.) The root of the *Cyperus* is about the thickness of a man's wrist and more than fifteen feet in length, and it is so hard that it is used for making utensils. Its stem is about four cubits in length, and being an excellent plant, was eaten in ancient days either raw, roasted, or boiled. It served also as a material for boats, sails, mats, clothes, beds, and books: our word "paper" is, indeed, derived from the Greek name of this plant; the delicate rind or bark of which was anciently used for the purpose of writing upon,—an invention ascribed by Varro to Alexander the Great, when he built Alexandria. There are two allusions in Scripture to the papyrus being used as a material for boats: the one records the fact that the infant Moses was saved in a vessel of this description, Exod. ii.; and the other speaks of ambassadors being sent from beyond the rivers of Ethiopia "in vessels of bulrushes upon the waters," Isa. lviii. 2. The manner of constructing these vessels was simply by making the papyrus into bundles, and tying them together in such a manner as to give them the necessary shape and solidity. That vessels were made of this material in Egypt, is proved by the testimony of profane writers also: Pliny notices "ships made of papyrus, and the equipments of the Nile."

Reeds.—This plant, of which there are many varieties, appears to have grown in immense quantities on the banks of the Nile. Hence it is, in connexion with the well known fragility of reeds in general, that they were adopted by the Assyrian general to symbolize the Egyptian nation. "Now, behold, thou trustest upon the staff of this bruised reed, even upon Egypt, on which if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt unto all that trust on him," 2 Kings, xviii. 21. See also, Ezek. xxix. 6, 7.

The Cucumber.—This well-known fruit is mentioned in Scripture, Numb. xi. 5, as a portion of the diet which the Israelites enjoyed so freely in Egypt, and over the loss of which they mourned as they passed through the wilderness. That country, indeed, as well as Arabia, produces many varieties of the cucumber, some of which are softer and more easily digested than those with which we are acquainted; a circumstance attributable to the mellowing effects of the rays of the sun in those climates, which never can be compensated for by artificial heat. Hasselquist thinks that the cucumber referred to by the murmuring Hebrews was the *cucumis chate*, or "queen of cucumbers," of which he gives the following description:—"It grows in the fertile earth around Cairo, after the inundation of the Nile, and not in any other place in Egypt, nor in any other soil. It ripens like water-melons; its flesh is almost of the same substance, but is not near so cool. The grandees eat it as the most pleasant food they find, and that from which they have least to apprehend. It is the most excellent of this tribe of any yet known."

The Melon.—The *cucurbita citrullus*, or water melon, abounded in Egypt and the Levant in the days of the ancients, as it does at the present day.

The fruit is about the size of the common pumpkin, the pulp of which is of a blossoming appearance, and serves both for meat and drink. Dr. Shaw says, that it is, doubtless, providentially calculated for the southern countries, as it affords a cool, refreshing juice assuages thirst, mitigates fevers and disorders, and compensates thereby, in no small degree, for the excessive heats. An elegant writer also says of it: "A traveller in the east, who recollects the intense gratitude which the gift of a slice of melon inspired, while journeying over the hot and dry plains; or one who remembers the consciousness of wealth and security which he derived from the possession of a melon while prepared for a day's journey over the same plains—he will readily comprehend the regret with which the Hebrews in the Arabian desert looked back upon the melons of Egypt." The water melon is cultivated on the banks of the Nile, in the rich clayey earth which subsides during the inundation. This serves the Egyptians for meat drink and physic. It is eaten in abundance during the season, even by the richer sort of people; but the common people scarcely eat any thing else, and account this the best time of the year, as they are obliged to put up with worse fare at other seasons. This fruit likewise serves them for drink, the juice so refreshing these poor creatures that they have much less occasion for water than if they were to live on more substantial food in this burning climate.

Garlic.—Discorides says that garlics anciently grew in Egypt, and that they were both eaten and worshipped; a circumstance to which Juvenal has alluded in one of his satires.

"How Egypt, mad with superstition grown,
Makes gods of monsters but too well is known,
"Tis mortal sin an onion to devour;
Each clove of garlic is a sacred power.
Religious nation sure, and blest abodes,
Where every garden is o'errun with gods!"—DARWIN.

Herodotus, moreover, asserts, that on the great pyramid in Egypt there was an inscription which recorded the expense of onions, radishes, leeks, and garlic, which the workmen had consumed during its erection; namely, 1,600 talents of silver. A variety of the species of garlic alluded to is at the present day cultivated in France, where it is called the "onion of Egypt." It is held in high estimation for the small bulbs that grow among the flowers, which are eaten like onions, and are very agreeable to the palate. It has been observed of this vegetable, that of all plants it has the greatest strength, affords the most nourishment, and supplies most spirits, to those who eat little animal food; a fact to which the poet Homer alludes:

"Honey new press'd, the sacred flower of wheat,
And wholesome garlic crown'd the savory meat."

Hasselquist says that garlic does not now grow in Egypt, from whence he questions whether it grew there anciently. But such an argument is by no means sound: for in the physical history of our own country, plants might be adduced which were formerly cultivated here, but which are now extinct.

Leeks.—Hasselquist, speaking of this plant, says that the karrat, or leek, which is the *allium porrum* of Linnaeus, is surely one of those plants after which the Israelites repined; for it has

been cultivated in Egypt from time immemorial. The inhabitants are extremely fond of it, and the poor people eat it raw with their bread, especially for breakfast, and would scarcely exchange their loaves and bit of bread for a royal dinner.

Onions.—The same author, speaking of onions with reference to Egypt, remarks, "Whoever has tasted onions in Egypt, must allow that none can be had better in any part of the world; here they are sweet, in other countries they are nauseous and strong; here they are soft, whereas in the north and other parts they are hard, and the coats so compact, that they are hard of digestion. Hence they cannot, in any place, be eaten with less prejudice and more satisfaction than in Egypt. They eat them roasted, cut into four pieces, with some bits of roasted meat, which the Turks in Egypt call *Kebab*; and with this dish they are so delighted, that I have heard them wish they might enjoy it in paradise. They likewise make a soup of them, cutting the onions in small pieces; this is one of the best dishes I ever ate." Onions appear to have been a staple article of diet in Egypt in ancient times, as they are at the present day in warm countries. Most of the people of Western Asia are remarkably fond of onions, and the Arabs have a childish passion for them. Travellers also mention, that in Greece and Africa raw onions are excellent.

Lentils.—The lentil is the *lens esculenta* of some writers, and the *erum lens* of Linnaeus; and it belongs to the leguminous, or podded family, all of which are a sort of pulse. The stem of the plant is branched, and the leaves consist of about eight pair of smaller leaflets. The flowers are small, and prettily veined; the pod contains about two seeds; and it flourishes most in a dry, warm, sandy soil. Lentils are much used as food in Egypt, Barbary, and Syria. Dr. Shaw states, that the manner of dressing them in Barbary, is by boiling and stewing them with oil and garlic, which makes a pottage of a chocolate colour; similar, it is supposed, to the "red pottage" for which Esau sold his birth-right, Gen. xxv. 30.—34. In Syria, they are eaten after having been simply parched in a pan over the fire. Three varieties are cultivated in France, "small brown," "yellowish," and the "lentil of Provence."

Beans.—In ancient times, according to Herodotus, the bean was held in abhorrence by the Egyptian priesthood. It is, however, at the present day, no inconsiderable part of the diet of the poor of that country; and Dr. Shaw states, that in Barbary, beans, after they are boiled and stewed with garlic, are the principal food of persons of all distinctions.

The Nigella.—This plant forms a singular exception to the family to which it belongs. While they are poisonous in the highest degree, it produces seeds which are not only aromatic, but possess medicinal qualities of the most useful kind. Anonius asserts of it, that it is pungent as pepper; and Pliny, that its seed is good for seasoning food, especially bread. It is cultivated in Egypt, as well as in Persia and India, for the sake of its seeds, which have been used in all ages as a condiment, in the same manner as we use coriander and carraway seeds.

Al-henna.—The henna is a tall shrub, endlessly multiplied in Egypt. The leaves are of a length-

ened oval form, opposed to each other, and of a faint green colour. The flowers grow at the extremity of the branches, in long and tufted bouquets; the smaller ramifications which support them are red, and likewise opposite; from the arm-pit cavity springs a small leaf, almost round, but terminating in a point; the corolla is formed of four petals, curling up, and of a light yellow. Between each petal are two white stamens with a yellow summit; there is only one pistil. The pedicle, reddish at its issuing from the bough, dies away into a faint green. The calix is cut into four pieces of a tender green, up toward their extremity, which is reddish. The fruit, or berry, is a green capsule previous to its maturity; it assumes a red tint as it ripens, and becomes brown when it is dried; it is divided into four compartments, in which are inclosed the seeds, triangular and brown-coloured. The bark of the stem and of the branches is of a deep grey, and the wood has, internally, a light cast of yellow. In truth, this is one of the most grateful plants to both the sight and smell. The pleasing colour of its bark, the light green of its foliage, the softened mixture of white and yellow with which the flowers, collected into long clusters like the lilac, are coloured, and the red tint of the ramifications which support them, form a combination of the most agreeable effect. These flowers, whose shades are very delicate, diffuse around the sweetest odours, throughout the gardens and the apartments which they embellish. They accordingly form a favourite nosegay; the women take pleasure to deck themselves with these beautiful clusters of fragrance; to adorn their apartments with them; to carry them to their bath; to hold them in their hand; in a word, to perfume their persons with them. They attach to their possession, which the mildness of the climate, and the facility of culture seldom refuse them, a value so high, that they would willingly appropriate it exclusively to themselves; and they suffer with impatience Christian women and Jewesses to partake of it with them. The same importance seems to have been attached to this species of plant in ancient times. See Sol. Song. iv. 14.

Aloe soccotrina.—This tree grows in the island of Soccotra in Egypt, of which it is a native. It bears the reputation of producing the best aloes. When old, it has a round stem, three or four feet high; leaves of a sword form, a foot and a half to two feet long, sharp-edged, sawed, hard, and pungent at the apex, often collected in clusters at the top of the stem; and red flowers tipped with green, borne in clusters on tall stalks, which rise erect from among the leaves.

Cumina.—This is an umbelliferous plant of annual duration, found wild in Egypt, Syria, and Asia, and cultivated from time immemorial for the sake of its agreeable aromatic fruit, which, like that of caraway, dill, anise, etc., possesses stimulating and carminative properties. The plant grows about a foot high, and is very little branched. As the seeds are suspended by delicate threads, like the *nigella*, when ripe they may be readily removed.

Calamus aromaticus.—This is a species of cane which is sweet scented, and which grows in Egypt, Judea, Syria, Arabia, and India. The

plant emits a powerful fragrance even while growing; and when dried, and reduced into powder, it forms a precious perfume.

The Fig.—This plant is mentioned as affording a hiding-place for Moses, Exod. ii. 3—5. It is not certain what plant is intended; probably the original was a general term for sea, or river weed, of which we may suppose there was a great variety on the margin of the waters of the Nile.

Lily.—That the lily anciently grew in Egypt is testified by the hieroglyphics, among which it appears. What species of the lily grew there, is, however, unknown; probably it was the *smayllis lutea*, with which the fields of the Levant are overrun. Be it what species it may, it was doubtless full of meaning among that people, as it was among the ancients generally. The fact, indeed, of its being an hieroglyphical representation is sufficient to prove this; for these representations are all fraught with meaning, though many of them are hard to be understood. An hermetic work, published in France, gives the following singular and interesting account of the lily as an emblem:—It is the symbol of Divinity, of purity, and abundance, and of love; most complete in perfection, charity, and benediction; as that mirror of chastity, Susanna, is defined Suna, which signifies the "lily flower;" the chief city of the Persians bearing that name for excellency. Hence the lily's three leaves, in the arms of France, meaneth piety, justice, and charity.

The Sycamore tree.—This tree, the *ficus sycamora* of botanists, is celebrated in Palestine, Egypt, and Abyssinia, to the present day. It is a wide-spreading tree, attains a considerable height, and exhibits a trunk of large dimensions, striking its bulky diverging roots deep into the soil. Its fruit seems to have been an important article in the diet of the ancient Egyptians; for the psalmist, recording in holy song the plagues wherewith God had visited that people, says, "He destroyed their sycamore trees with frost." Psa. lxxviii. 47. Travellers inform us, indeed, that it constitutes the greater part of the diet of the people of Egypt at the present day. Give them a piece of bread, a couple of sycamore figs, and a jug of water from the Nile, and they think themselves well repaid. The wood of the sycamore has obtained a high reputation for durability, notwithstanding its porous and spongy appearance. This has arisen from the circumstance that the coffins of the Egyptians, which were made of that wood, remained for many ages in a state of preservation. Dr. Shaw states, that he saw some mummy-chests three thousand years old, and he contends from this fact for its extreme durability. Bruce, however, affirms, that some of the wood which he buried in his garden, perished in four years, which has given rise to a probable conjecture on the subject; namely, that the preservation of the sycamore mummy-chests arises partly from a particular preparation, or coating of the coffins; and partly from the dryness of the climate and the sandy soil of Egypt. The wood of the sycamore was also used for boxes, tables, doors, and other objects which required large and thick planks, as well as for making idols and wooden statues.

The Vine.—We learn from Scripture that Egypt was anciently celebrated for its vine trees. It does not appear, however, that the grapes of Egypt were so fine as those of Palestine; for those which the spies brought from Eshcol, as a proof of the fertility of the promised land, astonished the Hebrews, and had they seen such in Egypt, it could have been no matter of surprise. Bochart informs us that, in the east, the vine produces three crops in the course of one year. Thus in March, after the tree has produced the first crop of blossoms, the dressers cut away from it that wood which is barren, and in the succeeding month a new shoot, bearing fruit, springs from the branches, which being lopped also, shoots forth again in May, laden with the latter grapes. Those clusters, therefore, which blossomed successively in March, April, and May, become ripe, and are gathered in August and the two succeeding months.

Besides the vine bearing good grapes, there appears to be a wild vine growing in Egypt, that is, the *solanum incanum*, or the hoary night-shade. Hasselquist says, that the Arabs call this plant *aneb el dib*, or "wolf grapes;" that it grows much in the vineyards, and is very pernicious to them, and that it likewise resembles a vine by its shrubby stalk.

The Cypress.—The cypress, *cupressus sempervirens*, appears to have been indigenous to Egypt; for we learn from history that coffins and mummy cases were made of its wood. The tree is too well known, being cultivated in our own country to a considerable degree of perfection, to need description.

The Pomegranate.—The *punica granatum*, or pomegranate tree, in its native state, is a lowly shrub, about eight or ten feet in height, extremely bushy and covered with thorns: when cultivated, however, it is nearly twice that size, more especially in the south of Europe. The flowers differ in different varieties, and while the fruit of the wild plant is only about the size of a walnut, that of the cultivated tree is larger than the largest apple. This is filled with seeds imbedded in a red pulp, which is the part eaten. It seems to have been highly esteemed by the ancients, for we find the Hebrews specifying it as one of the luxuries they had lost by leaving Egypt; and it is enumerated by Moses, with wheat, barley, etc., as a recommendation of the promised land, Deut. viii. 8.

The Date Palm.—This tree is an ever-green, and, to attain perfection, it requires a hot climate, with a sandy soil, yet humid, and somewhat nitreous. Hence, its favourite place is along the rivers which border the hot and sandy deserts, and beside old wells, in the very heart of the desert itself; a circumstance which renders the distant prospect of it a delight to the wanderer in those parched regions, from the assurance of water which it conveys. Martini says, that this tree grows to the height of a man in five or six years growth; and this is a very rapid growth, if we consider that the trunk rises from the ground of a thickness which never increases. It appears to have been cultivated in Egypt in all ages of the world, and at the present day trees of this kind are very abundant there. Clarke says, that the natives are chiefly engaged in the

one of them, tying up their blossoms with bands of the foliage, to prevent their being torn off and scattered by the wind.

The trunk of the date palm tree served for beams, either entire or split in half: while the *gerest*, or branches, were, as they are now, used in making wicker baskets, bedsteads, coops, and ceilings of rooms, answering for every purpose for which laths or other thin wood-work might be required.

The Doum Palm.—Instead of one trunk without branches, the doum throws up two trunks, or more properly, branches, at the same time from the soil. From each of these spring two branches, which are also frequently bifurcated more towards the top of the tree. The terminal branches are crowned with bundles of from twenty to thirty palm leaves, from six to nine feet in length. The fruit of the doum is most essentially different from that of the date palm. The tree grows in Upper Egypt, but seldom in the lower country. The wood is more solid than that of the date palm, and will even bear to be cut into planks, of which the doors in Upper Egypt are frequently made.

Barley.—Of all cultivated grain, barley comes to perfection in the greatest variety of climates, and is consequently found over the greatest extent of the habitable globe. The heat and the drought of tropical climates does not destroy it, and it ripens in the short summers of those which verge on the frigid zone. In Egypt, where the climate is mild, two crops may be reaped in the same year; one in the spring from seed sown in the autumn, and one in the autumn from seed sown in the spring. This explains a passage in Scripture, which speaks of the destruction of this plant in one of the ten plagues, Exod. ix. 31, 32. Commentators are generally agreed that this event happened in March: the first crop of barley was therefore nearly ripe, and the flax ready to gather; but the wheat and the rye sown in spring were not sufficiently advanced in growth to be injured. This is confirmed by the testimony of modern travellers. Dr. Richardson, writing in Egypt in the early part of March, says, "The barley and flax are now advanced; the former is in the ear, and the latter is boiled, and it seems to be about this season of the year that God brought the plague of thunder and hail upon the Egyptians, to punish the guilty Pharaoh, who had hardened his presumptuous heart against the miracles of Omnipotence."

Rye.—It is uncertain whether the Hebrew *Kuzemeth*, which occurs Exod. ix. 32, and which is there spoken of as anciently growing in Egypt, signifies rye. Most commentators contend that it was spelt, which the word is usually rendered in other versions. No plant, however, bearing this name grows now in Egypt; and as the modern state of agriculture in that country affords no data to assist us in our conjectures on the ancient agriculture, it is as likely to have been rye as spelt.

Dr. Shaw supposes that rice is the grain intended by the original, and cites Pliny as affirming that rice, or *oryza*, was the *dyra* of the ancients. Hasselquist, however, states that the Egyptians learned the cultivation of rice under the caliphs.

Ensete.—We are told by Heron Apollo, that the Egyptians, wishing to describe the antiquity of their origin, figured a bundle of papyrus, as an emblem of the food they first subsisted on, when the use of wheat was yet unknown among them. Bruce affirms this to be the ensete, an Ethiopian plant, which was cultivated in Egypt till the general use of wheat superseded it as a diet. The stalk of this herbaceous plant, when boiled, has the taste of the best wheaten bread not perfectly baked, and if eaten with milk or butter, is wholesome, nourishing, and easy of digestion. This symbol, therefore, by no means proves that the ancient Egyptians ate plants before they discovered corn, but only that ensete was one of the articles they used for food, and which occasionally supplied the place of wheat.

Lotus.—The Egyptian lotus, an aquatic plant, and a species of water-lily, was also used by the ancient Egyptians for food. Herodotus thus describes it:—"The water lily grows in the inundated lands of Egypt. The seed of this flower, which resembles that of the poppy, they bake, and make into a kind of bread. They also use the root of this plant, which is round, of an agreeable flavour, and about the size of an apple. This the Egyptians call the lotus." Theophrastus, in his History of Plants, bears similar testimony. It is the *nymphaea lotus* of Linnaeus, and the *colocassia* of Pliny. It is mentioned by Prosper Alpinus under the name of *caluca*. At the present day it is called *edlow*, and the inundated places of the Nile produce an abundance of it. Its root is also the food of numbers both in the East and West Indies, and in the South Sea Islands.

Holcus sorghum.—This plant, which in Latin is called *Milium*, a name which points to a stalk bearing a thousand grains, appears to have been known in the early ages of the world in the countries bordering upon Egypt, and we may safely conclude that it was known in that country also. It is now extensively cultivated there, and three harvests are obtained in one year. In the countries south of Egypt it is frequently to be met with, from sixteen to twenty feet in height, and wheat being almost unknown there, both man and beast subsist chiefly upon it. In Egypt, it forms part of the diet of the poorer classes. But that which forms the chief food of the Egyptians is, what it has been from the remotest period of time, bread-corn.

Wheat.—We learn from the interesting history of Joseph, as well as from the narrative of the ten plagues, that Egypt was famous in those days for this species of grain. Some, indeed, point out that country as the parent of wheat; and, as the earliest mention of it is connected with that country, and it might have extended from thence to the islands of the Mediterranean, and to Greece and her colonies, the conjecture is probable.

The matchless wealth of Egypt arose from its corn, which, even in an almost universal famine, enabled it to support neighbouring nations, as it did under Joseph's wise administration. In later ages, it was the vast granary of Rome and Constantinople. A calumny was raised against St. Athanasius, charging him with having threatened to prevent in future the importation of

corn into Constantinople from Alexandria, which greatly incensed the emperor Constantine against him, because he knew that his capital city could not subsist without the corn exported from Egypt thither. The same reason induced the emperors of Rome to take so great a care of Egypt, which they considered as the nursing mother of the world's metropolis.* The same river, however, which enabled Egypt to feed the two most populous cities in the world, sometimes reduced its own inhabitants to the most terrible famine; and it is astonishing that Joseph's wise foresight, which in fruitful years had made provision for seasons of sterility, should not have taught these wise politicians to adopt similar precautions against the contingency of the failure of the Nile. Pliny, in his panegyric upon Trajan, paints with great strength the extremity to which that country was reduced by a famine in the reign of that prince, and the relief he generously afforded to it. "The Egyptians," says he, "who gloried that they needed neither sun nor rain to produce their corn, and who believed they might confidently contest the prize of plenty with the most fruitful countries of the world, were condemned to an unexpected drought and a fatal sterility, from the greatest part of their territories being deserted, and left unwatered by the Nile, whose inundation is the source and standard of their abundance. They then implored that assistance from their prince, which they had been accustomed to expect only from their river. The delay of their relief was no longer than that which employed a courier to bring the melancholy news to Rome; and one would have imagined that this misfortune had befallen them only to display with greater lustre the generosity and goodness of Caesar. It was an ancient and general opinion, that our city could not subsist without provisions drawn from Egypt. This vain and proud nation boasted, that, though conquered, they nevertheless did their conquerors; that, by means of their river, either abundance or scarcity were entirely at their own disposal. But we now have returned the Nile his own harvests, and given him back the provisions he sent us. Let the Egyptians be, then, convinced by their own experience, that they are not necessary to us, and are only our vassals. Let them know that their ships do not so much bring us the provision we stand in need of, as the tribute which they owe us. And let them never forget that we can do without them, but that they can never do without us. Thus most fruitful province had been ruined, had it not worn the Roman chains! The Egyptians,

* If what Diodorus affirms be true, that in his day Egypt contained thirteen millions of people, and that the population consisted before his time of sixteen millions, the fertility of Egypt must have been prodigious indeed. And the wonder is heightened, when we reflect on the above-mentioned facts, that it exported vast quantities of grain to Rome, and afterwards to Constantinople. Rollin states the exportation to Rome to have been twenty millions of bushels of wheat, which is equal to 2,500,000 quarters. Such a quantity was more than sufficient to have supplied the whole population of Rome, though it should have doubled that of the metropolis of England at the present day. His error arises from mistranslation. The word "modii," which he translates bushels, according to Arbuthnot and Adam, signifies pecks. Hence 625,000 quarters only were exported to Rome annually.

in their sovereign, found a deliverer and a father. Astonished at the sight of their granaries, filled without any labour of their own, they were at a loss to know to whom they owed this foreign and gratuitous plenty. The famine of a people, though at such a distance from us, yet so speedily stopped, served only to let them feel the advantage of living under our empire. The Nile may, in other times, have diffused more plenty in Egypt, but never more glory upon us. May Heaven, content with this proof of the people's patience, and the prince's generosity, restore for ever back to Egypt its ancient fertility."

The reproach of this ancient author to the Egyptians for their vain regard to the inundations of the Nile, points out one of their peculiar characteristics; and which is aptly and beautifully illustrated by the prophet Ezekiel in a passage wherein God speaks to Pharaoh-hophra, or Apries, thus:—

"Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, The great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, Which he hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself," *Ezek. xxix. 3.*

The Almighty perceived an insupportable pride in the heart of this prince, a sense of security, and confidence in the inundations of the Nile, as though the effects of this inundation had been owing to nothing but his own care and labour, or those of his predecessors, and not, as in reality they were, dependent on the gracious influences of Heaven. So prone is man by nature to forget the source from whence all blessings flow.

Besides the plants enumerated above, which grew anciently in Egypt, at the present day the following are successfully cultivated in that country: winter plants, which are sown after the inundation, and reaped in about three or four months after; peas, vetches, lupins, clover, cole-seed, lettuce, poppy, and tobacco: summer plants, which are raised by artificial irrigation, by means of water wheels, and other machinery; Indian corn, sugar cane, cotton, indigo, and madder. Rice is sown in the spring, and gathered in October, chiefly near Lake Menzaleh. Fruit trees, which grow mostly in gardens near the principal towns; the mulberry, and Seville orange, which ripens in January; apricots in May; peaches and plums in June; apples, pears, and carrots at the end of June; grapes at the beginning of July; figs in July; prickly pears at the end of July; pomegranates and lemons in August; citrus medica in September; oranges in October; and sweet lemons and banana in November. Some of these plants may have grown anciently in Egypt, but there is no data whence to make such an assertion.

GOLD AND SILVER MINES.

Egypt was proverbial for its riches. See Exodus xii. 35; *Ezek. xxxii. 12*; *Heb. xi. 26*. This arose partly from its fertility, and partly from its extensive commerce. But that which chiefly rendered the people rich in gold and silver, for which they were celebrated, was their mines of these precious metals. Their gold mines were in the desert of the upper country. Their position still known to the Arabs, is about 250 miles from Ba-

hayreh, a village opposite the town of Edfon, in latitude $24^{\circ} 58'$, on Apollinopolis Magna, and at a distance of nearly ten days' journey from that place, in the mountains of the Bisharsch. Arabian authors place them at Gebel Ollagee, a mountain situated in the land of Bega, which word points out the Bisharsch desert, being still used by the tribe as their own name. The gold lies in veins of quartz, in the rocks, bordering an inhospitable valley and its adjacent ravines; but the small quantity they are capable of producing by immense labour, added to the difficulties of procuring water, and other local impediments, would probably render the re-opening of them an unprofitable speculation. In the time of Aboufidda, indeed, who lived about A.D. 1334, they only just covered their expenses, from which circumstance, they have ever since been abandoned by the Arab caliphs. The toil of extracting the gold in ancient times, according to the account of Agatharchides, was immense; and the loss of life in working the mines, appalling. He thus describes the process:—"The kings of Egypt compelled many poor people, together with their wives and children, to labour in the mines, wherein they underwent more suffering than can well be imagined. The hard rocks of the gold mountains being cleft by heating them with burning wood, the workmen then apply their iron implements. The young and active, with iron hammers, break the rock in pieces, and form a number of narrow passages, not running in straight lines, but following the direction of the vein of gold, which is as regular in its course as the roots of a tree. The workmen have lights fastened on their forehead, by the aid of which they cut their way through the rock, always following the white veins of stone. To keep them to their task, an overseer stands by, ready to inflict a blow on the lazy. The material that is thus loosened is carried out of the galleries by boys, and received at the mouth of the mine by old men and the weaker labourers, who then carry it to the *Epopte*, or inspectors. These are young men, under thirty years of age, strong and vigorous, who pound the broken fragments with a stone pestle, till there is no piece larger than a pea. It is then placed on grinding-stones, or a kind of mill-stone, and women, three on each side, work at it till it is reduced to fine powder. . . . The fine powder is then passed on to a set of workmen called *Sellangees*, who place it on a finely polished board, not lying in a flat position, but a little sloping. The *Sellangee*, after pouring some water on the board, rubs it with his hand, at first gently, but afterwards more vigorously, by which process the lighter, earthy particles slide off along the slope of the board, and the heavier parts are left behind. He then takes soft sponges, which he presses on the board rather gently, which causes the lighter particles to adhere to the sponge, while the heavy shining grains still keep their place on the board, owing to their weight. From the *Sellangees* the gold particles are transferred to the *roasters*, who measure and weigh all that they receive, before putting it into an earthen jar. With the gold particles they mix lead in a certain proportion, lumps of salt, a little tin, and barley bran, and putting a cover on the jar that

sits tight, and smearing it all over, they burn it in a furnace for five days and nights without intermission. On the sixth day, they cool the vessel, and take out the gold, which they find somewhat diminished in quantity: all the other substances entirely disappear. These mines were worked under the ancient kings of Egypt, but abandoned during the occupation of the country by the Ethiopians, and afterwards by the Medes and Persians. Even at the present day, (about A.C. 150,) we may find copper chisels or implements in the galleries, (the use of iron not being known at that time,)* and innumerable skeletons of the wretched beings who lost their lives in the passages of the mine. The excavations are of great extent, and reach down to the sea-coast."

This process appears to be represented in the paintings of tombs, executed during the reign of Osirtasen, and some of the ancient Pharaohs. There is no information as to when they were first discovered, but it may be supposed that the mines were worked at the earliest periods of the Egyptian monarchy. The total of their annual produce is said by Hecataeus to have been recorded in a temple founded by a monarch of the 18th dynasty. He also notices an immense sum produced annually from the silver mines of Egypt, which amounted to 3,200 myriads of minas, each of which was 1 lb. 4 oz. 6 dwt. English weight. In a sculpture of Thebes, also, Osymandias is represented dedicating to the deity the gold and silver he annually received from the mines throughout Egypt, which in silver alone amounted to this enormous sum.

Besides these mines, there were others of copper, lead, iron, and emeralds, all of which were valuable. These mines still exist in the deserts of the Red Sea. The same districts also abound in sulphur, which was most probably made use of by the ancient Egyptians.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF EGYPT

In ancient times, Egypt comprehended a great number of cities. Herodotus relates, indeed, that under Amasis, who lived about 570 years B.C., there were 20,000 inhabited cities in that country. Diodorus, however, with more judgment and caution, calculates 18,000 large villages and towns; and states that, under Ptolemy Lagus, they amounted to upwards of 30,000, a number which remained even at the period when he wrote, about 44 years B.C., when the population of Egypt was reduced from seventeen to thirteen millions of inhabitants. According to Theophrastus, the number of towns, at an earlier period, was 33,339; he may here, however, include some of the neighbouring provinces belonging to Egypt, as he comprehends Ethiopia, Libya, Syria, Arabia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, Caria, and Lycia, within the dominions of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Other authors may also occasionally have extended the

* This author must, therefore, mean copper in the early part of this extract, though he uses a word properly reserved for iron.

name of Egypt to its possessions in Libya, Ethiopia, and Syria; since, making every allowance for the flourishing condition of this highly fertile country, the number of towns they mention is too disproportionate for the sole valley of Egypt. Our knowledge of the more ancient cities of Egypt is very limited, and that knowledge for the most part is preserved by existing remains. Among the most remarkable of these cities is No, No-Ammon, Diospolis, or Thebes.

NO, NO-AMMON, DIOSPOLIS, OR THEBES.

Thebes was, indeed, the most ancient capital and renowned city of Egypt. It was probably built by the first settlers, Mizarim and his family, whence Egypt is generally styled "the land of Mizarim" in the original Scriptures, though usually rendered the land of Egypt. The origin of the city is certainly lost in the remote infancy of human settlements and institutions.

The Egyptian name of the city was No, Ezek. xxx. 16; to which was added Amon, or Amoun, which was, according to Herodotus, a title of Jove among the Egyptians. This would suggest that the city denoted was the chief seat of the worship of Jupiter Ammon. And such was No; for the Septuagint renders it, Ezek. xxx. 15, by Diospolis, "The city of Jove," on account of its devotion to the worship of Jupiter. Dr. Hales says, that it has been mistakenly supposed that the term Amon, or Amoun, denotes Ham, the youngest son of Noah, and the father of Mizarim; and he adds, that its real signification is "Truth," or "Veracity," whence the Lord is styled *El Amoun*, "God of truth," Deut. xxxii. 4. Plato says, that "the secret and invisible creative power supreme among the Egyptians was called Ammon;" and Plutarch, that the term signified "hidden." This was also an epithet of the true God: "Why askest thou thus after my name, seeing it is secret?" Judg. xiii. 18; and it accords with the inscription on the temple of Neith, or "Wisdom," at Saïs, in Lower Egypt, as recorded by Plutarch:

I AM ALL THAT HATH BEEN, AND IS, AND WILL BE;
AND MY VEIL NO MORTAL YET UNCOVERED.
MY OFFSPRING IS THE SUN.

This may explain the ancient aphorism, "Truth lies hid in a well;" as primarily relating to the incomprehensible nature of the Supreme Being, "the only true God," John xvii. 3, who was styled by the Egyptians *Scotus agnostos*, meaning "darkness that cannot be perceived," and by the Athenians, *Agnostos Theos*, "THE UNKNOWN GOD." See Acts xvii. 23. The Grecian name of this city, Thebes, was probably derived from *Thebē*, "an ark," like Noah's, the memory of which would naturally be preserved by the first settlers after the deluge in all parts of the earth. Bruce, indeed, observes, that "the figure of the temples in Thebes does not seem to be far removed from the idea given us of the ark."

Thebes was the metropolis of the country of Egypt; far eclipsing the metropolitan cities which arose in Middle and Lower Egypt. It was venerated by the ancient Egyptians as the parent city, the seat of sacred mystery, and of learning, and the arts. Long after Memphis had become the political metropolis of the united kingdom, and,

from its more advantageous situation for trade, had diverted from Thebes the wealth it derived from commerce, it survived in splendour and magnificence. Even at the present day, it has been said, while Zoph, and Zoan, and On, have scarcely left behind a vestige of their existence, the desolate temples of Thebes remain in almost all their pristine glory, and promise to carry down the records of her glory and desolation to the end of time.

The poet Homer, in his immortal verse, speaks of the great wealth of Thebes, and mentions its hundred gates, from each of which issued 200 men with horses and chariots, etc. This poetical allusion has been taken by some for history. Diodorus, however, intimates that the force was not raised in the vicinity of Thebes; and with reference to the hundred gates, he states the conjecture of some persons that the city derived its title of *Hecatompylos* from the numerous propylæa, or gateways of temples and public buildings. The notion of its having gates is strongly objected to by some travellers, inasmuch as not the least indication can be discovered that the city was enclosed by a wall.

Concerning the buildings of the city, we have no detailed description from ancient sources, but only of the public monuments. It is probable, however, that in this and other ancient cities of Egypt, while the temples were erected with such strong materials as would resist very long the power of time, the mass of private dwellings were of a very lowly character, such as mud or brick. When we speak, indeed, of the splendour of ancient cities, we must understand it exclusively of its public buildings and monuments, and not of handsome streets and comfortable habitations, which a modern city exhibits.

But we not only learn from profane history that Thebes was one of the most powerful cities in days of yore; Scripture bears testimony to the same fact. There is a striking passage in Nahum iii. 8-10, wherein there is an implied comparison between No, or Thebes, and Nineveh, with an apparent preference given to the former. The prophet interrogates Nineveh thus:

"Art thou better than populous No,
That was situate among the rivers, that had the waters
round about it,
Whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the
sea?"

And then in the next verse he says,

"Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite."

How strong and great Thebes was, history and its existing monuments testify; and its population may be inferred from its being called "populous," in comparison with the great city Nineveh, as well as from the accounts of its extent. These accounts differ greatly, but D'Anville, analyzing the various statements, deduces that its circuit was equal to twenty-seven Roman miles, being an extent to which few modern capitals approach, and which London itself does not greatly exceed.

Of the wealth of Thebes, some idea may be formed from the accounts of the spoils obtained by the Persians under Cambyses, and the quantity of precious metal collected after the burning of the city. This last, according to Diodorus, amounted to upwards of 300 talents, about 26,000 pounds troy, of gold, and 2,300 talents, or 199,518 pounds

of silver; the former worth 1,348,960*l.*, and the latter 598,544*l.* sterling. This destruction is said to have levelled not only the private houses, but the greater part of its numerous temples.

But this was not the first time that Thebes had suffered from the desolations of war. The prophet Nahum intimates, in the passage referred to, that it was devastated before Nineveh. After drawing the comparison between the two cities, he says, "Yet was she carried away, she went into captivity: her young children also were dashed in pieces at the top of all the streets; and they cast lots for her honourable men,* and all her great men were bound in chains." This corresponds to the first blow which the splendour of Thebes received when the Ethiopians invaded Egypt, 769 years B.C. It suffered again, very probably, when Nebuchadnezzar ravaged Egypt, 570 years B.C., after which it was burned by the Persian king. But it even then survived, and was still a city of some note. Eighty-six years B.C. it was, indeed, of such strength and consequence, as to dare to rebel against Ptolemy Lathyrus, and it endured a three years' siege before it was taken and plundered. It was again punished for rebellion by Gallus, in the reign of Augustus; after which the zeal of the early Christians led them to deface and destroy, as much as lay in their power, its remaining monuments, on account of the outrageous forms of idolatry there displayed. But some of its monuments still remain, testifying at once to its ancient grandeur and to the truth of the inspired volume, which foretold its destruction. See Jer. xli. and Ezek. xxx. 14-16.

The ruins of Thebes, as described by travellers, testify an extent and magnificence of architectural design almost without a parallel. Karnac and Luxor are situated on the eastern side of Thebes, distant from each other about two miles. Karnac, which is the largest edifice in Egypt, was dedicated to Priapus. The mole is 140 paces in length, and twenty-five in thickness. It leads to a court 110 paces in length, and the same in breadth. Two ranges of six columns conduct to a portico of 136 columns. The two middle ranges of these are eleven feet in diameter, the others are seven feet, the length of this vestibule is seventy-eight paces, the breadth twenty-five; this leads into a court where there are four obelisks, and twelve colossal figures. Two other courts conduct to what are supposed to be the apartments of the kings; besides which, there are many extensive buildings connected with the palace by avenues of sphinxes, lions, and rams. Some of these avenues extend towards Luxor. The entrance to Luxor is composed of two obelisks, which at present rise seventy feet above the surface of the ground, and are understood to be about thirty below it; two colossal statues of black granite, each thirty-eight feet high: and two masses of building of an oblong shape, and tapering sides fifty-five feet high, and covered with hieroglyphics. These large masses are so crowded together, that from the front of the moles to that of the obelisks the distance is only fourteen paces. On the western side of Thebes,

is the site of Memnonium, and the statue of red granite thrown down by Cambyses. The space between Memnonium and Medinet Abou, about a mile and a quarter, is covered with fragments of Colossus. The tomb of Osymandias is supposed by some to have been here. The palace of Medinet Abou has a covered passage still preserved. This is fifty-five paces long, and sixty-five broad, and it is formed by four rows of columns placed on the four sides of the court. These columns are forty-five feet high, and seven feet in diameter. The tombs of the kings are situated in a narrow valley between the mountains of Libya, about four miles from the river. Strabo says, that there were seventeen tombs remaining in his time; and if we include a grove near the Memnonium, the same number still remains.

From the nature of the sculptures, and the distribution of the apartments, Karnac, Luxor, and Memnonium are supposed to have been residences of the kings of Egypt. All other buildings are considered as having been appropriated to religious purposes. Some, however, think, from the nature of the authority exercised by the Egyptian priesthood, that the palace and the temple were commonly united.

ZOAN, OR TANIS.

Zoan is rendered by the Septuagint, *Tanis*, or *Tanis*, which was a city of Egypt, situated near the mouth of one of the branches of the Nile, thence called *Æthiæ Taniticæ*. It appears to have been one of the most ancient capitals of Egypt. The sacred historian tells us, indeed, that it was built only seven years after Hebron, the chief residence of the patriarch Abraham and his family, Numb. xiii. 22: and that it was one of the royal cities, we gather from the fact that the plagues of Egypt were inflicted "in the field of Zoan," Ps. lxxviii. 19. Even in the days of Isaiah it is mentioned as a seat of government.

"Surely the princes of Zoan are fools,

The counsel of the wise counsellors of Pharaoh is become brutish," Isa. xlii. 11.

As, however, in verse 13, Noph, or Memphis, is similarly noticed, and as it is certain there were not at that time two kings in such close vicinity, it is supposed that the kings of that period divided their residence between Zoan and Noph, as those of Persia did between Susa and Ecbatana. Bryant and others think that Tanis was too distant from the land of Goshen to have been the scene of the miracles recorded in Exodus, and they look for Zoan at Sain, which Bryant determines to have been situated a little above the point of the Delta, not far from Heliopolis, and therefore bordering close on the land of Goshen. But this is restricting the regions of Goshen within narrower limits than are assigned it by the best authorities whom we have followed in our description of that land; and therefore the Septuagint may be correct.

ON, OR HELIOPOLIS.

On, which is mentioned as early as in the days of Joseph, who married the daughter of the

* It was customary with many of the ancient nations to cast lots for the principal captives who were taken in war.

high priest of that city, Gen. xli. 45, is noticed under several names in Scripture. The Hebrew name for it was *Bethshemesh*, or "house of the sun," which, or "city of the sun," is the meaning of all the names given to the place, except that of *Aven*, or *Bethaven*, Exek. xxx. 17, Hos. x. 5, which means "vanity," or "house of vanity," a nick-name the Hebrews were accustomed to apply to noted places of idolatrous worship. The Greek name of the place was *Heliopolis*, by which name the Septuagint version renders it, a rendering that has not been disputed.

The city derived its name from the worship of the sun, to which a celebrated temple was here consecrated. It was a famous seat of the Egyptian science and learning. Herodotus says, that the *Heliopolitans* were reckoned the wisest of the Egyptians; and, according to Berossus, it was the city of *Moses*, which well accounts for his scriptural character, that he "was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," Acts vii. 22. It is certain that in the college of priests at this place, *Eudoxus*, *Plato*, and *Herodotus* received their instruction in astronomy, philosophy, and history; and in all that learning of the Egyptians which sacred and profane writers concur in celebrating.

Very little is known of the history of *Heliopolis*. *Josephus* says, that it was given to the Israelites for a habitation when they first went down into Egypt; but this is not mentioned in Scripture. Its destruction was foretold by the prophets, *Jeremiah*, chap. xliii. 13, and *Ezekiel*, chap. xxx. 17; which predictions were probably accomplished by *Nebuchadnezzar*.

Heliopolis was situated in the *Pelusiatic* branch of the Nile, about five miles below the point of the ancient Delta. Its form and size may be inferred from the remaining mounds of the wall of circuit, from which it would appear to have been of an irregular shape, and in its extent not exceeding 3,760 by 2,870 feet. The houses stood on the north side, covering a space of about 575,000 feet; to the south of which stood the temple of the sun. There are now no ruins of ancient buildings, unless the mounds be considered such, but there are still existing many fragments of the materials employed in their construction. An obelisk still stands entire upon the spot, which, from its great antiquity, has received much attention from the learned. In the adjoining villages there are many fragments of antiquity, which have evidently been removed from thence; and one standing in its immediate vicinity bears the name of *Matarieh*, signifying "fresh water;" which name is taken from a spring of excellent water, supposed to be the same as "the fountain of the sun" of ancient days.

PITHOM AND RAMESES.

Pithom and *Rameses* are mentioned, Exod. i. 11, as having been built by the Hebrews, for the Egyptian monarch under whom they were oppressed, for "treasure" or store cities. Authors vary in their opinions concerning the sites of *Pithom* and *Rameses*. *Benjamin of Tudela*, in the twelfth century, was informed by the Jews that the latter was the same as *Heliopolis*; but

Nietuhr thinks that it lay to the north-west of it, about four leagues from *Cairo*, in the way to *Suez*, where there is a heap of ruins, called *Tel el Jhd*, or *Tourbet el Jhd*. As the land of *Goshen* is also called "the land of *Rameses*," we may conclude, that the town of *Rameses* was in that district, and that it either gave or received from it its name. We may mention, that some authors conceive that *Pithom* and *Rameses* were the names of two kings of Egypt, but this is by no means a well-founded theory.

SIN, OR PELUSIUM.

In Arabic, the term "sin" signifies mud, and was therefore the same as *Pelusium*, from *pelos*, mud. By the prophet *Ezekiel*, who predicted its overthrow, chap. xxx. 15, it is called "the strength of Egypt," and by *Suidas*, the "key of Egypt," or, its strong barrier on the side of Syria and Arabia. But, notwithstanding its strength, according to the prediction of the prophet, it is laid prostrate by the hand of time and the destroyer.

PIBESETH, OR BUBASTUS.

By the Septuagint, *Pibeseth* is regarded as the famous city of *Bubastis*, on the *Pelusiatic* branch of the Nile; whence this branch, which is the eastern, was indiscriminately called the *Babastic* or the *Pelusiatic*. The city derived its name from a magnificent temple dedicated to the goddess *Bubastis*, whom *Herodotus* identifies with *Diana*. The site still bears the name of *Tel Bastak*, but the great mass of ruins is somewhat more than half a mile west of the *Tel*, at *Chobrah* and *Heryeh*. There is no edifice remaining. All is one scene of desolation, testifying at once to its ancient splendour, and to the truth of Holy Writ, which foretells its destruction.

"The young men of *Aven* and of *Pibeseth* shall fall by the sword."

And these cities shall go into captivity," Exek. xxx. 17.

TAHANPANES, TAHANANES, OR HANAN.

This city was the same as the *Daphne Pelusiaca*, noticed by *Herodotus*. The prophet *Jeremiah* resided here in his exile, Jer. xliii. 8. *Isaiah* abridged it to *Hanan*, Isa. xxx. 4. The former, while there, under a significant type, predicted the conquest of Egypt by the Babylonians, which prediction was verified by *Nebuchadnezzar*.

MIGDOL.

The name *Migdol* signifies "a tower," and may have been common to several places distinguished by objects of that kind. There appears, indeed, from Scripture, to have been two cities of that name in ancient times. Thus the prophet *Jeremiah* represents one as belonging to Egypt Proper, see chap. xli. 14; and in the neighbourhood of *Tahanan*, or *Daphne*. This favours the supposition of its being the present *Migdol*; and *Bochart* observes on this text, that we find the places named exactly in the order of the distance from *Judea*: first, *Migdol*, or *Magdolan*; secondly *Tahanan*, or *Daphne*; thirdly, *Noph*, or *Memphis*; and, lastly, the district of

Pathros, or Thebais. We may presume this city to have been that which Herodotus mentions under that name, and which the itinerary of Antoninus reckons a little to the south of the Delta, about twelve miles from Pelusium. But this was too far distant from the Red Sea to be in the route of the Israelites when departing from Egypt; and therefore we may conclude that there was a second Migdol in Lower Egypt, towards the Red Sea, and at which the Israelites encamped. See Exod. xiv. 2.

NOPE, MEMOPH, OR MEMPHIS.

Memphis was the renowned capital of Lower Egypt. On what site it stood, however, has been much disputed. Dr. Shaw, and others, contend that it must be sought at Ghizeh, nearly opposite to Old Cairo; but other eminent travellers and geographers, comparing the statements in ancient authors with existing appearances and traditions, have fixed its position with greater probability considerably more to the south, near the village of Metrahenny, on the western bank of the Nile. On this spot there are indications of extensive ruins in the form of mounds, channels, and blocks of granite, many of which are covered with sculptures and hieroglyphics, and which are considered, in the locality, to form the remains of *Memf*, or Memphis, the royal seat of the Pharaohs.

We have seen, in the article Thebes, that Memphis superseded that city as the capital of Egypt. To explain this, we would observe, that Egyptian traditions, as preserved by the Greek historians, and confirmed by modern research, state, that Upper Egypt was the first settled and brought under cultivation. From thence colonies proceeded into Middle and Lower Egypt, which became the parents of other colonies, till the whole was settled. The principal of these colonies, it would appear, soon assumed or acquired the character of independent states or kingdoms, each with its own metropolis; and Memphis seems to have been the earliest of those settlements below the Thebais, as the seat of such a state or kingdom. According to Herodotus, it was founded by Menes, the first king of Egypt, who turned the channel of the river, and built the city in the ancient bed, where the strait between the Arabian and Libyan mountains is narrowest. This statement, in the opinion of many travellers, is corroborated by the actual appearance of the river at the spot where, according to this historian, the stream was "dyked off;" namely, at 100 stades, or about twelve miles, above Memphis. Herodotus thought that the valley above Memphis, where it widens, was once a bay of the sea, but was gradually raised by the alluvions of the Nile, which also in his opinion formed the Delta. This opinion seems to have been formed by a mistake as to the meaning of a passage in Homer; but it would confirm the supposition that the Mediterranean was once much higher than at present, and that it was lowered by the disruption of the straits of Gibraltar.

At what time Memphis became the paramount metropolis of Egypt, it would be difficult to state; but as the capital of Lower Egypt, and as the metropolis of the country, it would appear that

Noph, or Memphis, was the great city of the Pharaohs with which the Old Testament Hebrews were best acquainted, and to which there are the most frequent references in Scripture, from the time that good old Israel went down into Egypt to the days of the prophet Jeremiah. At the former date, it was, probably, the capital of that part of Egypt with which the Hebrews were most familiar; and at the latter, it still remained as the metropolis, notwithstanding that, since the reign of Psammeticus, the kings of Egypt had made Sais the usual seat of their residence.

The wealth and the glory of Memphis are spoken of by most ancient writers; but concerning the details little or nothing is recorded; and Noph is so utterly waste, according to the prediction of the prophet, Jer. xli. 19, that the deficiency cannot be supplied from existing remains, as at Thebes. Its magnificent temples are, however, mentioned, particularly those of Apis and Vulcan; and Diodorus describes the city as about 150 stades, or between seventeen and eighteen miles, in circumference. There are, moreover, remains of a different and not less striking kind, which denote its ancient grandeur. These are the pyramids; for the situation of Memphis, regarded as near Metrahenny, is central with respect to these far-famed structures, being as it were in the midst of them; and it is to be observed, that ancient historians usually considered the pyramids as pertaining to Memphis. Other monuments marking the city itself, save that of the mounds, a few fragments of granite, some substruction, and a colossal statue of Ramesses II., there are none; so completely has the prediction of its desolation been accomplished. This desolation is the more remarkable when we consider that the glory of Memphis was only impaired by the devastations of the Persians, and that when eclipsed by Alexandria it continued to be the second city of Egypt, as recorded by Strabo, and that about as late as the time of our Saviour. The Arabian geographer, Abulfeda, notices, indeed, in the fourteenth century, the extensive remains of *Memf*, as still evincing the ancient importance of that renowned city. But these appear to have been employed in the erection of the more modern cities which have arisen in that part of Egypt where Memphis stood; or to have been gradually covered by the encroaching sands of the desert, or the alluvions of the Nile, so that nothing now remains of all its glory but that described.

SYENE.

Syene was the most southern city of the Thebais, bordering on Nubia. By the prophet Ezekiel, the whole extent of Egypt, from north to south, is described as

"From the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia," EZEK. XLIX. 10; XLX. 6.

Migdol, which is incorrectly rendered "tower" in our version, and which should be preserved as the proper name of the town near the Red Sea, as noticed before, was in the north of Egypt, while Syene was its southern frontier. The cataraets of the Nile, which occur above this place, and the difficult navigation of the river, form a natural boundary line; so that Syene, now called Assuan, has always been considered the frontier

town of Egypt in this direction. Strictly speaking, the boundary is formed by the mighty terraces of that peculiar reddish granite called *granite*, which, shaped into peaks, stretch across the bed of the Nile, and from which the Egyptians obtained the stone so frequently employed by them in their obelisks and colossal statues.

The town of Syene retained its importance for many ages. This is certified by the ruins of works and buildings reared by the Pharaohs, the Ptolemies, the Romans, and the Arabians, which are still seen on and around the site of the old town. The town Assuan, which succeeded it, so closely adjoins the old town on the north, that the northern wall of the latter forms the southern wall of the former. The scenery in this part is very striking. Madox, in his "Excursions in the Holy Land, Egypt, etc.," thus describes it:—"The river is rocky here, and the navigation, by night at least, dangerous. At the pass of Assuan ruin and devastation reign around. This pass, which nature has so well fortified, seems ill treated by man. Hardly anything was to be seen but the vast remains of the old town of Syene, with mud-built walls and hovels on every side. Rocks, forming islands, were in the middle of the stream, upon which shrubs were growing. The scene altogether was wild and forlorn. In the distance appear high mountains, or masses of stone, with trees, corn, and grass of great height, extending to the water's edge." The removal of the town is said to have occurred A.D. 1403, in consequence of a plague, which destroyed 21,000 of its inhabitants, from which fact the reader may discern the ancient and also the comparatively modern importance of the town.

ALEXANDRIA.

This renowned city of Egypt owed its origin to Alexander the Great, who, during his visit to that country, (about A.C. 332), gave orders for its erection, between the sea and the Mareotic Lake. The architect was Dinocrates, a Macedonian. A large part of it was contained within the present walls, which are chiefly the work of the Arabs. One main street, about four miles in length, ran through the city from the eastern extremity to the Necropolis, or "city of the dead," at the western, and this was intersected by another main street, about one mile and a quarter in length, running nearly north, in a direction from the Mareotic Lake. This was to obtain the benefit of ventilation from the north winds. The main land and the isle of Pharos was connected by a dyke, called the *Heptastadion*, in which there was a passage for vessels, from one port to the other at each end. Over these passages there were bridges, probably of great height, since we are told that water was conveyed along this dyke to the island of Pharos. On the rocks occupied by the present Pharos, a magnificent light-house was constructed by Sostratus of Cnidus, in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the height of which, report says, was 400 feet. The point opposite to the Pharos was called *Lochia*, and as this point was prolonged towards the Pharos along some rocks, it received the name of *Acro-Lochia*, or the "Point of *Lochia*." Between this point and

the obelisks, the palace of the Ptolemies, the theatre, and various temples once stood. There were two ports; one bounded by the north-east part of the city, and the *Heptastadion*, called the great port, and the other called *Eunostos*, or "safe return." This latter also contained a small port, called *Kibotos*, or "the chest," because the entrance could be completely closed. No traces of this can now be discovered. A canal, uniting the lake with port *Eunostos*, terminated in or near port *Kibotos*, and was nearly the south-west limit of the city. There was also a canal from the lake to the town of Camopus, situated near the mouth of the western branch of the Nile, by means of which the city was supplied with river water, which was kept in cisterns. These, it would appear, were very numerous. A Roman writer says, "Nearly all Alexandria was undermined, and furnished with subterranean aqueducts, to convey the Nile water to private houses, where, after a short time, it became purified." Traces of such are now found on the site of ancient Alexandria.

The city of Alexandria was divided into five quarters, but neither the limits nor the names of each can be assigned. The court end, or *Bruchion*, comprised the part between the *Lochia*, the site of the obelisks, and the eastern or *Rosetta* gate. This part contained also the museum. The part called *Rhacotis*, which bordered on port *Eunostos*, contained the great temple of *Nerapis*, which, after the establishment of Christianity, was a grievous offence to the Christians, and as such was destroyed by Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 390, by permission of the emperor Theodosius.

The city of Alexandria was embellished by the Ptolemies with the spoils of the more ancient towns of Egypt, and it continued to receive accessions and improvements for several centuries. At one period of time it was the rival of Rome in magnitude, and the greatest commercial city of the earth. Like Tyre of old, it was the point of exchange for the eastern and western world. Diodorus, who visited the city just before the downfall of the empire of the Ptolemies, says, that it contained, according to the registers, more than 300,000 free citizens.

The remains of Old Alexandria are surrounded by a double wall, flanked with lofty towers. They are an almost shapeless mass of rubbish, in which are discerned fragments of broken columns, pieces of wall, cisterns choked up with earth, pieces of pottery, glass, etc. There are five gateways or entrances into this enclosure. Of the two granite obelisks, called *Cleopatra's Needles*, one is still standing; the other is lying prostrate on the ground. These obelisks formed the entrance to the palace of *Cæsar*, as it is called, though it is most probable they were removed from some of the ancient cities of Egypt thither. Near these obelisks is part of a tower, called, "The Tower of the Romans." About the centre of the enclosure stands the mosque of St. Athanasius, on the site of a Christian church erected by this patriarch during the fourth century. In this mosque the beautiful *Sarcophagus*, of Egyptian breccia, which is now in the British Museum, was discovered. The cisterns, mentioned for keeping Nile water, are still in a

great measure preserved; they consist of vaulted chambers, supported by columns which form arcades of two or three stories. The interior walls are covered with a thick red plaster which water cannot penetrate. The level of these cisterns varies, but some of them are from fifteen to eighteen feet below the level of the sea. When the French invaded Egypt, the number in use was two hundred and seven, and there were about one hundred more known to exist. The only remarkable monument between the wall and the Lake is the column called "Pompey's Pillar." This column stands on a mound of earth about forty feet high, which contains remains of previous constructions. According to a Greek inscription on the plinth of the base, on the west side, it appears to have been erected (though probably not for the first time) in honour of the emperor Diocletian, by a prefect of Egypt, whose name cannot be further deciphered than that it begins with P. O. The foundation of the pillar appears to have been frequently examined, probably in the hope of finding treasures; it is, perhaps, owing to this cause, that the column is inclined about seven inches to the south-west. In this direction, on the other side of the canal, are some catacombs, cut in a small elevation of a sandy calcareous stone; and farther south, in the calcareous rock that faces the sea, are discerned numerous excavations, in the sides of which niches are formed. These formed part of the Necropolis of Old Alexandria. The most spacious of these excavations, which in common with the rest, communicates with the sea by a narrow passage, is about 3,830 yards from the column. In the interior, there are a great number of chambers and passages, which, judging from the style in which they are cut in the rock, are of Greek origin. This monument was doubtless intended for a king.

The history of this city is very remarkable. From A.C. 323, to A.C. 30, when it fell into the hands of the Romans, it was the residence of the Greek kings of Egypt, the resort of commerce, and of many foreign nations, especially Jews, and it was also the centre of the scientific knowledge of that day. Of the five wards into which this city was divided, two were entirely occupied by Jews, and they had, besides, residences dispersed in the other quarters. They enjoyed, as will be seen in the history of that period, full civil privileges, and had a prefect or governor of their own. Alexandria sustained much damage in the campaigns of Julius Caesar, A.C. 48. From A.C. 80, to the Arab conquest under Omar, A.D. 640, who, it is said, found forty thousand Jews paying tribute there, Alexandria was still a flourishing city under the Roman, and afterwards under the eastern empire. The Christian religion was early adopted there, and it became one of the strongholds of the true faith. Clement, Origen, Athanasius, and others of equal note in the Christian church, flourished at Alexandria. The Fatemite caliphs seized on Egypt, and built New Cairo, A.D. 969, from which time Alexandria declined still more, and sank to the rank of a secondary city. The discovery of the route round the Cape of Good Hope, A.D. 1497, tended still further to diminish

the importance of Alexandria; so that, at the present day, the city that bears its name no longer enjoys its wonted celebrity, though it appears to have recovered, in some slight degree, from its downfall, by a revival of its commerce. The Roman power partly restored Alexandria as the channel of commerce with the east; but when their power was broken, it ceased.

ARINOE.

This city stood at the head of the western branch of the Red Sea, and near the termination of the canal which unites the Red Sea and the eastern branch of the Nile. It was founded by the second Ptolemy; and Pliny states, that it derived its name from Arinoe, his sister. Its name was changed afterwards to Cleopatris. It was chosen for a sea-port; but though vessels anchored there, and rode secure from the violence of the sea, its exposed situation, and the dangers they encountered in working up the narrow extremity of the gulf, rendered it less eligible for the Indian trade than either Myos Hormos, or Berenice. Its chief advantages were the convenience of establishing a communication with the Nile by a canal, and the shortness of the journey across the desert in that part. The town of Arinoe gave its name to a nome, or one of the ancient provincial divisions of Egypt, which corresponds to the modern Faioum. The old name of the town was the "City of Crocodiles," that animal being, as we are told by Strabo, highly revered there.

ABYDOS.

Abydos was a city of Upper Egypt, the remains of which are found near two villages, El-kherbeh and Harabat, about six miles from the west bank of the Nile, N. lat. 26° 12'. The chief building, which still remains, is nearly covered with sand, but the interior is in good preservation. This edifice is constructed of limestones and sandstone. It is said that arches are found in the interior, similar to those of brick which Belzoni describes at Thebes. The numerous apartments in this building, and the style of decoration, show that Abydos was once a place of importance. Some conjecture that it was a royal residence. When Strabo visited Egypt, about the commencement of the Christian era, Abydos was a mere village; but he learned that the great building was called *Memnonion*, or palace of Memnon, and that tradition assigned to Abydos a rank in ancient times next to Thebes. There was a canal leading to the city from the river; but besides this communication with the main stream, Abydos had the advantage of standing on the large canal running northward, which is known by the name of the *Behr Yousof*.

On an interior wall of a building at Abydos, not belonging to the great edifice, a kind of tablet, or genealogy of the early kings of Egypt, which is generally called the table of Abydos, was discovered. This tablet consists of three compartments lying horizontally one above the other; and each compartment has been divided into twenty-six rectangles, so that the whole once contained seventy-eight rectangles. Each of these rectangles contains an elliptical ring, or

cartouches, such as may be seen on the Egyptian monuments in the British Museum; and each cartouche contains various figures, which are generally supposed to indicate the names or titles of sovereigns. The lowest of the three compartments contains, in the nineteen rectangles which are complete, the title and name of *Rameses the Great*; the same prepossession, or title, and name, having each, probably, been repeated, thirteen times in the whole twenty-six rectangles, of which seven are erased. Deducting these twenty-six, there remain in the other two compartments fifty-two rectangles. The fifty-first and fifty-second contain the title and name of a *Rameses*, who may be a predecessor of *Rameses the Great*. The cartouches preceding these are thought to be the titles of kings: this is very probable, for the forty-seventh is the same as that on the great colossal statue at Thebes, and on the entire colossal statue in the British Museum, which is *Amenophis II.* in *Manetho's* catalogue.

BERENICE.

Berenice was a port on the west side of the Red Sea, at the bottom of a bay, which is described by *Strabo* under the name of *Acahartus*. *Belzoni* describes the place which he takes to be the site of *Berenice* as being a little south of the parallel of 24° , in which *D'Anville* concurs. *Ptolemy* gives the latitude of *Berenice* at $23^{\circ} 50'$, which is also the latitude of *Syene*. The town, according to *Belzoni*, measured 1,600 feet from north to south, and 2,000 from east to west. A small temple of *Serapis*, built of soft calcareous sandstone, and in the Egyptian style of architecture, is 102 feet long, and 43 wide. A part of the wall, which was uncovered by digging, was sculptured with well-executed figures in baso-relievo, in the Egyptian style; on the wall hieroglyphics were also discovered.

The town of *Berenice* was built or restored by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who called it after the name of his mother, the wife of *Lagus*, or *Soter*. The town was very extensive, and though the harbour was neither deep nor spacious, its position in a receding gulf tended greatly to the safety of the vessels lying within it, or anchored in the bay. A road led thence direct to *Coptos*, furnished with the usual stations, or *hydreumas*; and another, which also went to the emerald mines, joined, or rather crossed it, from *Apollinopolis Magna*. When *Strabo* visited Egypt, the *Myos Hormos* seems to have superseded *Berenice*; but the latter, in the later age of *Pliny*, was again preferred to its rival. From both these ports, the goods were taken on camels, by an almost level road across the desert to *Coptos*, and thence distributed over different parts of Egypt. In the time of the *Ptolemies* and *Cæsars*, those suited for exportation to Europe went down the river to the city of *Alexandria*, where they were sold to merchants who resorted to that city at a stated season.

MYOS HORMOS.

The *Myos Hormos*, called also *Aphrodite*, and, according to *Agatharchides*, the Port of *Venus*, stood in latitude $27^{\circ} 23'$, upon a flat coast, backed

by low mountains, distant from it about three miles, where a well called the *Fons Tadmæ* supplied the town and ships with water. The port was more capacious than those of *Berenice* and *Philoteræ*; and though exposed to the winds, it was secure against the force of a tempestuous sea. Several roads united at the gates of the town, from *Berenice* and *Philoteræ* on the south, *Arinæ* on the north, and from *Coptos* on the west; and stations supplied those who passed to and from the Nile with water and other necessaries.

"Many other ports," says *Mr. Wilkinson*, "the *Portus Multi* of *Pliny*, occur along the coast, particularly between *Berenice* and *Kossayr*;" but though they all have landmarks to guide boats in approaching their rocky entrances, none of them have any remains of a tower, or the vestiges of habitations." They teach the beholder the important lesson, that nothing on earth is enduring; and that

"He builds too low, who builds below the skies,"
Younge.

TENTYRA.

The ruins of *Tentyra* are supposed to be those seen at *Amara*, about a mile from the river *Rement*. It stood in the midst of a large plain, and seems to have been between three and four miles in compass. The ruins of two ancient buildings are still to be seen there. The inhabitants of this city were famous for their enmity to the crocodile, which they endeavoured to destroy by all the means in their power. They even waged war with the worshippers of that animal, especially with the people of *Ombos*. To this circumstance *Juvénal* alludes in one of his satires. He says,

"Ombos and Tentyr, neighbouring towns, of late
Broke into outrage of deep feasted hate.
A grudge in both; time out of mind begun,
And mutually bequest'd from sire to son:
Religious spite and pious spleen bred first
This quarrel, which so long the bigots nursed.
Each call'd the other's god a senseless stock,
His own, divine; though from the self-same block
One carver framed them, differing but in shape;
A serpent thus resembling, that an ape."

TATE'S JUVENAL.

At *Rome*, the *Tentyrites* were employed to take the crocodiles with nets out of the ponds, where they were kept as a curiosity, and to show them to the people, which they did without receiving the least harm. Some have supposed that this people possessed a natural ascendancy over the crocodile; but *Seneca* more justly ascribes their power over it to their temerity in facing and attacking this dangerous creature. Their power over the crocodile is attested by one of the marbles of the *Townley Collection* in the British Museum, which is usually explained to represent an Egyptian tumbler exercising his feats on the back of a tame crocodile.

APOLLINOPOLIS.

This city is thought to have been situated where the town of *Edfou* (on the left bank of the Nile, in 25° N. lat.) now stands. There are still the ruins of a magnificent temple here,

* *Myos Hormos* ceded its place to this town, which was afterwards called *Philoteræ*, and was resorted to after the Arab conquest.

which may be compared with that at Denderah for preservation, and which is generally attributed to the age of the Ptolemies. The inhabitants of Apollinopolis, it is said, rivalled the Tenyrites in their canity to, and abhorrence of the crocodile.

LATOPOLIS.

This city was called Latopolis from the fish *latas*, which was worshipped in that city. About three miles to the N.W. of the present town of Esne are to be seen the ruins of an ancient temple, which Pococke supposes to have been the temple of Pallas and the fish *latas* at Latopolis, where they were both worshipped. Within this temple, says this traveller, are three stories of hieroglyphics of men, about three feet high, and at one end the lowest figures are as large as life: one of them is adorned with the head of the ibis. The ceiling is curiously adorned with all sorts of animals, and painted in beautiful colours.

OMBOB.

This city, according to ancient geographers stood to the south of Thebes. It is identified with Comombo, or "The Hill of Ombo," where the ruins of an ancient temple are still to be seen. The inhabitants of Ombo, as before hinted, were famous for the worship of the crocodile. *Ælian* says, they fed them in their ponds, where they became so tame as to obey them when called.

PHYLÆ.

This city stood about twelve miles south of Syene, in an island of the same name, not above a quarter of a mile long, and half a quarter broad. The island of Phylæ was deemed sacred, from an opinion, according to *Diodorus*, that *Osiris* was buried there; and the ruins of a magnificent temple are still found on the island. It appears from the *notitia*, that the Romans had a garrison at Phylæ, which was the most southern city of all Egypt. Between this place and Syene is the lesser cataract, and the greater at a small distance from *Fœlca*, a town in Ethiopia. *Cicero* says, that the people who lived near the lesser cataract were all deaf from the noise which the river made in falling from the high mountains. But this is an error; for the fall is in no part above seven or eight feet, and, therefore, could have little effect on the organs of hearing.

CANOPUS.

This city stood on the coast near the outlet of the western, or Canopic branch of the Nile. It was forty miles from Alexandria by land, with which it was connected by a canal. In the time of *Strabo*, it contained a great temple of *Serapis*. It is said to have been built by the Spartans, on their return from the Trojan war, and to have taken its name from Canopus, the pilot of *Meneleus*, who died, and was buried in this place. The city was noted for the lewd and dissolute diversions which the Alexandrians indulged themselves in here, whence *Seneca* writes in one of his epistles thus: "No one, thinking of a re-

straint, would choose Canopus, though a man may be good and honest even at Canopus."

These are all the cities of which we can give any detailed information. Others are mentioned by ancient writers, but for the most part they are known only by name. And of those described, the reader will have observed that little remains to testify their pre-existence. They have mouldered into dust, and the plough has gone over their site, or other cities, or towns, and villages have been erected on their ruins; thus bearing mournful evidence to the truth of the words of the Grecian sage, that

"Nothing is lasting on the world's great stage."

All sublimity enjoyments imitate the changeableness, as well as feel the influence of the planets they are under. Time, like a river, carries them all away with a rapid course. They swim above the stream for a little while, but they are quickly swallowed up by the waves, and seen no more. The very cities men build for their habitations, and the monuments they raise to perpetuate their names, consume and moulder away, and proclaim their own mortality, as well as testify that of others. But there are enjoyments indestructible in their nature, and endless in their duration! There is a city whose foundations can never be shaken, and which God hath prepared for them that love him! Like the stars and orbs above, which shine with undiminished lustre, and move with the same unwearied motion with which they did from the first date of their creation, these enjoyments are ever full, fresh, and entire; and they will abide when sun, and moon, and nature itself, shall be employed by Providence no more. The righteous shall appear in the eternal city, when the earth and all that is therein shall have been consumed, and enjoy one perpetual and everlasting day—a day commensurate to the unlimited eternity of God himself.

"There is a place beyond that flaming hill,
From whence the stars their thin appearance shed;
A place beyond all place, where never ill
Nor impure thought was ever harboured:
But saintly heroes are for ever said
To keep an everlasting sabbath's rest;
Still wishing that of which they're still possess'd,
Enjoying but one joy—but one of all joys best."

GILES FLETCHER.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF EGYPT.

THE Egyptians attained a high degree of refinement and luxury at a time when the whole western world was involved in barbarism, when the history of Europe, including Greece, was not yet unfolded, and ages before Carthage, Athens, and Rome were founded. They were, indeed, the first people who rightly understood the rules of government, who perceived that the just design of politics is, to make life easy and a people happy. This high state of civilisation was attained under a system of institutions and policy bearing some resemblance to those of the Hindoos. It was a monarchy based upon a potent

hierarchy. To enable the reader to understand this, the different orders of which the state was composed shall be described.

THE KINGS POWER.

The kings of Egypt were anciently indiscriminately called Pharaoh. "This was not a proper name: Josephus says, the word signified king in the Egyptian language; and it appears to have been used as a prefix to the proper name, in the same manner that Ptolemy was, after the subjugation of Egypt by the Greeks. When used independently of the proper name, it distinguished the king of Egypt from other monarchs.

The kingdom of Egypt was hereditary, but, according to Diodorus, the Egyptian princes—unlike other monarchies, in which the prince acknowledges no other rule of his actions than his own arbitrary will and pleasure—were under greater restraint from the law than their subjects. These laws were contained in the sacred books, and were digested by one of their earliest monarchs, so that everything was settled by, and they lived according to ancient custom; treading the same path as their ancestors.

The king appears to have been the chief both of religion and state. He held the right of regulating the sacrifices, and of offering them to the gods upon grand occasions. The title and office of "President of the Assemblies" belonged exclusively to him, and he superintended the feasts and festivals celebrated in honour of their false gods. He could proclaim peace and war; he commanded the armies, and rewarded those who deserved his approbation; and every privilege seems to have been granted him which did not interfere with the welfare of his subjects.

The sovereign power in Egypt was hereditary. In the event of an heir failing, however, the claims for succession were determined by nearness of relationship. Queens were not forbidden to undertake the management of affairs, and on the demise of their husbands, they were allowed to assume the office of regent. Such, at least, are mentioned by historians, and introduced into the annals of Manetho; but their names do not appear in the lists of sovereigns sculptured in the temples of Thebes and Abydos. In some instances, the kingdom was usurped by a powerful chief, as in the case of Amasis, or by some Ethiopian prince, who, either claiming a right to the crown, or taking advantage of internal disturbances, obtained possession of it by force of arms. Symonides intimates, that the Egyptian monarchy was elective; but there is no instance on record that would lead to such a conclusion, except in the case of the twelve kings who reigned in union, and that is an exception to the general practice. Diodorus says, indeed, that in ancient times, kings, instead of succeeding by right of inheritance, were selected for their merits; but whether this was really the case at the commencement of the Egyptian monarchy, it is difficult to determine. The same author, in fact, states in another place, that the first kings were succeeded by their offspring, and we have hieroglyphical evidence that such was the case during the eighteenth and succeeding dynasties. This is further confirmed by Herodotus, and the for-

mula in the Rosetta stone: "The kingdom being established unto him, and unto his children for ever."

But although the monarchy of Egypt was hereditary, the kings did not presume, in consequence of this right, to infringe the rules enacted for their public and private conduct. The laws of Egypt, which formed part of the sacred books, were acknowledged to be of divine origin, and were looked upon with superstitious reverence. To have disobeyed them, would have been considered rebellion against the deity, and would have called forth vengeance upon the head of the offender, even should that offender have been the monarch on his throne. These laws were framed with the strictest regard to the welfare of the community, as the ancient history of the Egyptians abundantly proves. Diodorus observes on this subject: "This unparalleled country could never have continued throughout ages in such a flourishing condition if it had not enjoyed the best laws and customs, and if the people had not been guided by the most salutary regulations."

When a sovereign, having been educated in the military class, was ignorant of the mysteries of his religion, due care was taken, on his accession to the throne, to have him informed therein, and to enrol him in the college of the priests. He was instructed in all that related to the gods, the temple, the laws of the country, and the duties of a monarch. In order to preserve his dignity, and his morality, it was carefully provided that neither slave nor hired servant should hold any office about his person, but that the children of the priestly order, who were remarkable for a refined education, should alone be permitted to attend him. This measure was dictated by the persuasion, that no monarch gives way to the impulse of evil passions, unless he find those about him ready to serve as instruments to his caprices, and abettors of his excesses.

This, it may be mentioned, agrees very well with the sculptures, which represent priests as pages and fan bearers. Diodorus says, that the king's sons also held such offices. Heynry, indeed, questions whether slavery existed at all in Egypt previous to the period when its ancient institutions became in a great degree changed. His doubts arise from the difficulty of reconciling the existence of slaves with the organization of the Egyptians under their theocracy. But that they did possess slaves at the earliest period, we learn from Scripture. The king of Egypt gave male and female slaves to Abraham, Gen. xii. 16; and Joseph, the beloved son of good old Israel, was sold as a slave "unto Potiphar, an officer of Pharaoh's, and captain of the guard," Gen. xxxvii. 36. This latter fact is met by the author named, by an observation, that the domination of the shepherd kings must have operated in modifying the peculiar usages of the Egyptians. Among the Egyptian laws, however, as cited by Diodorus, there is one that inflicts the punishment of death on a person who kills his slave, and another that denounces a severe punishment against one who violates a free woman; which proves there were some not free. The former of these laws is illustrated by the conduct which Potiphar pursued towards his slave Joseph. On the report of his mistress, Potiphar

believed his slave had dealt most perfidiously and ungratefully towards him, acting in a way calculated to provoke indignation and summary punishment; but he committed no violence upon him; he respected the laws of his country, and sent him to the royal prison, apparently intending that, after trial and conviction, he should receive the punishment adjudged by the laws to his offence. See Gen. xxxix. 13-20.

The first slaves were, doubtless, prisoners taken in war, who became the property of the captors. Afterwards, these prisoners were sold to others who might require servants; and, eventually, any persons offered for sale were bought solely as a trading speculation, as we see in the case of Joseph, and as they are to this day in that country. The captives brought to Egypt were employed in the service of the monarch, in building temples, cutting canals, raising dykes and embankments, and other public works, as in the days of Sesostris; and some, who were purchased by the grandees, were employed in the same capacity as the Memlooks of the present. Women slaves were also engaged in the service of families, like the Greeks and Circassians in Modern Egypt, and other parts of the Turkish empire; and, from finding them represented in the sculptures of Thebes, accompanying men of their own nation, who bear tribute to the Egyptian monarch, we may conclude that a certain number were annually sent to Egypt from the conquered provinces of the north and east, as well as from Ethiopia. It is evident that both white and black slaves were employed as servants. They attended on the guests when invited to the house of their master; and, from their being in the families of priests as well as of the military chiefs, we may infer that they were purchased with money, and that the right of possessing slaves was not confined to those who had taken them in war. The traffic in slaves was tolerated; and it is reasonable to suppose that many persons were engaged, as at present, in bringing them to Egypt for public sale, independently of those who were sent as part of the tribute, and who were probably at first the property of the monarch.

The kings of Egypt freely permitted not only the quality and proportion of what they ate and drank to be prescribed them, but that all their hours, and almost every action, should be under the regulation of the laws. In the morning, at day-break, when the head is clearest, and the thoughts unperplexed, they read the several letters they had received, thereby forming a distinct idea of the affairs which would fall under their consideration during the day. As soon as they were dressed, they went to the daily sacrifice performed in the temple; where, surrounded by their whole court, and the victims placed before the altar, they assisted at the prayer pronounced aloud by the high priest, in which he asked of the gods health and all other blessings for the king, because he governed his people with clemency and justice, and made the laws of his kingdom the rule and standard of his actions. The high priest then entered into a long detail of his royal virtues, observing, that a king was religious to the gods, affable to men, moderate, just, magnanimous, sincere, an enemy to falsehood,

liberal, master of his passions, punishing crimes with the utmost lenity, but boundless in rewarding merit. He next mentioned the faults of which kings might be guilty, but supposed, at the same time, that they never committed any, except by surprise, or ignorance; and they loaded such of their ministers as gave them ill counsel, and suppressed or disguised the truth, with imprecations. After the prayers and sacrifices were ended, the counsels and actions of great men were read to the king out of the sacred books, in order that he might govern his dominions according to their maxims, and maintain the laws which had made his predecessors and their subjects happy.

The paramount function of kings is the administration of justice to their subjects. Accordingly, the kings of Egypt diligently cultivated this duty, convinced that on this depended both the comfort of individuals, and the happiness of the state. To assist them in the administration of justice, they selected thirty judges out of the principal cities; as will be seen in a future page.

Great respect was paid in Egypt to the monarchs. They were honoured, indeed, whilst living, as so many visible representations of the Deity; and, after their death, lamented for as the fathers of their country. These sentiments of respect and tenderness proceeded from a strong persuasion that the Divinity himself had placed them upon the throne, as he distinguished them so greatly from all other human beings; and that kings bore the most noble characteristics of the Supreme Being, as the power and will of doing good to others were united in their persons. It was the blind adoration they paid to their monarchs, which led them to believe that after death their spirits passed into, and became the animating principle of some heavenly body, and consequently they became the object of their worship. Thus Thoth, (2nd,) or Hermes Trismegistus, the thirty-fifth king of Thebes, is said to have been deified, because he was the reviver and second founder of the theology, laws, and social institutions of the Egyptians, all of which he brought into that system which has been regarded with wonder in every subsequent age.

On the death of every Egyptian king, a general mourning was instituted throughout all Egypt for seventy-two days: hymns commemorating his virtues were sung; the temples were closed; sacrifices were no longer offered; and no feasts or festivals were celebrated during that period. The people tore their garments, and covering their heads with dust and mud, formed a procession of two or three hundred persons of both sexes, who met publicly twice a day, to sing the funeral dirge. A general fast was also observed, and they neither allowed themselves to taste meat, or wheat bread, and abstained from wine and every luxury. In the meantime, the funeral was prepared, and on the last day, the body was placed in state within the vestibule of the tomb, and an account was given of the life and conduct of the deceased. It was permitted to any present to offer himself as an accuser, and the voice of a people might prevent a sovereign from receiving funeral honours. This was an ordeal, the dread of which would, doubtless, tend to

stimulate the Egyptian monarchs to the practice of their duty; for there is planted in the human breast, in all ages, and in all countries of the world, an ardent desire that a last tribute of respect should be paid to frail humanity.

CASTES OF THE PEOPLE.

The division of Egyptian society into separate classes, or castes, has been noticed by many ancient writers. Herodotus says, they were divided into seven tribes,—priests, soldiers, herdsmen, swineherds, shopkeepers, interpreters, and boatmen. Diodorus states, that, like the Athenians—who, being an Egyptian colony, derived this institution from the parent country—they were distributed into three classes; the priests, husbandmen, from whom the soldiers were levied, and the artisans, who were employed in handicraft, and other similar occupations, and in common offices among the people. This author, however, in another page, extends the number of castes to five, reckoning the pastors, husbandmen, and artificers, independently of the soldiers and priests. Strabo limits them to three; the priests, soldiers, and husbandmen: and Plato divides them into six bodies,—the priests, soldiers, artificers, hunters,* husbandmen, and shepherds: each peculiar art, or occupation, he observes, being confined to a certain subdivision of the caste, and every one engaged in his own branch, without interfering with the occupation of another: as in India and China, where the same trade or employment is followed in succession by father and son.

From these statements it will be perceived, that the exact number of classes into which the Egyptians were divided is uncertain: the most probable inference we can draw from them is, that there were five distinct castes in Egypt, with certain subdivisions.

The Priestly Power.

The priesthood formed the second, and the ruling power in Egypt. The authority and paramount influence, indeed, of the priestly order were such as to render the Egyptian government rather ecclesiastical than monarchical. It has been seen that when a king was elected who was not previously of the sacerdotal caste, he was adopted into that caste, and instructed in its mysteries and science. This may explain the union of Joseph with Asenath, the daughter of the "priest of On." The desire of the priesthood to concentrate all power into their own body, may have induced them to wish that Joseph should be connected with them; or, the king may have desired it to establish him in his position, by securing him the support and countenance of the priestly order in his undertakings, without which all his plans must have proved abortive, though dictated by ever so much wisdom.

* This class appears to have comprehended those who sought the young of gazelles, and other wild animals of the desert, and those who, as fowlers, sought for birds in a wild state, which they caught in large clap-nets. It is supposed that, like a similar class of persons in India, as described by Megasthenes, they had a wandering life, dwelling in tents.

The priests of Egypt possessed great privileges and revenues. See Gen. xlviii. 23, 24. The prince usually honoured them with a large share of his confidence, because they were better educated than any other caste, and were most strongly attached to the person of the king, and the good of the public. In the priesthood, not only must the son of a priest be a priest, but he must be a priest to the particular deity to whom his father had ministered. Thus the son of a priest of Vulcan, at Memphis, could not enter as a member into the college of priests at Heliopolis; nor could the son of a priest in Heliopolis serve in the temple of Vulcan. The priests were dispersed in parties in the several districts, where they constituted the governing body; but the large cities which had at different times been the capitals of Egypt, and where their great temples were found, formed their principal seats. Every priest was attached to some temple or other, and every temple had its chief priest, whose office was hereditary. In the principal cities, the high priests were, to a certain extent, hereditary princes, who ranked next the kings, and enjoyed nearly equal advantages. Such a person was Potiphar, "priest of On." Heeren concludes, that the organization of the inferior priesthood was different in different cities, according to the extent and wants of the locality. On the position they held in the state, this author says, that they did not constitute the ruling race merely because from them were chosen the servants of the state, but much rather because they monopolized every branch of scientific knowledge, which was entirely formed by the locality, and had immediate reference to the wants of the people. Their sole, or even their most usual employment, was not the service of the gods; they were judges, physicians, soothsayers, architects; in short, every thing in which any species of scientific knowledge was concerned. Annexed to each temple and settlement of priests were extensive estates, which were farmed out at moderate rents. The produce of these lands supplied a common fund, which furnished provisions for the priests and their families; thereby rendering it unnecessary, as Herodotus observes, for them to contribute anything from their own private resources towards their support: from which we discover, that they had private property and estates exclusive of their common lands.

The priests had possession of the sacred books, which contained the principles of government, as well as the mysteries of divine worship, and which, like their temples, were not open to the vulgar. These were both commonly involved in symbols and enigmas, which made truth more venerable, and excited more strongly the curiosity of the multitude. The figure of Harpocrates, in the Egyptian sanctuaries, with his finger upon his mouth, seemed to intimate that mysteries were there inclosed. As much may be said of the sphinxes placed at the entrance of every temple; and it is well known, that the pyramids, obelisks, pillars, statues, etc., were usually adorned with hieroglyphics, or symbolical writings, under which was couched a hidden and parabolical meaning. It is stated by Porphyry and Clemens Alexandrinus, that the writing of the Egyptian

points was of four kinds. The first, *hieroglyphic*, and this twofold; the more rude called *ensignic*, and the more artificial called *tropical*: the second *symmetric*, and this likewise was twofold; the simple and the mysterious; that tropical, this allegorical. These two kinds of writing were not composed of the letters of an alphabet, but of characters which stood for things, not words. Thus, to signify the sun, they sometimes painted a hawk; this was tropical: sometimes a scarabæus with a round ball in its claws; this was enigmatic. The third form of writing was called *epistolæ*, from its being first applied to civil matters; and the fourth, *hierogrammatic*, from its being used only in religious matters. These last two kinds of writing expressed words, and were formed by the letters of an alphabet: thus, *ϣ. κ.*, in the Egyptian tongue, signifying a serpent; and a serpent, in their hieroglyphics, denoting a king; *ϣ. κ.*, as stated by Manetho, signified the same in the sacred dialect.

One of the principles in the religious policy of Egypt, was, that the government of the world had, by the Supreme Ruler of the universe, been committed to subordinate local, tutelary deities, amongst whom the several regions of the earth were divided; that these were the proper objects of all public and popular religion; and that the knowledge of the ONE TRUE GOD, the CREATOR of all things, was highly dangerous to be communicated to the people, but was to be secreted, and shut up in their MYSTERIES, and in them to be revealed only occasionally, and to a few; and those few the wise, the learned, and the mighty among mankind.

Another fundamental maxim in the religious policy of Egypt was, to propagate, by every means, the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, as the necessary support of all religion and government. Thus their tenets were dictated by worldly wisdom, for the support only of the state. How unlike such are the pure doctrines of the gospel! While they form a broad security for good order in a state, they teach mankind the knowledge of the one true God, and the way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer.

Diodorus observes, on the education of the Egyptians:—"The children of the priests are taught two different kinds of writing, what is called the sacred, and the more general; and they pay great attention to geometry and arithmetic: for the river, changing the appearance of the country very materially every year, is the cause of many and various discussions among neighbouring proprietors about the extent of their property; and it would be difficult for any person to decide upon their claims without geometrical reasoning, founded on actual observation."

* According to some authors, Sesostris was the first who divided Egypt by a measure amongst his subjects, and thus gave a beginning to the science of geometry. Sir Isaac Newton ascribes the origin of this science to Moëris, the fifth from Sesostris, confounding Sesostris with Osiris. But it is evident from Scripture, that an exact division of private landed property existed in Egypt before the days of Joseph, whose wise administration commenced ages anterior to the period assigned by Newton. See Gen. xlvii. 20-24.

"Of arithmetic they have also frequent need, both in their domestic economy, and in the application of geometrical theorems, besides its utility in the cultivation of astronomical studies; for the orders and motions of the stars are observed at least as industriously by the Egyptians as any people whatever, and they keep records of the motions of each for an incredible number of years, the study of this science having been, from the remotest times, an object of national ambition with them. They have also most punctually observed the motions, periods, and stations of the planets, as well as the powers which they possess with respect to the natures of animals, and what good or evil influences they exert; and they frequently foretell what is to happen to a man throughout his life, and not uncommonly predict the failure of crops, or an abundance, and the occurrence of epidemic diseases among men and beasts; foreseeing also earthquakes and floods, the appearance of comets, and a variety of other things, which appear impossible to the multitude." It is said that the Chaldeans in Babylon are derived from an Egyptian colony, and have acquired their reputation for astrology by means of the information obtained from the priests in Egypt.

"But the generality of the common people learn only from their parents or relations that which is required for the exercise of their peculiar professions, as we have already shown; a few only being taught anything of literature, and those principally the better classes of artificers."

In their minute observations respecting events of consequence, Herodotus observes, that the Egyptians excelled all other people; and when anything occurs, they put it down in writing, and pay particular attention to the circumstances which follow it; and if, in process of time, any similar occurrence takes place, they conclude it will be attended with the same results.

But, if the priests were anxious to establish a character for learning and piety, they were equally solicitous to excel in propriety of conduct, and to exhibit a proper example of humility and self-denial. In their mode of living they were remarkable for simplicity and abstinence; committing no excesses either in eating or drinking. Their food was plain, and they ate a stated quantity; their wine, also, was used with the strictest regard to moderation. So fearful were they, indeed, lest the body should not "sit light upon the soul," and excess should increase "the corporeal man," that they paid a scrupulous attention to the most trifling particulars of diet. Similar precautions were extended to the deified animals; Plutarch says that Apis was not allowed to drink the water of the Nile, on account of its fattening properties.

Their scruples were not confined to the quan-

* The false science of astrology was created by the priests of Egypt, for the sake of establishing and preserving their power. Induced by the illusion of his senses to regard himself as the centre of the universe, man was easily persuaded that his destiny was influenced by the heavenly bodies, and that it was possible to foretell it by observing their aspect at his birth. This illusive notion kept its ground till the end of the seventeenth century, when knowledge generally diffused the true system of the world over Europe, and destroyed the imposing fabric of astrology, dispersing its reveries and follies, as the beams of the sun disperse the morning mists.

city, but they extended to the quality of their food; certain viands were alone allowed to be set before them. Above all meats, that of swine was most obnoxious; and fish, both of the sea and the river Nile, was denied to them, though so generally eaten by the Egyptians. On the 24th of the month Thoth, when a religious ceremony obliged the inhabitants at large to eat a fried fish before the door of their houses, the priests were exempted from the custom, and allowed to substitute the ceremony of burning thyme at the same time. In general they abstained from most sorts of pulse, and from mutton. In their more solemn purifications, salt was excluded from their meals. Some vegetables, however, were considered lawful food, and were preferred by them for their wholesome nature. The leguminous productions and fruits of Egypt are, indeed, frequently introduced into their sculptures; and Pliny and other authors speak of such as being abundant, and possessing the most excellent qualities.

The priests of Egypt were equally severe in their abstinences as in their diet, maintaining the strictest observance of numerous religious customs connected with the act. They bathed twice a day, and twice during the night. Some who pretended to a more rigid observance of religious duties, washed themselves with water which had been tasted by the ibis, supposing that this was an evidence of its purity. They also shaved the head and the whole body every third day, sparing no pains to promote cleanliness, without indulging in the luxuries of a bath. A grand ceremony of purification took place preparatory to their fasts, many of which lasted from seven to forty-two days, and sometimes even a longer period. During this period, they practised rigid abstinence as to food, and were careful to avoid the indulgence of the passions.

The self-denial of the priests extended even to their dress, that being commonly of the most simple kind. Their robes of ceremony, however, were grand and imposing, and each grade was distinguished by its peculiar costume.

It is stated by Herodotus, that women were not eligible to the priesthood, either of a male or female deity, and that men alone were admitted to this post. This remark, however, evidently applies to the office of pontiff, or at least to some of the higher sacerdotal orders, from his referring in another place to women devoted to the service of Amun, as well as from the testimony of other authorities. There appear, indeed, to have been priestesses of the gods, and of the kings and queens, each of whom bore a title indicating her peculiar office. Of the former, the *Pelices*, or *Pallacides*, of Amun, are the most remarkable, as the importance of their post abundantly proves. They are the same whom Herodotus mentions as consecrated to the Theban Jove, whose sepulchre are still seen at Thebes, in a valley 3,000 feet behind the ruins of Medinet Haboo. There was another class of priestesses of the same rank, apparently a subdivision of the same, who fulfilled certain duties intrusted only to the wives and daughters of priests, and not unusually to members of the same family as the *Pallacides*. These had also the privilege of holding the sacred fire in religious ceremonies, before the altar,

and were attached to the service of the same deity.

In the Rosetta stone, direct mention is made of the priestesses of the queens. It speaks of "Arenia, the daughter of Diogenes, being priestess of Arsinoe, the daughter of Philadelphus; and Eirene, the daughter of Ptolemy, priestess of Arsinoe, the daughter of Philopator; and Pyrrha, the daughter of Philinus, being sacerdotess, or 'basket-bearer' of Berenice, the daughter of Euergetes." Diodorus also asserts, that Athyrta, the daughter of Sesostris, was priestess to her father, and that she foretold to him the future success of his arms, by which he was stimulated to prosecute his designs of conquest.

The Military Power.

The caste which ranked next to the sacerdotal caste in Egypt, was the military. The first mention of an organized military force in Egypt occurs, Exod. xiv. and xv., where we find that Pharaoh assembled very quickly a large army, both of cavalry and infantry, to pursue the Hebrews; and that this army perished in "the mighty waters" of the Red Sea. The alacrity with which these were collected together, shows that a large force was constantly maintained, ready to march on any emergency. This warlike force consisted, indeed, of a numerous militia, which formed a caste by itself, whose occupation was hereditary, and which enjoyed great authority and high privileges. This militia was divided into two bodies, namely, *Hermotybies*, and the *Calasries*, the former of which consisted, at the date of their highest power, of 160,000, and the latter of 250,000 men. Herodotus relates, that they had for their subsistence certain nomes, or provinces.* This property was, in general, let out to farmers, like that of the king and priest who paid them a certain rent. No soldier received pay, but every man had an estate of about twelve acres, exempt from every charge, which he might cultivate if he thought proper; beyond this they were not allowed to engage in any other occupation than that of arms. Each of these great military divisions furnished a thousand men to compose the king's personal guard. These men were changed every year, and during their service, Herodotus says, they were supplied with good rations of bread, meat, and wine, in addition to their own common revenues. They were not allowed to carry on any trade in times of peace, war being their destined occupation.

Very little is known concerning the internal organization, the tactics, and discipline of the Egyptian army. It would appear that the king held the privilege of commanding that army; that the right was the post of honour; and that those soldiers who quitted their post, or were disobedient, were marked with infamy, but were enabled by good conduct to regain the position they had forfeited. They were divided into regiments, or battalions, each having its standard

* The *Hermotybies* lived in the provinces of Buthia, Sala, Chemmis, Paganis, and the Isle of Procopitis, and half of Natche; the *Calasries* inhabited those of Thebes, Subasta, Aphthis, Tania, Mendes, Sebastyon, Athribis, Pharaethia, Thonis, Ompolis, Anyale, and the Isle of Myrceporis.

with a peculiar emblem raised on a pike, and carried by an officer. Their arms were the bow, shield, sword, battle-axe, knife or dagger, spear, club, and sling. Their besieging engines were the battering-ram, the testudo, and the scaling-ladder. They had military music, consisting of a kind of drum, cymbals, pipe, trumpet, and other instruments. They were prepared for the fatigues of war by gymnastic exercises, such as wrestling, cudgelling, racing, sporting, and other games, of which, representations still exist on the monuments.

Some authors assert, that Egypt was first furnished with cavalry after Sesostria had conquered Libya. But this directly opposes the testimony of Scripture, from which source we learn that the Egyptians abounded in horses, and possessed numerous chariots, at the time of the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, which was several ages anterior to this event. We know, indeed, from Gen. l. 9, that the art of riding on horseback was known in Egypt in the days of the patriarch Jacob; and profane historians represent this art as an Egyptian invention, ascribing it either to Osiris himself, or to his son Orus, which intimates that they considered it to be of great antiquity. It seems to have been an object of ambition with the kings of Egypt to keep a great number of horses; for Diodorus mentions that some princes before Sesostria had a hundred stables, each for two hundred horses, on the banks of the Nile, between Thebes and Memphis: and we learn from Scripture, that the Hebrew kings obtained their horses, and also their chariots, from Egypt. That great attention was paid in that country to the breed of horses, and that the Egyptians possessed a valuable breed, appears evident from their being prized in other countries, as well as from their paintings; and that horses were extensively used for both war and luxury, is confirmed by the testimony of their paintings, and the writings of ancient historians.

But notwithstanding this warlike show, the Egyptians were not a warlike people. Egypt loved peace, because it loved justice, and maintained soldiers only for its own security. Its inhabitants, content with a country which abounded in all things, had, generally speaking, no ambitious dreams of conquest. Their kings extended their reputation by sending colonies into all parts of the world, and with them, laws and politeness. They triumphed by the wisdom of their counsels, and the superiority of their knowledge; and this empire of the mind was more noble and glorious to them, than that which is achieved by deeds of arms. Nevertheless, Egypt has given birth to a few, who, not satisfied with their own possessions, carried war and desolation into that of others, as we shall see in the section of this history which describes the kingdom of Egypt.

Husbandmen.

A third caste among the Egyptians was, the husbandmen. Agriculture has been highly esteemed in that country in all ages of the world: from the earliest recorded period indeed, Egypt was the granary of the surrounding nations. See Gen. xli. 5. 57. It is supposed by some, as before mentioned, to have been the original coun-

try of bread corn, and it is certain that wheat is first mentioned in connection with that country. It is no wonder, therefore, that husbandmen were highly esteemed in Egypt, and that they formed an important class in the state. The great perfection to which they had arrived, in the earliest ages, in the art of agriculture, is attested by their sculptures. From them we learn that they made use of the plough, the sickle, and other implements of husbandry, answering, in some degree, to those employed among our own husbandmen; and that the culture of the vine, which evinces a high state of agricultural knowledge, was among the Egyptians an early object of regard. To this fact Scripture alludes, Gen. xl. 9. 11; and ancient writers affirm, that the Egyptians claimed for Osiris the honour of being the first who cultivated the vine, and extracted wine from its fruit. Athenæus, Strabo, Pliny, and Clement of Alexandria, specify districts where the vine was cultivated. Their vintage scenes, which still exist in the subterraneous temples and sepulchral caverns of that country, exhibit the Egyptians treading the grapes with their feet, and depositing the expressed juice in jars buried nearly to their mouths in the ground. This, with the other principal products of Egypt, described in the Physical History of Egypt, tends to show how skilful the husbandmen of Egypt were in the art of agriculture. In confirmation of this fact, we may mention, moreover, that they had various breeds of large cattle, sheep, goats, pigs; and that they reared a quantity of poultry, chiefly by artificial means, the eggs being hatched in ovens.

Diodorus states, that the husbandmen were hired to till the estates of the kings, priests, and soldiers. This is confirmed by the Scripture account of the cession of all the landed property to the government on the occasion of the famine: hence we may conclude, that the husbandman had no rights in the soil, the richer peasants farming the land from the proprietor, while the poor were hired as labourers for the cultivation of the ground. The wages paid them were trifling, whence some infer that the farmer received the land on moderate terms. The cattle, in general, appears also to have belonged to the land-owner; but those employed in the plough, and for other agricultural purposes, were usually the property of the farmer. In extensive domains, the peasants appear sometimes to have acted as superintendents of the herdsmen, and to have been obliged to give an account to the steward of the number and condition of the cattle on the estate.

From the testimony of Diodorus, it is evident that the farmers were not only permitted to choose the grain they intended to cultivate, but were justly deemed the only persons of sufficient experience to form a judicious opinion upon the subject; and so skilful were they, says this historian, about these matters, that they far excelled the agriculturists of every other nation. They carefully considered the nature of the soil, the proper succession of crops, and the mode of tilling and irrigating the fields; and by constant observation, and the lessons received from their parents, were acquainted with the exact season for sowing and reaping, and with all the peculiarities of each species of grain. Gardeners were

employed by the wealthy in cultivating trees and flowers in the ground attached to their houses; and the vineyard, orchard, and tanks, which served as ornaments, as well as for the purposes of irrigation, were under their superintendence.

The peasants appear to have been divided into hundreds, each with a peculiar banner, which they followed when they presented themselves before the magistrate for the census, which is supposed to have originated in that country, and which was taken at stated periods. On these occasions, they were obliged to give an account of their conduct; and if they were found delinquent, they were punished with the stick, their common mode of punishment, as it is at the present day in Persia and China.

In this caste, some authors place the boatmen as another subdivision, and the boatmen as another; who, like others that composed the subdivisions of each caste, were of different grades. Thus, some belonged to the private sailing or pleasure boats of the grandees, others to those of burden; and the rank of each depended on the station he held. The office of steersmen seems to have been the most important, and to have ranked above all the other grades; but, probably, in war, the pilots of ships bore the highest station.

Artificers, etc.

A fourth caste among the Egyptians was the artificers and tradesmen, and public weighers, etc., who resided in the towns. That the Egyptians excelled in science and art is evident from their monuments, paintings, and sculptures, whereon they are depicted. It is also proved by Scripture, which speaks of the "wisdom of Egypt" with reference to art; and by the fact that Egypt was deemed by other nations the fountain of arts and sciences, and that their philosophers were wont to resort thither to collect some of the "droppings of Egyptian wisdom." There is a passage in the work of Agatharchides on the Red Sea, [see page 11.] which describes their manner of working gold mines, and smelting the metal. The Egyptians were also acquainted with the art of gilding, and the art of fabricating glass was early known among them. A kind of ancient porcelain sometimes covered with enamel and varnish, is found in considerable quantities in that country. Their pottery, as exhibited in their ancient sculptures, was often of the most elegant form, and much of their furniture is not surpassed by the most refined manufactures of the present day. Specimens of their chairs and couches, which are given in Rosellini's great work, are very beautiful in their forms. Linen cloth, plain or embroidered, white or dyed, was an article of Egyptian manufacture held in high repute among foreign nations. See *Ezek. xxvii. 7*. The art of making leather was known to them: their musical instruments, also, especially the harp, were early brought to great perfection.

According to Diodorus, all trades vied with each other in improving their own particular branch, no pains being spared to bring it to perfection. To promote this object more effectually, it was enacted that no artisan should follow any other trade or employment but that which had

been defined by law, and followed by his ancestors. No tradesman was permitted to meddle with political affairs, or to hold any civil office in the state, lest his thoughts should be distracted by the inconsistency of his pursuits, or by the jealousy and displeasure of the master in whose service he was employed. They foresaw that, without such a law, constant interruptions would take place, in consequence of the necessity or the desire of becoming conspicuous in a public station; that their proper occupations would be neglected, and that many would be led by vanity and self-sufficiency to interfere in matters which were out of their sphere. They considered, moreover, that to follow more than one occupation would be detrimental to their own interests, and to those of the community at large; and that, when men, from a motive of avarice, engage in numerous branches of art, the general result is, that they are unable to excel in any. If any artisan meddled with political affairs, or engaged in any other employment than the one to which he had been brought up, a severe punishment was immediately inflicted upon him.

Shepherds, etc.

This class or caste among the Egyptians included pastors, or herdsmen, poulterers, fishermen, labourers, servants, and common people. The former of these appears to have been held in peculiar contempt among them: hence it is not surprising that Pharaoh should have treated the Jews with that contempt which it was customary for every Egyptian to feel towards shepherds, or that Joseph should have warned his brethren, on their arrival in Egypt, that every shepherd was an abomination in their sight. Herodotus tells us, that the swineherds, in particular, were not permitted to enter the Egyptian temples, nor would any man give them his daughter in marriage. In the Mendesian nome, however, according to this author, goatherds were much honoured. How much all orders of shepherds were in general despised, is proved by their sculptures, both of Upper and Lower Egypt, whereon they are universally represented as dirty and unshaven; and at Beni-Hassan, and the tombs near the pyramids of Gizeh, they are caricatured as a deformed and unsightly race.

LAW.

According to Herodotus, the kings of Egypt possessed the right of enacting laws and of managing all the affairs of religion and state. We are acquainted, however, with very few of the laws of the ancient Egyptians; but the superiority of their legislature has been acknowledged in all ages as the cause of the duration of their empire—an empire which lasted with a uniform succession of hereditary sovereigns, and with the same form of government, for a much longer period than, perhaps, any other ancient state.

Besides the right of enacting laws, the kings administered justice to their people on those subjects which came under their immediate cognizance, in which they were assisted by the most able and distinguished members of the priestly order. These were, indeed, consulted upon all

questions of importance relating to the internal administration of the country. Thus, previous to the admission of Joseph to the confidence of Pharaoh, they were asked, "Can we find such a one as this is?" Gen. xli. 38; and the prophet Isaiah speaks of "the wise counsellors of Pharaoh," Isa. xix. 11.

The edicts of the Egyptian monarchs appear to have been issued in the form of a *firman*, or written order, as in all oriental countries. These edicts appear sometimes to have been issued by delegates. Thus, after Pharaoh had set Joseph "over all the land of Egypt," it is said, "And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand," Gen. xli. 42; which, Voisin says, was given both in token of the dignity to which he preferred Joseph, and that he might seal letters and patents in the king's name.

Cases of ordinary occurrence were decided by those who held the office of judges, thirty of whom were selected out of the principal cities to form a body for the distribution of justice throughout the kingdom. These were elected by the king, and they were chosen for their known honesty; and over them was placed one, distinguished for his knowledge and love of the laws, and had in universal esteem, with the title of arch-judge. They were elected from the principal inhabitants of the three cities of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, and as these cities were the chief seats of the priesthood, they were doubtless selected from that body. These judges had revenues assigned them, to the intent, that being freed from domestic cares, they might devote their time to the execution of the laws. Thus maintained by the king's generosity, they administered to the people, gratuitously, that justice to which they have a natural right, and which ought to be open alike to the rich and the poor.

To guard against surprise, affairs were transacted by writing in the assemblies of these judges. That eloquence was justly dreaded which dazzles the mind, and moves the passions. Truth could not be expressed with too much plainness, as that alone was to have the sway in judgments, and because, in that alone, the rich and the poor, the powerful and weak, the learned and the ignorant, were to find relief and security.

The two leading principles of the duty of these judges were, first, that those who had been wronged should be benefited by the interposition of the laws: and, secondly, that no favour or respect of persons should be permitted. The very spirit of their laws was, indeed, to give protection and assistance to the oppressed; everything that tended to promote an unbiased judgment was peculiarly commended by the Egyptian sages.

The president of these judges wore a collar of gold, set with precious stones, on which hung a figure represented as blind, this being called the emblem of Truth. This was a representation of the goddess who was worshipped under the double character of Truth and Justice, and whose name, *Thmet*, is supposed by some to resemble the Hebrew *Thamam*, a word, according to the Septuagint translation, implying truth, Exod. xxviii. 30, and bearing a further analogy in its plural termination. When the president put

this collar on, it was understood as a signal to enter upon business. He washed the party with it who was to gain the cause, which was the form of passing sentence.

But it must not be supposed that the president and thirty judges, here described, were the only house of judicature in Egypt. Each capital of a nome, it is probable, had its own court for the trial of minor and local offences; and it is possible that this assembly resided wherever the royal court was held, and performed many of the same duties as the senates of other ancient states. Diodorus, indeed, mentions the thirty judges and their president, represented at Thebes in the sculptures of the tomb of Ozymandias.

The laws of the Egyptians had the credit or having been dictated by the gods themselves; and *Thoth*, (*Hermes*, or *Mercury*,) was said to have framed them for the benefit of mankind. Those which are handed down to us by Diodorus, and other ancient writers, are briefly these:—

Wilful Murder.—The wilful murder of a freeman or slave was punished with death; from the conviction that men ought to be restrained from the commission of sin, not on account of any distinction of station in life, but from the light in which they viewed the crime itself. So heinous did the Egyptians consider this crime to be, that to be the accidental witness of an attempt to murder, without endeavouring to prevent it, was a capital offence, which could only be palliated by bringing proofs of inability to act. With the same spirit they decided, that to be present when any one inflicted a personal injury on another without interfering, was tantamount to being a party, and he was punishable according to the extent of the assault.

But, though the laws were thus inexorable towards the murderer, the royal prerogative might be exerted in favour of the culprit, and the punishment was sometimes commuted by the king. Herodotus says, indeed, that Sabaco, during his reign, "made it a rule not to punish his subjects with death," whether guilty of murder or any other crime; but, according to the magnitude of their crimes, he condemned the culprits to raise the ground about the town to which they belonged, to preserve it from the Nile's inundations."

Infanticide.—Unlike the Greeks and Romans, among whom fathers had the right of life and death over their offspring, the Egyptians justly deemed the murder of a child an odious crime that called for the direct interposition of the laws. They did not, however, punish it as a capital offence, deeming it inconsistent to take away life from one who had given it to the child, but preferred inflicting such a punishment as would induce grief and repentance. To this end, the corpse of the deceased infant was fastened to the neck of its parent, and he was obliged to pass three whole days and nights in its embrace, under the surveillance of a public guard.

Parricide.—This crime was visited with the most cruel punishment. Conceiving that the murder of a parent was the most unnatural of all crimes, they endeavoured to prevent its occurrence by marked severity. The criminal was sentenced to be lacerated with sharpened reeds, and after being thrown on thorns, he was burned to death.

Perjury.—Truth, or justice, was considered to be the cardinal virtue among the Egyptians, inasmuch as it relates to others; whereas, prudence, temperance, and fortitude, being relative qualities, benefit only the individual who possesses them. Hence it was, that truth was earnestly inculcated among them, and any departure from it was not only considered disgraceful, but when it entailed an injury on another person, was punishable by law. Those who spoke evil of the dead were visited with a severe punishment; and the false accuser was doomed to undergo the punishment which the person accused would have suffered had the accusation been proved. To maintain a falsehood by an oath was deemed the blackest crime, because it attacked both the gods, whose majesty is trampled upon by invoking their name to a false oath, and men, by breaking the strongest ties of human society, namely, sincerity and veracity. The crime was uniformly punished with death.

Theft.—A singular custom prevailed in Egypt respecting theft and burglary. Those who followed the profession of a thief, gave in their names to the chief of the robbers, and agreed that he should be informed of everything they might thenceforward purloin. The owner of the lost goods always applied by letter to the chief for their recovery, and having stated their quality, etc., when the goods were identified, they were restored to the applicant on payment of one quarter of their value. The license given by the government to thieves arose from the persuasion that an entire check to robbery was impracticable, either by the dread of punishment or by any method that could be adopted by the most vigilant police; hence, they considered it more for the advantage of the community that a certain sacrifice should be made in order to secure the restitution of the remainder, than that the law, by taking on itself to protect the citizen and discover the offender, should be the indirect cause of greater loss.

Debt.—The laws of the Egyptians respecting debt underwent great changes, according as society advanced, and as pecuniary transactions became more complicated. In the reign of Bocchoris, about 812 B.C., the law of debt gave rise to many disputes and much oppression. To prevent this, Bocchoris enacted, that no agreement should be binding unless it were acknowledged by a written contract; and if any one took an oath that the money had not been lent him, no debt should be recognised, and the claims of the suing party should immediately cease. This principle was acted upon, in order that great regard might be preserved for the name and nature of an oath; while, at the same time, by substituting the proof of a written document, they avoided the necessity of having frequent recourse to an oath, thereby preserving its sanctity.

In all cases usury was condemned by the Egyptian legislature; and when money was borrowed, even with a written agreement, it was forbidden to allow the interest to increase to more than double the original sum. Creditors could not seize the debtor's person: their claims were confined to the goods in his possession, and such as were really his own, and which were comprehended under the produce of his labour, or goods

received from another individual to whom they lawfully belonged. This law was borrowed from the Egyptian code by Solon; and it was, as Diodorus remarks, much more consistent with justice and common sense than that which allowed the creditor to seize the person, while it forbade him to take his property.

To prevent the accumulation of debt, and to protect the interests of the creditor, a remarkable law was enacted, according to Herodotus, by Artychis, who lived about the same time as Bocchoris. By this law it was pronounced illegal for any one to borrow money without paying to the creditor the dead body of his father, which every Egyptian embalmed with care, and reverentially preserved in his own house, and therefore it might be easily moved from one place to another. It was deemed impious not to redeem so sacred a pledge, and he who died without having discharged this duty, was deprived of the customary honours paid to the dead; nor could he inter his children, or any of his family, so long as the debt remained unpaid; the creditor being in actual possession of the debtor's family tomb.

The cause which gave rise to this severe enactment appears to have been luxury. At an early age, a fondness for display, and the usual allurements of luxury, were introduced into Egypt among the rich; but at this period, the evil appears to have descended among the less wealthy, who envied, and sought to imitate those above them. The result of such attempts was, the accumulation of debt to such an extent as demanded the interference of the legislature; this severe measure was therefore one of absolute necessity, adopted in order to check a growing and a fatal evil.

Punitive laws.—The object of the Egyptian laws was to preserve life, and to reclaim the offender. Death took away every chance of repentance, deprived the country of the offender's services, and hurried him out of the world when least prepared to meet the ordeal of a future state: hence the Egyptians deemed it unnecessary to sacrifice the life of an offender except in the case of murder, and a few other crimes which appeared highly injurious to the community.

The customary mode of punishment for capital crimes was the gibbet. Criminals charged with such were kept "bound" in prison till their fate was decided, whether it depended on the will of the sovereign, or the decision of the judges. Their prisons were under the superintendence, and within the house of the chief of the police. See Gen. xxxix. 20; and xl. 3-22. The laws of the Egyptians, however, do not appear to have sanctioned the gibbet, or the exposure of the body of an offender. The conduct of Rhampinitus, in the case of the robbery of his treasure, is mentioned by Herodotus as a singular mode of discovering an accomplice, and not as an ordinary mode of punishment. The historian relates that he caught the thief in a trap which he had placed round the vases in which his treasures were preserved.

Some of the punitive laws of the Egyptians were very simple; the character of them, indeed, was consonant with the notions of a primitive age. These laws were directed against the offending member. Thus, adulterers of money,

falsifiers of weights and measures, forgery of seals or signatures, and scribes who altered any signed document by erasures or additions, without the authority of the parties, were condemned to lose both their hands; and those who betrayed secret designs to the enemy, had their tongues cut out.

Thefts, breach of trust, and petty frauds, were punished with the bastinado; and in military, as well as civil cases, minor offences were generally punished with the stick, a mode of punishment still in vogue among the modern inhabitants of the valley of the Nile: the Moslems hold it in such esteem, indeed, that they say, "The stick came down from heaven as a blessing to mankind."

At one period, robbery and house-breaking were considered capital crimes, and deserving of death. According to Diodorus, however, Actisanes enacted a law preventing this extreme penalty of the law, and instituted the novel mode of cutting off their noses, and banishing them to the confines of the desert, where a town was built called Rhinoculura, from the nature of their punishment. Thus, continues this author, by removing the evil-minded, he benefited society, without depriving the criminals of life; while at the same time, he punished them severely for their crimes, by obliging them to live by their industry in a barren and inhospitable region.

One remarkable feature of the Egyptian laws was, the sanctity with which edicts were upheld from generation to generation. Like the Jewish and Moslem laws, they were interwoven with the religion of the country, and as they were supposed to be derived from the gods themselves, it was considered impious to alter such sacred institutions. Innovations were never introduced unless loudly called for by circumstances; and we neither read of any attempts on the part of the people to alter or resist the laws, nor on that of their rulers to introduce a more arbitrary mode of government, except in the case of Cheops, as recorded by Herodotus; but this cannot be received as indubitable.

The reader will perceive from this, that occasional alterations were made in the Egyptian code of laws. Among the different legislators of the Egyptians are particularly noticed the names of Mnevis, Sasyehes, Senosiris, Bocchoris, Asychis, Amasis, and the Persian Darius; the particulars of which will be found narrated in their several histories. In the latter period of the ancient history of the Egyptians, the Ptolemies abrogated some of the favourite laws of the country, which appears to have given great offence to the native Egyptians, a circumstance which cannot be wondered at, since every individual from his infancy was nurtured in the strictest observance of those laws.

DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY INTO NOMES, OR PROVINCES.

In the prediction of the overthrow of Egypt, uttered by the prophet Isaiah, this passage occurs:

"And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians;
And they shall fight every one against his brother,
And every one against his neighbour;
City against city,
And kingdom against kingdom." Isa. xix. 2.

The latter clause of this verse is rendered by

the Seventy, who were well acquainted with the condition of Egypt, *nomes apud nomas*, "noms against noms;" and an Egyptian father, Cyril, says, with reference to this verse, "A nome is a city with a circumjacent territory, and the places contained in it:" in other words, it was a province.

This division of the country existed in the earliest ages, and also under the Ptolemies and Romans. The number of nomes is not easily determined, for scarcely two writers agree on the subject. They seem to have varied at different times;* and they were distinctly marked by different local usages, and forms, and objects of worship, which would be likely to give rise to contentions, so that Heeren's conjecture, namely, that each nome was originally an independent settlement and government, having some interests in common with others, but also interests that were conflicting, and which would produce quarrels among them, amounts almost to a certainty. When these were united into one kingdom by powerful princes, the difference of the habits, customs, and religion, of the inhabitants of each province must necessarily have prevented harmony; so that when the general government became weak, these separate members would be disposed to quarrel, and seek to promote their own interests by placing them in a commanding position. Such an event took place, according as the prophet foretold, when, after the death of Séthon, the contemporary of Hezekiah and Sennacherib, and an interregnum of two years which followed, the monarchy of Egypt was divided into twelve separate kingdoms. It was to the reign of this oligarchy, and to the anarchy and civil wars which attended its extinction, by Psammetichus, one of the twelve, who became thereby absolute monarch, that the prophet is supposed by most commentators to refer.

Over each of these provinces there appears to have been a monarch, or governor, who ranked in station next to the judges or magistrates of the capital. The office of monarch was, indeed, at all times, of the highest importance. To his charge were committed the management of the lands, and all matters relating to the internal administration of the district. He regulated the assessment and levying of the taxes, the surveying of the lands, the opening of the canals, and all other agricultural interests of the country, which were under the immediate superintendence of certain members of the priestly order; and as he resided in the chief town of the nome, all causes respecting landed property, and other accidental disputes, were adjusted before his tribunal. The distinctive appellation of each nome was derived from the chief town, where the monarch resided, and his rank appears to have depended on the extent of his jurisdiction.

Such were the laws and institutions of Egypt, so far as can be gleaned from ancient authors, and the monuments.

* According to Champollion, Egypt was divided, in the time of the Pharaohs, into thirty-six nomes or governments; ten in the Thebais, or Upper Egypt, sixteen in Heptanomis, or Middle Egypt, and ten in Lower Egypt, commonly called the Delta. Each of these nomes, he says, was divided into districts or toparchies. Diodorus says, that in the time of Sesostris, the number of nomes amounted to thirty-six, and such was the number in Strabo's time; but they were afterwards increased to number, if D'Anville be correct, to fifty-three.

Of the state of Egypt during the early period of its history, there is little or no information, owing to the uncivilised condition of neighbouring states, to the indifference of the Greeks who visited it, or the loss of their writings, and, above all, to the jealousy of the Egyptians towards foreigners: for, like the Chinese, they prevented all strangers from penetrating into the interior, and obtained from imparting information to them respecting the institutions and state of the country. The knowledge handed down to our age was collected, when, after the time of Anaxas and the Persian conquest, foreigners became better acquainted with the country, and when its ancient institutions had begun to lose their interest, from the influence of a foreign rule. From this knowledge it would appear to have been the reverse of a free and happy country; but it has been well observed that "freedom is a word differently understood in different ages and countries." The Egyptians, therefore, trained up as they were from their infancy to reverence laws which they deemed immutable, might have enjoyed as great a degree of happiness—speaking of happiness with reference to this life only—as most of the nations of the old or new world. The degradation of the lowest caste, however, the waste of human life in the working of their mines, and the building of their ostentatious pyramids, with the frequency and severity of their summary punishments, as recorded by Diodorus, and confirmed by existing monuments, would convey an idea that those who ruled over them were hard task-masters. But it is probable that these labours were not performed solely by the natives, but in a great degree by slaves, as they certainly were at one time; for the lives of the Hebrews were made "bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: all their service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour," Exod. i. 14.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

EGYPTIAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

No part of ancient history is more obscure than that of the first kings of Egypt. Some light has, indeed, been thrown on the general subject by the progress made in deciphering the hieroglyphic inscriptions on the existing monuments in that renowned country; but still there are thick clouds hanging over the history and chronology of this period which cannot be wholly dispersed. All that a writer on this subject, therefore, can do at the present day, is to place before the reader the few genuine fragments preserved by historians, sacred and profane; and the few facts which have been snatched from oblivion by the learned.

According to Egyptian historians and chronology, first gods, and then demi-gods, or heroes, governed that country successively, through a period of more than twenty thousand years. This fable requires no remark: we know from the inspired records of truth, that Egypt was first inhabited by the family of Misraim, the second

son of Ham, Gen. x. 6, about 2613 years B.C. Hence it is, that in the Hebrew Scriptures the country is usually styled, "The land of Misraim," Gen. xlii. 10, etc.; and that the Egyptians are always called Misraim, or Misraites. In the east, to this day, the country is generally known as the "Land of Misr," which was probably the proper name of the son of Ham; Misraim being rather the name of the family or people which descended from him; as "Abel-misraim," the mourning of the Misraites, or Egyptians, Gen. i. 11.

The family of Misraim, or Misr, settled first in Upper Egypt, where they built the famous city of Thebes, but, in process of time, they gradually spread, first into Middle, and then into the Lower Egypt, or Delta.

This patriarchal regimen, according to Dr. Hales, subsisted from 2613 to 2412 years B.C.; at which time, either by compulsion or persuasion, Menes first introduced regal government into Egypt. The records of the Egyptian priests, indeed, as handed down to us by Herodotus, Manetho, Eratosthenes, and others, place the era of Menes several thousand years further back, reckoning a great number of kings and dynasties after him, with remarks on the gigantic stature of some of their monarchs, and of their wonderful exploits, and other characteristics of confused and mystical tradition: but all inquiries concerning the history of nations before this epoch are founded on mere speculation.

Menes appears to have been a wise prince. He checked the overflowings of the Nile,* by turning its course into a more direct channel, and some historians state, that he founded the city of Memphis upon the former bed of the river. Menes was also a religious prince: he founded the magnificent temple of *Hephaistos*, or *Vulcan*, in the same city, dedicated to the SUPREMACY BEING. He was, moreover, the father of his people. Following the advice of his prime minister *Thoth* or *Hermes*, he divided the whole country of Egypt into three lots, which lots were appropriated to the *crown*, the *priesthood*, and the *soldiery*, who each farmed out to the people their respective shares.

Of the immediate successors of Menes nothing is known; the order of things, however, which he established, subsisted probably till about 2159 years B.C., at which period the legitimate race of kings was succeeded in Lower Egypt by the Hyksos, or shepherd dynasty, who invaded and subdued that part of Egypt.

One of the best established facts in the early history of that country is, that its lower territories were subjected to a race of pastoral nomads, while the upper country continued subject to the native sovereigns. When, however, this pastoral dominion commenced, and when it terminated, is a matter of controversy among the learned, and which cannot be definitely determined. Mr. Wilkinson, from the state of the earliest monuments in Egypt, and from the information which they afford, conceives that the irruption of the pastors, or shepherds, was anterior to the erection of any building now existing in Egypt, and before the reign of Osirtasen 5;

* That is, this work is ascribed to Menes by the ancient historians; but it appears to exhibit too much extensive knowledge for so early a period.

which king, he conceives, was coeval with Joseph. It certainly is remarkable, that, in concluding from the evidence of monuments, that the pastor kings were expelled before the accession of Ourtsen, this author obtains nearly the same conclusion as that to which Hales and Faber arrived, when, on historical data alone, they conceived that this change took place a short time before Joseph was appointed governor or regent of Egypt. Hales fixing it about 1855 B.C. and Faber about 1829. B.C. Dr. Hales, also, fixes the date at which the first pyramid was built, at B.C. 5095, while Wilkinson concludes, from monumental evidence, that they were built about the year B.C. 2120, which is a remarkably close approximation to derive from such opposite sources. The sacred narrative, indeed, seems to give indirect testimony to this fact. When Joseph governed Egypt, every nomadic shepherd was detested at the Egyptian court, in consequence of the oppressive and humiliating dominion which a race of shepherds had exercised in that country; and it was for his sake alone, that his family were allowed to inhabit Goshen during the time of the famine. But it was not so in the days of Abraham, who visited Egypt about 2077 years B.C., and consequently when one of the shepherd kings reigned over Lower Egypt. That patriarch was treated with consideration by the court because he was a pastoral chief. See Gen. xii. It is true that the fact of the then ruling monarch bearing the title of Pharaoh, would seem to subvert this hypothesis; but Manetho intimates, that the conquering nomades, while in the occupation of Egypt, gradually adapted themselves to the customs and the practices of the native Egyptians, which would account for this circumstance. The term Pharaoh, moreover, which, according to Josephus, signified "king" in the Egyptian language, would naturally be taken by any monarch on the throne of Egypt; hence, it is applied to all indiscriminately in Scripture, till after the days of Solomon, as that of Ptolemy was after the conquest of Egypt by Alexander.

These intruders into Egypt appear to have been a tribe of Cushite shepherds from Arabia, and to have cruelly enslaved the whole country under a dynasty of six kings, who were called Hyksos, or King-shepherds. The first of these was called, Salatis, Salites, or Nirmaryada.

SALATIS, SILITES, OR NIRMARYADA.

Manetho says, he resided in Memphis, and imposed a tribute on the Upper and Lower Egypt, and put garrisons in the most important places. But chiefly he secured the eastern parts of the country, foreseeing that the Assyrians, who were then most powerful, would be tempted to invade the country likewise. Finding, therefore, in the Saite name, a city situate most conveniently on the north side of the Bubastic channel [of the Nile] which was called Avaris, or Abaris, [the pass,] in an ancient theological book, he rebuilt and fortified it most strongly, and garrisoned it with 240,000 soldiers.* Either he used to come

in summer, to furnish them with corn and pay, and be carefully disciplined them for a terror to foreigners. He died after he had reigned nineteen years.

Of the second king in this dynasty, nothing is recorded, except that he reigned forty-four years. After him succeeded, Apachnas, Pachnas, or Ruana.

APACHNAS, PACHNAN, OR RUANA.

During the reign of this king, it is supposed, Abraham visited Egypt, and the first pyramid was commenced. Concerning this king, Dr. Hales says, that the third king was, surnamed Ruana, from his immense wealth, which he collected by oppressing the Egyptians, though he tenderly loved his own people, the shepherds; and wishing either to extirpate the natives, or to break down their spirits by hard and incessant labour, he employed them in constructing those stupendous monuments of ancient ostentation and tyranny, the pyramids, which are evidently the factitious mountains meant in the Hindu records, originally cased with yellow, white, or spotted marbles, brought from the quarries of Arabia, though built of the Libyan stone on the spot.

These stupendous monuments are certainly of the remotest antiquity, and the Hindu record seems to be correct in ascribing the first and greatest pyramid to Apachnas, the third of the shepherd-kings, and the rest to his successors. It is, indeed, confirmed by the tradition of the native Egyptians, as related by Herodotus. This tradition says, they were built by one Philitis, a shepherd, who kept his cattle in these parts, and whose memory was held in such abhorrence that the inhabitants would not even repeat his name. The time employed in building the first pyramid, according to Herodotus, was thirty-two years and six months, which ranges within the reign of Apachnas of thirty-seven years and seven months, according to Manetho. The three great pyramids, Pliny says, were built in the space of seventy-eight years and four months; if, therefore, the first was erected by Apachnas, the others must have been built by his two immediate successors, concerning whom we have no precise information. The sixth king was Assis, Apophis, or Aphonis.

ASSIS, APOPHIS, OR APHONIS.*

In the reign of this king, the Egyptians, wearied out with such long continued tyranny, and insupportable labours, rebelled; and, after a war of thirty years, succeeded in obliging their oppressors to withdraw from their country, after they had enslaved it upwards of 250 years. Those who survived this warfare withdrew, it would appear, to Palestine, where they became the Philistines, a name that is derived from Philitis, "shepherds," which comes from the Sanscrit, Pali, "shepherd." Manetho's account is clear on this point; though, at first view, an ambiguity is produced by his confounding them with another race of shepherds, the Israelites, who arrived not very long after the departure of the shepherd-statement. That they are erroneous, generally, there is little doubt; but they are given only on the authority of ancient writers, who were too fond of the marvellous.

* Aphon signifies a giant.

* Here, as in some other places, the numbers stated by ancient historians are given without affixing any remark on the great probability of their being exaggerations or

herds, and wind, after a stay of almost equal duration, departed to the same country. That the Philistines came from Egypt is very generally agreed. Scripture states repeatedly that they came from the country of Caphtor, and that this signifies Lower Egypt, is now generally believed.

This race of shepherd-kings was succeeded by a dynasty of native kings; but of the history and chronology of the kings of this period little is known. One, whom the Scriptures introduce to our notice in the interesting narrative of Joseph, is supposed by Mr. Wilkinson to be Osirtasen I., of whom he says, that if the name of this monarch was not ennobled by military exploits equal to those of Ramesses, the encouragement given to the arts of peace, and the flourishing state of Egypt during his rule, evince his wisdom; and his pacific character satisfactorily accords with that of the Pharaoh who so generously rewarded the talents and fidelity of a Hebrew stranger. But this author's data differ from the scriptural dates of Hales, which appear to be clearly established, thereby involving a grave difficulty which cannot be overcome in any other way than by supposing he has lost the century which is wanting to make the time of Joseph and Osirtasen synchronous, and to produce a correspondence between the Egyptian and Hebrew history of the ensuing years. The name of Osirtasen, moreover, stands in the tomb of Beni Hassan as one of the kings of the sixteenth dynasty, according to the lists of Manetho. It is better, therefore, to introduce this monarch to the reader's notice simply under the Scripture name of Pharaoh.

Passing over the circumstance of his having imprisoned his chief butler and baker, as recorded Gen. xli., the first notice we have of this monarch in the sacred narrative is the circumstance of his having dreamed two remarkable dreams. He thought that he was standing on the margin of the Nile, when he beheld seven beautiful fat heifers come up from the streams and feed in a meadow. After a while, at the same spot, seven of the leanest and most ill-favoured kine that he had ever beheld came up, and stood on the banks with the seven fat and beautiful heifers, which they finally devoured. The king then awoke; but falling asleep again, he dreamed that he saw seven good and plump ears of corn spring up on one stalk; and after that, there sprang up seven other ears of corn, thin, and blighted by the east wind, by which the good ears were devoured, Gen. xli. 1-7. These dreams appeared to have a signification and analogy not common in dreams, and therefore the king was anxious in the morning to have them interpreted. But none of his "wise men," who usually interpreted his dreams, could solve their meaning, ver. 8, and their failure reminded the chief butler of the dreams which the chief baker and himself had dreamed in the prison-house, and which Joseph, who, as the reader will recollect, was imprisoned with them, interpreted in a manner that the events had justified, ver. 9-13. This he related to Pharaoh, and the monarch sent an order to the chief of the royal police to release Joseph, and send him to the palace. The mandate was obeyed, and Joseph came; when the king, addressing him, said, "I have dreamed a dream, and there is none that can interpret it; and I

have heard say of thee, that thou couldst understand a dream to interpret it." To this Joseph modestly replied, not willing to encourage delusion in the breast of the monarch: "It is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace," ver. 14-16. The king then related his dreams, and Joseph told him that they bore the same signification, which was, that seven years of exuberant plenty were approaching, which would be followed by seven years of famine, so severe, that the seven years of plenty would be utterly forgotten. Then perceiving how the exuberant supplies of the first seven years might be husbanded so as to meet the deficiency of the seven succeeding years, he proceeded to lay his views before the king, advising him, at the same time, that some wise man should be invested with full powers to give effect to the measures suggested, ver. 17-36.

The king, pleased with the interpretation, and struck with the wisdom of the plans, by which Joseph proposed to avert the evils which that interpretation foretold, asked, "Can we find such a one as this, a man in whom the Spirit of God is?" And then he addressed him thus, "Forasmuch as God hath showed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as thou art: thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou." After this, he proceeded to invest him with his high office. He took his own signet ring from his finger, and placed it upon the finger of Joseph, conveying to him, by that act, the highest powers he could delegate, and saying as he did it, "See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt." He then ordered him to be arrayed in vestures of fine linen, such as were worn only by majesty, after which he placed with his own hands a chain of gold about his neck. Then, in being the custom in the east in those days to promulgate with great pomp and ceremony such acts of royal favour, and to make known the authority conferred, he commanded that Joseph should be conducted in procession through the city, in the second of the royal chariots, and that heralds should proclaim before him, "Bow the knee," ver. 37-43.

When Joseph returned, and again stood before the king, Pharaoh expressed in stronger language his own views of the powers he had conferred. Reserving his own authority, he said, "I am the king;" but he added, "without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt," ver. 44.

The act of raising a foreigner and a slave to such a high office appears to have been very unusual in ancient Egypt. All the avenues to power and in the state were jealously guarded by the priesthood, who disliked the intrusion of any one not of their own order. Hence, that the foreign origin of Joseph might not be constantly presented to their view, the king changed his name to Zaphnath-paaneah, "the revealer of secrets;" and that he might establish him in his position, by securing him the countenance and support of the priestly order, he brought about his marriage with Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, the chief priest of On, or Heliopolis, the city of the sun, who was, without doubt, one of the most eminent and influential of his illus-

trious order, that city being, as we have seen, the prime seat of the sacred mysteries and science of that country, ver. 45.

Shortly after his elevation, Joseph made a tour through the land of Egypt, in order to acquaint himself with the state of the country, and with the materials with which he had to work, and to determine the arrangements which might be necessary to give effect to his contemplated measures. In this tour of survey he directed the construction of immense granaries in the principal cities, and established proper officers, who were charged with the duty of buying up one-fifth part of all the corn during the seven years of plenty within the surrounding district. For this purpose, the whole land was divided into districts, of probably nearly equal extent. All this was effected; and the corn thus purchased was stored away in the granaries for use during the years of famine, ver. 46—49.

Those years of famine arrived as was foretold. The countries from whence the Nile flowed not being visited with rains in their season, that circumstance kept back, for seven long years, the fertilizing inundations of that river, and a general dearth was the consequence. The surrounding countries, also, seem to have been visited with the same drought, as they experienced the like visitation of famine, ver. 54, 55.

When the pressure of the famine began to be felt by the Egyptians, they cried to Pharaoh for bread. The king referred them to Joseph, and that wise statesman now opened all the storehouses, and sold corn, not only to the Egyptians, but, with some restrictions, to other countries, ver. 56, 57. In the second year of the famine, when their money was all spent, they again came to Joseph for bread; and he offered to supply them with corn in exchange for their cattle, which was cheerfully accepted. By this means, subsistence was secured for another year; but in the year following they had no cattle left wherewith to buy food. In this exigency, they came to Joseph, therefore, and fructly offered to transfer their lands to the king, and to place their persons at his disposal, on the condition that they should be supplied with food while the famine lasted, and with seed to sow the land when it again became cultivable. This was agreed to, and Joseph brought the people who were scattered throughout the open country into the adjacent cities, wherein the provisions were stored, for the greater ease of distribution. The lands thus voluntarily sold, Joseph farmed to the occupiers again at the moderate and fixed crown rent of a fifth part of the produce. Thus, says Dr. Hales, did he provide for the liberty and independence of the people, while he strengthened the authority of the king, by rendering him sole proprietor of the lands. And to secure the people from further exaction, Joseph made it a law over the land of Egypt, that Pharaoh should have the fifth part; which law subsisted to the time of Moses, Gen. xlvii. 21—26. By this wise regulation, the people had four-fifths of the produce of the lands for their own use; and were exempted from any further taxes, the king being bound to support his civil and military establishment out of the crown-rents. Whereas, by the original constitution, settled by Menes and

his prime minister, Thoth, or Hermes, (as we learn from Diodorus,) the lands had been all divided between the king, the *priesthood*, and the *soldiery*, who possessed each a separate third part to support their respective establishments. The revenues of the crown, therefore, were rather abridged than increased by this regulation, while Joseph respected the primitive usage, and bought not "the land of the priests;" but during the continuance of the famine he fed them at the king's expense: so that, by the royal bounty, "they sold not their lands." Thus was this consummate statesman so truly "discreet and wise," because he was guided by the Spirit of God, "a father to Pharaoh" and his people, and a blessing to the world, whom God, in kindness, raised up to preserve life to many nations by a great deliverance.

Among the many foreigners who came down to Egypt to buy corn, on account of the dearth in their own lands, were the brethren of Joseph, Gen. xlii. 1—6. This was in the first year of the famine, and the eighth of his regency. It would appear, that, although the Egyptians themselves could purchase the corn of the officers appointed by Joseph for that purpose, no strangers could obtain it till they had received his own special permission. To him, therefore, they came, and fulfilling at once the dreams which, in their anger, they had endeavoured to frustrate, (see Gen. xxxvii.) they bowed themselves before him, as "the governor over the land," Gen. xlii. 6. Although twenty-two years had elapsed since they had sold him for a slave, they were recognised by Joseph, and seeing that his brother Benjamin was not there, he appears to have apprehended that they had destroyed him also out of jealousy; and remembering his dreams and their cruelty, he "spoke roughly unto them," and charged them with being spies, come to see the nakedness of the land, ver. 7—9.

To understand the full force, and to appreciate the alarm this charge must have occasioned, the reader must recollect the circumstances we have before related concerning the reign of the shepherd race in Egypt, their expulsion, and their settlement in Palestine, under the name of the Philistines. The tyranny of these invaders was still fresh in the minds of the Egyptians, so that every shepherd was an abomination to them, and they could not endure to eat bread with the Hebrews, because they were shepherds, and came from the neighbourhood of Palestine. They were apprehensive, also, that the Philistines, who were a warlike people, and who probably had been gathering strength ever since their expulsion from Egypt, might again attempt to conquer that country. Hence that they were spies, come to seek an opening for future conquest, was an obvious suspicion for an Egyptian to entertain, and the charge, to strangers especially, must have been alarming. Traces of such attacks may be discovered in the First Book of Chronicles, from whence we learn that the Philistines were a nation that caused much alarm to the different nations around.

But the brethren of Joseph protested their innocence, and, in their anxiety to repel the charge, they entered into a particular detail of the circumstances of their family, in which they

afforded him all the information he required, namely, that his father, Jacob, was alive and well; and his brother Benjamin sat under the paternal roof, ver. 10-12.

The varied and touching incidents connected with this event are so beautifully narrated by the sacred historian, that it is best to refer the reader to that portion of holy writ for the details, (see Gen. xlii., xliii., xlv., and xlv.) and pass on to that part of Egyptian history wherein it is intimated that Pharaoh heard the rumour that Joseph's brethren were come to Egypt.

The kind monarch seems to have heard the circumstance with pleasure, which is a pleasing evidence of the esteem in which Joseph was held at court. He immediately sent for Joseph, and authorized him to express his kindest intentions towards his father and his brethren; and, seeing that it would be best for them to come to Egypt, he had the consideration to direct that they should be well supplied with provisions for the way, and that they should be furnished with conveyances, in which the aged patriarch, with the women and children, might travel from Canaan to Egypt with comfort, Gen. xlv. 16-20.

Good old Jacob heard the news of Joseph's exaltation with caution; but when he was convinced of it, in the exuberance of his joy, he exclaimed, "It is enough; Joseph my son is yet alive: I will go and see him before I die," ver. 21-28. Towards this country, therefore, he sojourned, pausing at Beersheba to offer sacrifice in that place. Here he was favoured with a dream, which relieved him of all fears about the ultimate success of the step he was taking. He was assured in that dream that his sojourn in Egypt was a part of the Divine plan concerning his race, which should there be fostered into a great nation, and then brought forth from thence. Thus encouraged, Jacob proceeded on his way, and he finally entered Egypt with all his family, about 1863 years B.C. See Gen. xlv. 1-27.

Without having consulted the king, Joseph, it would appear, had fixed upon the land of Goshen as the future abode of his father's family; and that, not only as being suited to a pastoral people, but as that which the Egyptians, under all circumstances, would be the most willing to see in their occupation. Accordingly, the land of Goshen, being a border district, in the direction of Palestine, was the first part which Jacob reached, and Joseph, after the first emotions of their tender meeting had subsided, Gen. xlv. 28-30, directed that they should remain there, while he went to make known their arrival to the king, and learn his pleasure concerning them. For this purpose, he took with him five of his brethren, who, after he himself had carried the news to the king, were introduced into the royal presence. The king asked them what was their occupation; and they, as they had been taught, answered, they were shepherds, as all their fathers had been. They then added, that they had come to sojourn in Egypt, for in the land of Canaan the drought had been so severe that they could find no pasture for their flocks, and they concluded with a request, that they might be allowed to remain among the pastures of Goshen. The king, turning to Joseph, told him that the whole land was at his disposal, to place them in

the best part of it—in Goshen, if that district seemed the most suitable for them. He further desired him, if among his brothers there were men of sufficient ability, to make them overseers of his (the king's) own cattle, Gen. xlvii. 1-6.

The policy of the Egyptian court, says Dr. Hales, in giving a possession or establishment to Joseph's family in the land of Goshen especially, was wise and liberal. This country stretched along the Bubastic or Pelusiac branch of the Nile, and formed the eastern barrier of Egypt, towards Palestine and Arabia, the quarters from which they most dreaded invasion; whose "nakedness" was now covered, in a short time, by a numerous, a brave, and an industrious people; amply repaying, by the additional security and resources which they gave to Egypt, their hospitable reception and naturalization.

Joseph having succeeded in his plan of placing his father's family in the land of Goshen, introduced the aged patriarch, also, to the king. Jacob respectfully saluted the monarch, in acknowledgment of the consideration and favour with which he had been treated; and the king, struck by his venerable appearance, entered into conversation with him, particularly inquiring his age. The answer of Jacob was impressive. "The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been, and have not attained unto the days of the years of the life of my fathers in the days of their pilgrimage." After some further conversation, Jacob, having again saluted Pharaoh, and blessed him, withdrew from his presence, Gen. xlvii. 7-10.

This is all the information we have concerning this monarch of Egypt: how long a period he reigned, and when he died, is not known. The brief notice of him, however, in the sacred page, shows that he was a good and wise prince, and had the interest of his people at heart. Joseph, his prime minister, died about 1799 years B.C.

Concerning the other monarchs who reigned during this period there is still briefer notice. There appear to have been two, Amun-m-gori, and Osirisen II., of whom Mr. Wilkinson says, that, independent of the encouragement given by them to the agricultural interests of the country, they consulted those who were employed in the inhospitable desert; and the erection of a temple, and a station to command the wells, and to serve for their abode in Wady Jasoos, proved that they were mindful of their religious rites as well as of their temporal protection. The breccia quarries of the Kossayr, or Cosseir road, were already opened, and probably also the emerald mines of Gebel Bahara.

Besides these monarchs, Dr. Hales places a queen of the name of Nitocris—called Nicaule by Josephus—in this period, and fixes the date 1749 years B.C. Concerning this queen, Herodotus relates a singular stratagem, devised by her, to revenge the murder of her brother and predecessor. She invited a number of the Egyptians to an entertainment, in a large subterranean apartment, which she had built; and, by a private canal, let in the waters of the river upon the company, and drowned them all; and afterwards destroyed herself.

The names of the monarchs who reigned immediately after Nitocris cannot be specified with any degree of certainty. It was during this period, however, that the Israelites were cruelly oppressed in Egypt. After recording the death of Joseph, with "his brethren, and all that generation," the sacred narrative goes on to say, "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph," *Exod. i. 8*. This new king is regarded, by Faber and Wilkinson, as the first king of a new dynasty; and the latter, who argues that this new king was Amasis, says: "Amasis, or Ames, was the leader of the eighteenth dynasty, and the period of his accession, and this change in the reigning family, strongly confirms the opinion of his being the 'new king who knew not Joseph.' And if we consider that he was from the distant province of Thebes, it is reasonable to expect that the Hebrews would be strangers to him, and that he was likely to look upon them with the same distrust and contempt with which the Egyptians usually treated foreigners. They stigmatized them as a race of impure people, and the ignoble occupation of shepherds, was for the Jews an additional cause of reproach. Indeed, it is possible, that the Jews, who had come to Egypt on the occasion of the famine, finding the great superiority of the land of Egypt, both for obtaining the necessities of life and for feeding their flocks, may have asked and obtained a grant of land from the Egyptian monarch, on condition of certain services being performed by them and their descendants. As long as the Memphite dynasty continued on the throne, this grant was respected, and the only service required of them was that agreed upon in the original compact. But, on the accession of the Theban family, the grant being rescinded, and the service still required, they were reduced to a state of bondage; and as despotism seldom respects the rights of those it injures, additional labour was imposed upon this unresisting people. And Pharaoh's pretended fear, lest, in the event of war, they might make common cause with the enemy, was a sufficient pretext with his own people for oppressing the Jews, at the same time that it had the effect of exciting their prejudices against them. Affecting, therefore, some alarm at their numbers, he suggested that so numerous a body might avail themselves of the absence of the Egyptian troops, and endanger the safety and tranquillity of the country, and that prudence dictated the necessity of obviating the possibility of such an occurrence. With this view, they were treated like captives taken in war, and were forced to perform the gratuitous labour of erecting public granaries and other buildings for the Egyptian monarch."

But the monarch whom Wilkinson conjectures to have been him by whom the Egyptians were first oppressed, lived, according to Dr. Hales, at the time of the exodus of the Israelites, and as there must have been more than one reigning monarch in Egypt during the period of their cruel bondage, there is no alternative left but to pursue this portion of Egyptian history with reference to those various monarchs under their general Scripture name of Pharaoh, as before.

What were the motives by which Pharaoh was

actuated in this line of policy towards the Hebrews, cannot be positively asserted. Josephus says, that the act was intimately connected with the expulsion of the shepherds; and the same author also tells us, that the shepherds were yet lingering on the frontier, and fortifying the city Auaris, and that they did again rally and overrun Egypt a second time in the reign of the last king of the eighteenth dynasty. These circumstances would certainly furnish a colourable plea, which would, doubtless, be taken advantage of to oppress the Israelites; but such cannot be stated as facts.

The course which this monarch adopted to subdue the Israelites to his yoke, was by compelling them to relinquish their mode of life as tent-dwelling shepherds, and by fixing them down as cultivators of that soil originally granted them for pasturage. This, to a free people, unaccustomed to labour, he supposed—and that naturally—would have the effect, not only of subduing their spirits, but of reducing their numbers. In the first place, as we learn from *Exod. i.*, he required that they should make bricks, and with them build towns and villages; a mode of labour hitherto unknown to them. Pithom and Raames, as before stated, were erected by them. These cities were probably intended to be held by the Egyptians, to enforce the new measures, as well as to furnish secure places to which they might bring, and in which they might treasure up the corn and other produce paid to the king for the rent of his lands. The situation of these treasure cities is not exactly known; but there is no doubt, as all accounts show, that they were placed in the land occupied by the Hebrews. Before the land could be made available for the purposes of cultivation, it was necessary to cut canals, construct dams, and to execute many other works requiring much drudgery; and such undertakings as these would be very hateful to a pastoral people; they would be so felt at the present day by the Bedouins. They would not, indeed, have executed such, unless by compulsion. This Pharaoh knew, and the execution of his orders was therefore confided to "taskmasters," who were charged with responsibilities which caused them to exact the services required with rigour. Thus, in the emphatic language of the sacred historian, "they made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field; all their service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour," *Exod. i. 14*.

But the more the Israelites were oppressed, the more they multiplied and grew, and the more Pharaoh and the Egyptians were alarmed. A new expedient, therefore, was sought to check their increase. The Hebrew midwives were ordered to destroy all the male children that should be born. But this command was not obeyed; the midwives alleging that the Hebrew were more lively than the Egyptian women, and consequently did not require their assistance. Upon this, the cruel monarch issued an edict that all the male infants should be destroyed, *Exod. i. 15-22*.

This cruel decree was in force at the birth of Moses, sixty-four years after the death of Joseph,

and was probably enacted soon after the birth of his elder brother Aarun, who was not subject to the decree. This illustrious legislator of the Hebrews was of the tribe of Levi, in the line of Kehath and of Amram, whose son he was. By a singular providence, the infant Moses, when exposed on the river Nile, in a frail bark of papyrus, coated on the outside with bitumen, and inside with the slime of that river, through fear of the royal decree, after his mother had hid him three months, was taken up and adopted by Pharaoh's own daughter, and nursed by his own mother, whom she hired at the suggestion of his sister Miriam. When the child needed a nurse no longer, he was taken home to the house of the princess by whom he was saved, thus finding an asylum in the very palace of his intended destroyer. Here he was instructed in all that wisdom of the Egyptians which was the admiration and proverb of all surrounding nations, Exod. ii. 1-10.

It does not appear that the murderous edict against the Hebrew infants was long in force. We are, however, unacquainted with the considerations which led to its repeal. It is possible, that the people of Lower Egypt, generally, were not prepared to go to this extent with the court in such a barbarous measure against the Hebrews, and that their murmurs were heard and respected. Or it may be, as has been supposed, that this daughter of Pharaoh had interest enough with her father to induce him to revoke this fulminating decree. Another alternative may be, that, as this measure seems to have been adopted at the latter part of this king's reign, the accession of a new king was attended with a change of policy towards the Hebrews, which involved the preservation of their infants, and which may, to this extent, have been influenced by the monarch's sister. It may be mentioned, indeed, that some conclude, from the fragments of Manetho, and the hieroglyphics on the sculptures, that Ammoph I., who bears the character of "a great encourager of the arts of peace," began his reign about this period, and that he was succeeded by Ameuse, his sister, the patroness of Moses, and Thothmes I., her husband, whose accession to the throne took place about the time that Moses comes again under our notice in the Egyptian history, as recorded in Scripture, and as noticed in the succeeding paragraph.

But if new monarchs had arisen, if the order to destroy the Hebrew children was withdrawn, and the policy of the Egyptian state was changed towards that people, their "hard bondage" was by no means relieved; they were still doomed to toil under the inspection of "taskmasters." But the day of their redemption drew nigh. When Moses was grown to manhood, and was full forty years of age, it would appear that he was moved by a Divine impulse to undertake the deliverance of his countrymen. See Acts vii. 23-25.

He left the court of Pharaoh, and took part

* The well-known design of Jews at work, brick-making, is found in the tomb of Kekkhari, who was his superintendent of public works. Hence, that he was one of the oppressors of the Hebrews, appears to be an authenticated fact.

with the despised and afflicted bondsmen. He "refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season," Heb. xi. 24, 25. But in the height of his zeal to redress their grievances, going forth one day, he saw a Hebrew atrociously maltreated by an Egyptian officer, and kindling at the sight, he delivered him by slaying his oppressor. This deed became known to the monarch, who sought to slay him, but he fled for his life to the land of Midian, in Arabia Petrea, where he married Zipporah, the daughter of Jethro, or Reuel, prince and priest of Midian, and he, as a shepherd, kept his flocks in the vicinity of Mount Horeb, or Sinai, for forty years, Exod. ii. 11-25.

At the end of that time, it is recorded in Scripture that "the king of Egypt died," Exod. ii. 23. It is, however, the opinion of some that Thothmes I. died after a reign of twenty-seven years, and that he was succeeded by a queen whom Mr. Wilkinson calls, Amun-neit-gori, who has hitherto given rise to more doubts and questions than any other sovereigns of this period. This author says of Amun-neit-gori: "Whether she was only regent during the reign of Thothmes II. and III., or succeeded to the throne in the right of Thothmes I., in whose honour she erected several monuments, is still uncertain, and some have doubted her being a queen. The name has been generally erased, and those of the second and third Thothmes are placed over it; but sufficient remains to prove that the small temple of Medenet Haboo, the elegant edifice under the Qoonneh rocks, and the great obelisks of Karnak, with many other handsome monuments, were erected by her orders, and the attention paid to the military caste is testified by the subjects of the sculptures."

In what character this princess operated, in the reigns of Thothmes II. and III., cannot now be known, and therefore we proceed to notice the latter monarch. It is said, that the reign of Thothmes II. lasted ten years, and that consequently the fortieth year from the flight of Moses fell in the reign of his successor, Thothmes III. If this be correct, he is to be regarded, therefore, as the Pharaoh who so madly opposed Israel's deliverance.

At this period, the oppression of the Israelites was come to the full, and they cried to God for succour. Their cry was heard. Moses was leading his flocks round the eastern arm of the Red Sea into the peninsula of Sinai, and when near the mountain of Horeb, "the God of glory" appeared to him in a flame of fire, from the midst of a bush, and announced himself as "the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," and commissioned him first to make known to the Israelites the Divine will for their deliverance; and next to go with the elders of Israel to Pharaoh, requiring him, in the name of "the Lord God of the Hebrews," to suffer the people to go three days' journey into the wilderness, to sacrifice unto the Lord their God, Exod. iii.

Charged with this high and arduous mission, Moses departed from the shores of the Red Sea, to return to the banks of the Nile. As he ad-

vinced towards Egypt, Aaron received the Divine command to go forth and meet his brother in the wilderness, and to assist him in his mission: and afterwards they proceeded together to the land of Goshen, Exod. iv.

On appearing before the king, Aaron announced that JEHOVAH, the God of the Hebrews, had appeared to them, and had sent them to require the king to allow the Israelites to hold a feast to him in the wilderness. The monarch was doubtless astonished at such a demand. He replied, "Who is the Lord, that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go." But they still persisted in their demand, explaining more particularly, that they wished the people to go three days' journey into the wilderness to offer sacrifices to God, and intimating that the Israelites might expect to be visited by "the pestilence or the sword" unless they were obedient. The king did not deign to reply to this, but dismissed them with a reprimand for putting such wild notions into the heads of the people, and calling away their attention from their occupations, Exod. v. 1—4.

The same day, the king, affecting to attribute this application to a leisure life, determined to bring down their spirits by adding to their burdens: "Let there be more work laid upon the men," said he, "that they may labour therein; and let them not regard vain words." It was now, indeed, ordered that they should no longer be furnished with the straw wherewith they compacted the bricks, but that they should collect it for themselves, while the same number of bricks should be exacted which they had formerly been required to supply. Under these circumstances the work could not be done, and they were beaten for deficiencies which they could not prevent, ver. 5—23.

The prophet and his minister came again unto Pharaoh, and at this second interview, in obedience to the Divine command, again required him to let the children of Israel go out of his land. Pharaoh, as foretold, demanded of them a miracle in proof of their commission. Aaron accepted the challenge; he cast down his rod, and it became a serpent before Pharaoh, Exod. vii. 1—10.

This gave occasion to, perhaps, the most extraordinary contest on record. The king called upon his wise men and magicians, to know if they could do as much by the power of their gods; and "they also did in like manner with their enchantments. For they cast down every man his rod, and they became serpents: but Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods," ver. 11, 12. This feat, however, is particularly easy of explanation. The ancient Egyptians were, as the modern Egyptians now are, very famous in the art of charming serpents. They can perform operations upon them, which will strike the ignorant with amazement. At their command, they will sleep, and become torpid, and lie as if dead: they will come at the call of the charmer, and lie in the folds of their garments, or twine around their necks without hurting them. The Egyptians also have always been, and are now, skilful jugglers, and able with great address to substitute one object for another. Hence, these

men might have brought live serpents and adroitly substituted them for their staves; and although Aaron's serpent swallowed up the other serpents, thereby showing the superiority of the true miracle over the false, it might, as Dr. Hales observes, only lead the king to conclude, that Moses and Aaron were more expert jugglers than Jannes and Jambres who opposed them, 2 Tim. iii. 8, who, as St. Paul informs us, from Jewish traditions, were the chief of their opponents.

This miracle was therefore abortive with regard to its effect upon the king. It seems, indeed, not to have been understood by the Hebrews themselves; on which the same writer remarks: "The incredulity of Pharaoh on this occasion only resembled the incredulity of the Israelites themselves, when the same miracle was wrought before them; and it was not considered as decisive, even by THE LORD, when he supposed they might not be convinced till the third miraculous sign, as was actually the case; Exod. iv. 8, 9, compared with iv. 30, 31. In both cases, therefore, the reality of the transformation might have been doubted—by Pharaoh, as well as by the Israelites, on the supposition that it might have been the effect oflegerdemain."

But the monarch was soon undeceived; for the plagues of Egypt followed in its train.

THE PLAGUES OF EGYPT.*

The design of these visitations, growing more awful and tremendous in their progress, was to make Pharaoh know and confess that the God of the Hebrews was THE SUPREME LORD; and to exhibit his power and his justice in the strongest light to all nations of the earth, Exod. ix. 16; 1 Sam. iv. 8, etc.: to execute judgment upon the Egyptians, and upon all their gods, inanimate and bestial, for their cruelty to the Israelites, and for their grovelling polytheism and idolatry, Exod. vii. 14—17; xii. 12.

As it may be of some importance to understand the time of the year in which these plagues occurred, the following satisfactory statement, from the pen of Dr. Hales, is introduced:—

"Neither the season of the year, nor the time at which the plagues commenced, is anywhere specified; but both may be collected from the history. The exodus of the Hebrews, after the tenth plague, was about the vernal equinox, or beginning of April, on the fifteenth day of the first month, Abib, Exod. xii. 6; but by the seventh plague, that of hail, the barley was smitten, but not the wheat and rye, those plants being of later growth. Now Egmont, Hayman, and Hæselquist, all concur in stating that the barley harvest in Egypt is reaped in March and April; and Le Bruin states that he found the whole to be over at Cairo upon the nineteenth of April. This coincides with the sacred historian's account, that 'the barley was in the ear,' though not yet fit for reaping; but 'the wheat and the rye were not grown up,' Exod. ix. 31, 32. This judgment, therefore, must have occurred about a month before the exodus, or in the beginning of March, before the barley harvest, so as to leave space for the three succeeding plagues. If we count backwards two months, upon the

same principles, for the first six plagues, it will bring the first about the beginning of January, when the winter season commences, at which time the river Nile was lowest, and its waters clearest."

THE FIRST PLAGUE.

The river Nile was the principal divinity of the Egyptians, and, as such, it was honoured with feasts and sacrifices, and rites of ceremonial worship. One morning, as the king went forth towards its banks, probably to render it an act of worship, he was there met by Moses and Aaron, who repeated their demand. Being again refused, they announced, in the name of JEHOVAH, an act which they intended to perform upon the river, and the object for which they would perform it, that Pharaoh might know that it was THIS LORD that wrought by their hands. Then, in the presence of the king and his servants, the prophet lifted up his rod, and smote the river, and its pure waters were forthwith changed into blood. The change even operated upon all the rivers of Egypt, the numerous canals and reservoirs which were fed by the Nile, and upon that water which had been preserved in vessels of wood and stone for domestic use. This calamity continued for seven days, during which all the fish that were in the river died; many of which were worshipped by the Egyptians, and most of which formed a large and principal article of diet among them. This, therefore, was a complicated, and must have been a grievous calamity to them. They loathed, indeed, to drink of those streams they once adored, and which were held more pleasant and salutary than any other which the earth could offer; and they began to dig the ground for pure water. This they found, and the magicians operating upon it, probably by chemical means, so as to give it a blood-like appearance, Pharaoh's heart was hardened a second time, and he would not let the Hebrews go, as was demanded, Exod. vii. 14-23.

THE SECOND PLAGUE.

Moses and Aaron again delivered a message to Pharaoh: "Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go, that they may serve me." But they were again unheeded; and Aaron, directed by Moses, smote the river again; when lo! (together with another of the Egyptian gods, the frog, which was consecrated to the sun, and considered as an emblem of Divine inspiration in its inflations,) it was once more made the instrument of their punishment. The frogs came up from the river, and covered the land of Egypt, penetrating everywhere, and polluting and defiling everything they touched; their beds, ovens, and kneading-troughs, not being exempt. This the Egyptian priests contrived, also, to imitate on some small scale; but, as they could do nothing for the removal of the plague, Pharaoh began to be troubled. He sent for Moses and Aaron, and intreated them to pray to Jehovah to remove the frogs, and then he would let the Hebrews go to render him sacrifice. The frogs were removed on "the morrow," but when Pharaoh saw there was a respite, his heart was hardened

a third time, and he forsook his promise, Exod. viii. 1-15.

THE THIRD PLAGUE.

The next plague, which was that of lice, was produced without any previous intimation to Pharaoh. "Aaron," it is said, "stretched out his hand with his rod, and smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man, and in beast; all the dust of the land became lice throughout all the land of Egypt." This must have been peculiarly offensive to a people so superstitiously nice and cleanly as the Egyptians, and above all to their priests; who, as Herodotus informs us, used to shave their whole bodies every third day, that no vermin might be found upon them while they were employed in serving their gods. Plutarch says, also, that they never wore woollen garments, but linen only, because linen is least apt to produce vermin. The magicians themselves were, moreover, disgraced by this miracle. They tried to imitate it, but failed on account of the minuteness of the objects; and they were forced to confess, that this was no human feat of legerdemain, but wrought by "the finger of God," or, as they meant, by some supernatural agency. Thus was their folly made manifest unto all men. But, notwithstanding this declaration, the heart of Pharaoh was hardened a fourth time, and he hearkened not unto Moses and Aaron, Exod. viii. 16-19.

THE FOURTH PLAGUE.

This plague, since the word *Aroch*, by which it is described, denotes a mixture, is of doubtful interpretation. Some have concluded that it consisted of an immense number of beasts of prey; but it is more probable that every kind of annoying insect is intended; and this is the sense in which the words are considered by the English translators of the Bible. Amongst these insects may be enumerated the gadfly, or hornet, and the Egyptian beetle, both of which insects, brought forth in great numbers, would have been a fearful scourge. If these were a part of this plague, then the Egyptians, in this event also, were punished through the medium of their idols; for both occupied a place among their sacred creatures. It is not said whether the magicians imitated this plague, but it is described as being so severe, that it extorted Pharaoh's partial consent: "Go ye, sacrifice to your God in the land;" and when Moses and Aaron represented the offence they would give to the Egyptians, who would stone them for sacrificing animal sacrifices, he reluctantly consented that they should go beyond its borders; "only," he added, "ye shall not go very far away." He further desired them to "intreat" for him that the plague might be removed. Moses expressed his readiness to intercede with Jehovah for the removal of the plague, at the same time venturing to add this caution, "Let not Pharaoh deal deceitfully any more in not letting the people go to sacrifice to the Lord." But no sooner had this calamity passed away, than the pledge of the king was again broken; he "hardened his heart at this time also, neither would he let the

people go," *Exod. viii. 20-22*. This new branch of promise, however, drew down on the land of Egypt still more severe visitations.

THE FIFTH PLAGUE.

This plague was of a more deadly description than any of the preceding. This was the plague of murrain, under the effects of which great numbers of the cattle of Egypt died, while those of the Hebrews remained unharmed. This distinction, which had not hitherto been made, was notified to Pharaoh in the threatening of the plague by Moses, and he sent to assure himself whether it had taken place; but he still remained obdurate, and he would not yet give them permission to go as desired, *Exod. ix. 1-7*.

THE SIXTH PLAGUE.

The monarch of Egypt had so often abused the respites and warnings vouchsafed to him and his servants, that now a sorer set of plagues, affecting themselves, began to be inflicted. By the Divine command, Moses, in the presence of Pharaoh, sprinkled ashes of the furnace toward heaven, and an ulcerous inflammation of the most painful and violent description broke forth, not only upon man, but on such of the cattle as had hitherto been spared. It affected even the priestly magicians themselves, which so shamed them, that they retired from the presence of Moses, thus relinquishing all rivalry and opposition.

This, says Dr. Haies, was a very significant plague; "the furnace" from which the ashes were taken aptly represented "the iron furnace" of Egyptian bondage, *Deut. iv. 20*; and the scattering of the ashes in the air might have referred to the usage of the Egyptians in their *Typhonian* sacrifices of human victims; while it converted another of their elements, and of their gods, the air, or ether, into an instrument of their chastisement. And now THE LORD for the first time "hardened the heart of Pharaoh," after he had so repeatedly hardened it himself, "and he hearkened not unto them; as the Lord had spoken unto Moses." Though Pharaoh probably felt the scourge of the boil, as well as his people, it did not soften nor humble his heart. And when he wilfully and obstinately turned away from the light, and shut his eyes against the luminous evidences vouchsafed to him of the supremacy of the God of THE HEBREWS, and had twice broken his promise, when he was indulged with a respite, and dealt deceitfully, he became a peculiar object of just punishment, and the hardness or obduracy of his heart increased. And such is the usual and the righteous course of his providence: when nations or individuals despise the warnings of Heaven, abuse their best gifts, and resist the means of grace, God then delivers them over to a reprobate or undiscovering mind, "to work all uncleanness with greediness," *Rom. i. 28*; *Eph. iv. 19*; *Exod. ix. 8-12*.

THE SEVENTH PLAGUE.

This plague was announced to Pharaoh and his servants, with unusual solemnity. Moses was charged to make his woe demand, which he did in these emphatic words: "Thus saith the Lord

God of the Hebrews, Let my people go, that they may serve me. For I will at this time send all my plagues upon thine heart, and upon thy servants, and upon thy people; that thou mayest know that there is none like me in all the earth. For now I will stretch out my hand, that I may smite thee and thy people with pestilence; and thou shalt be cut off from the earth. And in very deed for this cause have I raised thee up, for to show in thee my power; and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth. As yet exaltest thou thyself against my people, that thou wilt not let them go? Behold, to-morrow about this time I will cause it to rain a very grievous hail, such as hath not been in Egypt since the foundation thereof even until now." At the time appointed, "the morrow," Moses lifted up his rod towards heaven, and the predicted storm of hail, accompanied with fearful thunderings and vivid lightnings, the flames of which ran along the ground, commenced. The storm was so heavy, and the hailstones of such prodigious size and weight, that they killed man and beast, shattered the trees, and destroyed the crops of flax and barley. These effects had been intimated, and the prediction was mercifully coupled with the advice that those who believed, and feared the Lord, should place their servants and cattle under shelter before it took place; and the effect which had been produced upon the minds of the Egyptians is shown by the fact, that many of Pharaoh's servants did believe, and caused their servants and their cattle to "flee into the houses" lest they should be destroyed.

Seeing that rain is exceedingly rare, and hail almost unknown in Egypt, so fearful a storm as this must have been one of the greatest marvels to the Egyptians. And it must have appeared more striking, since the land of Goshen was totally exempt from its effects. The obdurate heart of Pharaoh was, indeed, struck with awe at this visitation: he called for Moses and Aaron, and said unto them, "I have sinned this time: the Lord is righteous, and I and my people are wicked. Intreat the Lord (for it is enough) that there be no more mighty thunderings and hail; and I will let you go, and ye shall stay no longer." Moses, well acquainted with the monarch's character, plainly intimated that he placed no reliance on his promise; nevertheless, he engaged to obtain an immediate cessation of the storm. The storm ceased, and Pharaoh, when he saw there was respite, "hardened his heart, he and his servants; neither would he let the children of Israel go," *Exod. ix. 13-35*.

THE EIGHTH PLAGUE.

Another demand was made, and upon Pharaoh's refusing compliance, the arrival of an army of locusts was announced, which should destroy every green thing that had escaped the destroying effects of the hail. In announcing this visitation, mention is made of one very important object of this and the ensuing plagues: this was, that the faith of the Hebrews themselves might be confirmed.

The army of locusts came, and they completed the havoc begun by the hail. The sacred historian says, they "went up over all the land of

Egypt, and wasted in all the coasts of Egypt: very grievous were they; before them there were no such locusts as they, neither after them shall be such. For they covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened; and they did eat every herb of the land, and all the fruit of the trees which the hail had left: and there remained not any green thing in the trees, or in the herbs of the field, through all the land of Egypt." Now, although locusts are very common in Arabia, they very rarely appear in Egypt; the Red Sea forming a barrier against them, as they are not formed for crossing seas, or for long flights. On the present occasion, however, they were enabled, by a strong east wind, to cross that sea from Arabia, which is another remarkable circumstance, as the prevailing winds in Egypt blow six months from the north, and six months from the south. The plague must, therefore, have appeared to the Egyptians altogether preternatural. As such they looked upon it, and such was its powerful operation, that Pharaoh called for Moses and Aaron, and avowed his fault, and begged for one reprieve more. "And the Lord turned a mighty strong west wind," (which blew from the Mediterranean Sea, in a north-westerly direction,) "which took away the locusts, and cast them into the Red Sea," so completely, that "there remained not one locust in all the coasts of Egypt." But when relief had been given, Pharaoh would not allow the Hebrews to take their families and flocks, though he was still willing that the med should do as they desired, Exod. x. 1-20.

THE NINTH PLAGUE.

This obduracy on the part of the Egyptian monarch brought a new and most extraordinary plague upon Egypt. In that land, where a dark cloud seldom throws an obscuration on the clear blue face of the skies, for three days there was utter darkness - a darkness which, to use the sacred writer's own emphatic words, "might be felt," and which prevented the people from seeing one another. This phenomenon must have been not only astounding, but humiliating to the Egyptians; since their great deity, the Sun, and Darkness, another of their deities, were made the instruments of their punishment. Their consternation thereat is strongly represented by their total inaction. Petrified with horror, no one rose from "his place for three days," and Pharaoh, compelled to relax, offered to let the men and their families go, but he wished to keep the flocks and herds, as security for their return. Moses represented that, as they were going for the express purpose of offering sacrifices to Jehovah, it was necessary that the cattle should go with them; and he peremptorily declared, that "not a hoof" should be left behind, Exod. x. 21-27. But the proud monarch determined not to relinquish this last security which would remain to him; and Moses, perceiving his obstinacy, proceeded to predict another visitation.

THE TENTH PLAGUE.

The account of the last and most severe plague is best given in the emphatic words of Scripture:

"Thus saith the Lord, About midnight will I go out into the midst of Egypt: and all the firstborn in the land of Egypt shall die, from the firstborn of Pharaoh that sitteth upon his throne, even unto the firstborn of the maidservant that is behind the mill; and all the firstborn of beasts. And there shall be a great cry throughout all the land of Egypt, such as there was none like it, nor shall be like it any more. But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue, against man or beast: that ye may know how that the Lord doth put a difference between the Egyptians and Israel. And all these thy servants shall come down unto me, and bow down themselves unto me, saying, Get thee out, and all the people that follow thee: and after that I will go out." Such a threat, delivered in so high a tone, both in the name of the God of Israel and of Moses, exasperated the haughty monarch, and he answered, in sentences rendered abrupt by passion: "Get thee from me, take heed to thyself, see my face no more; for in that day thou shalt see my face thou shalt die." Moses withdrew from the monarch's presence, and finally from the court, to join the Hebrews in the land of Goshen, Exod. xi.

On that night, while the Jews were celebrating a newly instituted feast, the passover, which had reference to the coming event, the destroying angel went forth in a pestilence, and smote all the firstborn in the land of Egypt, as predicted. Throughout the whole country there were lamentations and bitter weeping, for there was not a house into which death did not enter. The monarch himself rose up in the night, with his nobles, and the Egyptian people, in great sorrow; and he sent to Moses and Aaron a message to this effect: "Rise up, and get you forth from among my people, both ye and the children of Israel; and go, serve the Lord, as ye have said. Also take your flocks and your herds, as ye have said, and be gone; and bless me also." The Egyptian people, also, "were urgent upon the people, that they might send them out of the land in haste; for they said, We be all dead men," Exod. xii.

The Israelites obeyed the mandate, but the haughty monarch soon repented of what he had done; and, by a strange infatuation, "he made ready his chariot, and took his people with him," and pursued after them. He overtook them, encamping by the sea, beside Pihahiroth, (the mouth of the ridge,) over against Baal-sephon. When the children of Israel beheld him marching after them, they were alarmed, and were disposed to submit without resistance to their oppressors. "Let us alone," said they, "that we may serve the Egyptians. For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness." Moses did not deign to remonstrate with them, but meekly replied, "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord, which he will show to you to-day: for the Egyptians whom ye have seen to-day, ye shall see them again no more for ever. The Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall hold your peace."

The Lord did interfere, and fight for Israel. At the lifting up of the rod of Moses, he opened a passage for them across the Red Sea; and the

host of Pharaoh, presuming to follow after them when the Hebrews were safely landed on the opposite shore, were involved in one common destruction.

"Again the prophet stretch'd his dreadful wand:
With one wild crash the thundering waters sweep,
And all is waves—a dark and lonely deep;
And strange and sad the whispering surges bore
The groans of Egypt to Arabia's shore."—HISSEK.

The pride of Egypt was overwhelmed; "there remained not so much as one of them," Exod. xii. xiii. xiv.

Manetho, and the Egyptian writers, says Dr Hales, have passed over in silence this tremendous visitation of their nation. An ancient writer, however, Artapanus, who wrote a history of the Jews about B.C. 130, has preserved the following curious Egyptian traditions: "The Memphites relate, that Moses, being well acquainted with the country, watched the influx of the tide, and made the multitude pass over the dry [bed of the] sea. But the Heliopolitans relate, that the king, with a great army, accompanied by the sacred animals, pursued after the Jews, who had carried off with them the substance of the Egyptians. And that Moses, having been directed by a Divine voice to strike the sea with his rod, when he heard it, touched the water with his rod; and so the fluid divided, and the host passed over through a dry way. But when the Egyptians entered along with them, and pursued them, it is said, that fire flashed against them in front, and the sea, returning back, overwhelmed the passage. Thus the Egyptians perished, both by the fire, and by the reflux of the tide."

The latter account is extremely curious: it not only confirms Scripture, but it notices three additional circumstances. 1. That for their protection against THE GOD OF ISRAEL, the Egyptians brought with them the sacred animals; and by this means God executed judgment upon all the [bestial] gods of Egypt, as foretold, Exod. xii. 12, who perished with their infatuated votaries; completing the destruction of both, which began with smiting the firstborn both of man and beast. 2. That the recovery of the "jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment," which they asked and obtained of the Egyptians, according to the Divine command, Exod. xii. 35, 36, was a leading motive with the Egyptians, to pursue them; as the bringing back the Israelites to slavery had been with "Pharaoh and his servants," or officers. And, 3. That the destruction of the Egyptians was partly occasioned by lightning and thunderbolts, from the presence of the Lord; exactly corresponding to the psalmist's sublime description: "The waters saw thee, O God, the waters saw thee; they were afraid: the depths also were troubled. The clouds poured out water: the skies sent out a sound: thine arrows also went abroad.—Yea, he sent out his arrows, and scattered them; and he shot out lightnings, and discomfited them. Then the channels of waters were seen, and the foundations of the world were discovered at thy rebuke, O Lord, at the blast of the breath of thy nostrils," Psa. lxxvii. 16, 17; xviii. 14, 15.

The exodus of the Israelites, and the destruction of Pharaoh and his host, is dated by Dr.

Hales, 1648 years B.C. This learned author, also, as well as other chronologists, enumerates many monarchs who ruled over Egypt after this period; but as Scripture, which is the most ancient piece of history extant, is silent from the time of the exodus till the days of Solomon concerning Egypt, (a fact which proves that the storm of war had passed off either to the westward of Palestine, or that the Egyptian conquerors followed the maritime roads by Gaza and the Phœnician coasts, leaving Judea to the right,) our knowledge of these monarchs is very limited. What is known, is derived partly from profane authors, and partly from the hieroglyphics and tradition, neither of which speak of some of the monarchs enumerated by chronologists.* The first monarch of whom there is any historical information after the exodus is Moeris, or Myris.

MOERIS, OR MYRIS.†

The name of Moeris is not found on the Phœnician inscriptions; nevertheless, his reign is a well-authenticated fact; and he seems to have been one of the wisest and best of the Egyptian kings. To him is ascribed the formation of the lake Moeris, now called Kairouan, which was designed to receive the redundant waters of the Nile, and to discharge them by sluices, for the irrigation of the lands when the river failed. According to Herodotus, this lake was about 450 miles in circumference, and, from the varied statements of modern travellers, from thirty to fifty miles long, and from six to ten miles wide and its deepest part 200 cubits, or 100 yards; which is too great a work to have been excavated by human labours. Nothing, indeed, says Browne, can present an appearance so unlike the works of men. On the north-east and south is a rocky ridge, in every appearance primeval. It would be safer, therefore, to understand, that Moeris only opened a communication between the river and this vast natural basin, which runs parallel thereto from north to south, about ten miles distant, and made a canal, eighty stadia, or about four leagues in length, and three plethra, or 100 yards, in breadth, as described by Diodorus. This would have been a stupendous work, and far more glorious than either the pyramids or the labyrinth, if we consider it with reference to its utility; for it was used for the three-fold purposes of agriculture, commerce, and a fishery. This canal is now called Bahr Jasuf, or "Joseph's river," and it is vulgarly ascribed to that great man, while regent of Egypt. This has arisen, probably, from the circumstance, that the famous Sultan Joseph Saladin (who made that wonder at Cairo called "Joseph's well," attributed also to the patriarch,) repaired this celebrated work.

Besides this, Moeris is said to have built two great pyramids in the midst of this lake, 600

* For the names of these monarchs the reader is referred to the list of dynasties given at the conclusion of the book.

† Between the exodus of the Israelites, and the reign of Moeris, there were several monarchs of Egypt, but, as we have no authentic information concerning them, it must be considered as a blank in the history. Their names will be found in the lists at the end of the book.

not high, the half of which was covered by the water. These are mentioned both by Herodotus and Diodorus: the former of whom, whose veracity is unimpeachable, says that he saw them, and that on the top of each there was a stone colossus sitting upon a throne. These pyramids are not, however, mentioned by Strabo, nor are they to be met with at the present day; from which circumstance it has been asserted, that there is not a fact in history, in which testimony and observation are more at variance.

Moeris appears, also, to have been attentive to religious observances. He built the northern portion of the temple of Vulcan, at Memphis, which was more stately and magnificent than all the rest. This is noticed both by Herodotus and Diodorus, the former of whom sums up the notice of the various works of Moeris with this observation, "These are, indeed, lasting monuments of his fame."

The greatest work ascribed to Moeris was the famous labyrinth, from whose model that of Crete was afterwards copied by Dædalus; and in which, Pliny says, not a single piece of wood was used, being entirely constructed of stone. Herodotus, says Mr. Wilkinson, attributes its foundation to the twelve kings in the time of Psammetichus; but tradition seems to have ascribed it to Moeris, though it is possible that the son of Neos and his colleagues may have enlarged it. Pliny asserts, it was first built by king Petesuchus, or Tithon, though others affirm it to have been the palace of Motherus, or the sepulchre of Moeris; and received opinion maintains that it was dedicated to the sun. Diodorus, again, mentions Mendes, or Maron, or Marnas, as the founder, while others have put forth the claims of Ismandes, probably Chymandak, and various other monarchs.

Manetho has attributed nineteen years and six months for the reign of this prince; but this appears too short a period for the various and stupendous works which he executed; hence, Dr. Hales thinks, that the reign of Hammeser, his predecessor, which is stated to have been sixty-six years two months, should be assigned to Moeris. The death of Moeris is dated a.c. 1308.

SESOSTRIS.

If the authority of Diodorus be admitted, seven generations intervened between Moeris and Sesostris; but Herodotus seems to place the latter as his immediate successor. By some writers, Sesostris, or, as Diodorus calls him, Sesosis, was reputed to have been the son of Amenophis III., whom Dr. Hales identifies with Moeris; and they record that about the period of his birth, the god Vulcan appeared to his father in a dream, informing him that his child should become lord of the whole earth.

Josephus supposed that this celebrated monarch of Egypt was the Shishak, or Sennak, of Scripture, who invaded Rehoboth and plundered the temple of Jerusalem; a supposition which has been adopted by many able chronologists, but which is now generally abandoned as untenable.

The incidents recorded in the life of Sesostris are more numerous and stirring, and better au-

thenticated, than any of his immediate predecessors. He was not only, indeed, one of the most powerful kings of Egypt, but one of the greatest conquerors recorded in the annals of antiquity. Diodorus relates, that the father of Sesostris formed a design of making him a conqueror, while yet he was but an infant. For this purpose, he took up all the children throughout Egypt, born on the same day with his son, to be educated with him, and caused them to be trained alike in the same rigid discipline of the public schools, that they might compose a band of companions, attached to his person, and qualified to fill the first civil and military departments of the state. The chief part of their education was the inuring them to a hard and laborious life, in order that they might one day be capable of sustaining the toils of war, and of excelling in brute force. They were never suffered to eat till they had run on foot or horseback a considerable race, and hunting was their most usual exercise.

It is remarked by Elian, that Sesostris was instructed by Mercury in politics and the art of government. This Mercury is he whom the Greeks called *Triumgius*, "thrice great," and to whom, some say, Egypt owes the invention of almost every art. But as Jamblicus, a priest of Egypt, affirms, that it was customary for the Egyptians to affix the name of Hermes, or Mercury, to all the new books or inventions that were offered to the public, it seems erroneous to ascribe them to one man, and the error may have arisen from that circumstance.

During his father's lifetime, Sesostris reduced the Arabians, who had never been conquered before, eastward; and the Libyans, westward; and encouraged by these successes, he formed the design of conquering the known world. Accordingly, when his father died, he prepared for his ambitious enterprise. But before he left his kingdom, he provided for his domestic security, in winning the hearts of his subjects, by his generosity, justice, and obliging behaviour. He was no less studious to gain the affection of his officers and soldiers, being well assured, that all his designs would prove unsuccessful, unless his army should be attached to his person by the ties of esteem, affection, and interest. He is also said to have divided the country into thirty-six governments, called *Nomi*, and bestowed them on persons of merit and approved fidelity.

In the meantime, he made the requisite preparations, levied forces, and headed them with officers of bravery and reputation, chiefly taken from among the youths who had been educated with him. It is said that the number of his officers was 1,700, and that his army consisted of 600,000 foot, and 24,000 horse, besides 27,000 armed chariots: all numbers, however, of so large an amount, at this early period, must be received with caution.

Sesostris began his expedition by invading Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, situate on the south of Egypt. This country he rendered tributary, obliging the nations thereof to furnish him annually with a stated quantity of ebony, ivory, and gold. He then reduced the islands of the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, with his fleet. He is said, also, to have marched an army by land as far as India, eastwards, and to have penetrated

even beyond the Ganges; but this is, probably, a fiction of the Egyptian priests, who reported it to Diodorus, from whom we derive the information. After this, he turned his arms northwards, subdued the Assyrians and Medes of Upper Asia, and crossing over into Europe, subdued the Scythians and Thracians. But he received a check at the river Tanais, where he was in danger of losing his army from the difficulty of the passes, and the want of provisions. He left a colony in the ancient kingdom of Colchia, situate to the east of the Black Sea, where the Egyptian manners and customs have ever been retained. He likewise erected pillars in the conquered countries, as trophies of his victories, on which was inscribed,—

“SEOSTRIS, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS,
SUBDUED THIS COUNTRY BY HIS ARMS.”

Several of these pillars were seen by Herodotus and Strabo in Palestine, Syria, Arabia, and Ethiopia; and it is probable that the pillar which Josephus said was remaining in the land of Siliad in his days, and which he ascribed to the antediluvian Seth, was one of those erected by Sesostris.

Of these pillars seen by Herodotus in Syria, Mr. Wilkinson, who identifies Sesostris with Rameses II., says, there is little doubt that one of the tablets, or *stelae*, alluded to by the historian, still exists in Syria, bearing the name of Rameses II. It is at the side of the road leading to Beyrout, close to the river Lyons, now Nahr-el-Kelb; and though the hieroglyphics are much erased, sufficient remains to show by whose order it was sculptured. Near it is another, accompanied by the figure of a Persian king, and inscribed with the arrow-headed character, copies of which have been lately made by Mr. Benomi; and thus the memorials of the passage of the Egyptian army, marching triumphant over Asiatic nations, and that of the Persians, victorious over Syria and Egypt, are recorded in a similar manner at the same spot. And yet, now, these two stones are all the traces that remain of these direful contests and mighty efforts.

One remarkable trait is observable in the character of Sesostris, which is, that he had no idea of preserving the conquests he was at so much pains to achieve. It was sufficient for him to have subdued and despoiled those nations, to have made wild havoc in the world, and to have erected these monuments; for after that period, he confined himself almost within the ancient limits of Egypt, a few neighbouring provinces excepted. He returned home triumphant, bringing immense spoils and innumerable captives to Egypt. There, glory unknown to his predecessors awaited him; but it was that glory which was erected on the woes of mankind, and which, sooner or later, would be exchanged for shame, notwithstanding the false gloss which historians may throw over the character of such conquerors.

On his return, it is recorded, that Harmais, his brother, whom he had left as regent or viceroy in Egypt during his expedition, conspired to destroy him and his family at a banquet which he had prepared for him in Daphne, near Pelusium, by setting fire to the house. He lost two

of his sons in the flames, but escaped himself with four more, and, as Herodotus relates, punished his brother, but in what manner we are not informed.

As a monument of gratitude for this deliverance, Sesostris rebuilt the temple of Vulcan, at Memphis, the immense stones of which are noticed by Herodotus. In front of this temple, he placed six colossal statues, two of them thirty cubits high, representing himself and his queen; and the other four, twenty cubits high, representing his four sons who had escaped the flames.

Sesostris also erected temples in every city; raised embankments to the river; and dug numerous canals, for the supply of water, the conveyance of corn and provisions, and the security of the country against foreign invasion. He also built a wall across the desert from Pelusium to Heliopolis of 1,500 stadia, or about 187 miles in length, to secure Egypt from the irruptions of its neighbours, the Syrians and Arabians; thus adopting the wise policy of the shepherd kings. His great work was, the raising a considerable number of high banks, or moles, on which new cities were built, in order that man and beast might be secure from any unusual inundations of the Nile.

In all these various public works, Sesostris employed only captives. This is certified by an inscription found upon many of the monuments, which reads thus: “None of the natives were put to labour here;” and which may be looked upon as a tacit reprobation of the ostentatious pyramids of the shepherd kings, who so cruelly enslaved the Egyptians. It appears, indeed, to have been the policy of Sesostris to be tender over his own people, while he oppressed those he had taken captive, forgetting that mankind were all “made of one blood,” and therefore have all a demand upon our sympathy.

So great was the regard which Sesostris bore to his people, that he made an equal division of the lands to them; assigning a square piece of ground to each, and reserving to himself an annual rent from the tenants, with directions to his surveyors to make proper abatements should the river encroach on any man's land. It was no wonder, therefore, that his memory was highly honoured in Egypt, even to remote ages. This may be gathered from Diodorus, who relates, that when Darius Hytaspes obtained the crown of Persia, he wished to have his own statue placed above that of Sesostris at Memphis, against which the high priest protested in council, declaring that Darius had not yet exceeded the noble acts of Sesostris, a declaration with which that monarch had the good sense to agree.

Such was this hero of antiquity. He was one of the best and wisest monarchs that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt; but his glory was tarnished by his restless ambition, which made him a fierce scourge to mankind; and by a blind fondness for his own grandeur, which made him sometimes forget that he was human. It is said, that the kings and chiefs of the conquered nations came at stated times to do homage to the victor, and pay the appointed tribute; and that, when he went to the temple, or entered the capital, he would cause them to be harnessed to his car four a-breast, instead of horses; a deed

which exhibits at once a pitiful vanity, and barbarous inhumanity. Such appears probable to have been a fact; for the Theban artists have introduced a similar instance of cruelty in the sculptures of the temple of Medinet Habou, representing the triumphal return of Ramesses III.; and of Osirei, at Karnac, after his conquest in the eastern war; where three captives are tied beneath the axle of his chariot, with their faces toward the ground, while others, bound with ropes, walk by the side of his horse, to be presented to the deity of the place. This fact would seem to confirm the statement of some authors, namely, that Sesostris is to be identified with Ramesses III.

The latter days of Sesostris were embittered by the misfortune of losing his sight, which so affected him, that he put a period to his existence, an act foolishly regarded by the Egyptians as worthy of a pious and good man, and as becoming a hero admired of men and beloved by the gods, whose merited gifts of eternal happiness he had hastened to enjoy. How awful is this error! and how differently are mankind taught by the sublime doctrines of the Bible! They learn there that they should wait all their appointed days on earth till their change come; that they should endure afflictions with patience, thereby possessing their souls; and that should they endure unto the end, being Christians in deed and in truth, they shall receive a crown of life. On the other hand, it teaches that those who wickedly rush into the presence of their Maker, as Sesostris did, are lost for ever. It is no matter whether the act is committed by a hero, or by a hitherto pious and good man; the knell of hope is sounded by it, and he sinks for ever in remediless woe. The life of man is not his own. It is a sacred gift from the Creator of the universe, and we are bound to preserve it, till he requires it again. That man not only violates nature, but defies his Maker, who lays violent hands on himself. Reader, if you contrast the conduct of the patient Job with that of the rash Sesostris, you will discern the infinite superiority of the true over false religion.

The death of Sesostris occurred, according to Dr. Hales, about B.C. 1275, after a reign of thirty-three years.

PHERON.

Sesostris was succeeded in his kingdom by his son Pheron, the Sesostris II. of Diodorus, and the Nuncoreus of Pliny. Pheron was the very reverse of his father: fond of ease and pleasure, he undertook no military expedition; and by his indolence he even lost the remoter conquests which his father had gained. In his reign, the Assyrians are supposed to have shaken off the Egyptian yoke, and recovered their liberty.

Herodotus records only one action of this prince, and that carries with it the air of romance. He says, that in an extraordinary inundation of the Nile, which exceeded eighteen cubits, Pheron, being enraged at the wild havoc which it made, threw a javelin at the river, as if to chastise its insolence, thereby provoking the river god, who punished him for his impiety with the loss of sight.

Like his father, Pheron appears to have been

affected by a weakness of the eyes, which terminated in total blindness; but though it continued during eleven years, he at length recovered, owing more probably to some operation which the noted skill of the Egyptians had suggested, than to the cause assigned by Herodotus. Both Diodorus and Pliny agree with the historian of Halicarnassus, that he dedicated two obelisks in token of gratitude for the recovery of his sight.

Manetho and Africanus assign the long reign of sixty-one years to this prince.

OSTYMANDAR.

Diodorus describes a famous sepulchral temple, on the authority of Hecateus, which he says was built by this monarch at Thebes, and which was the most magnificent of all the temples in Egypt. His description runs thus:—"Near the first sepulchres in the Theban Necropolis, where the pallaces of Jove are interred, stood the tomb of Ostymandara. Its entrance was by a porch of variously coloured stone, two hundred feet in length, and forty-five in height. Behind this was a square portico, each side measuring four hundred feet; and, instead of pillars, supported by representations of animals, sculptured in the antique fashion, and each sixteen cubits high. The ceiling, which was of compact masonry, covering the space between the outer walls and the columns, was upwards of twelve feet in breadth, and was ornamented with stars studded on an azure ground, like the firmament of heaven. At the upper end of this portico was a second court, in every respect similar to the first, but enriched with a greater variety of sculptures. Close to the entrance were three statues, all of one stone, the workmanship of Memnon of Syene. One of these was in a sitting posture, and the largest in all Egypt, its foot alone exceeding seven cubits in length. The other two were inferior in size, reaching only to its knees. These were attached in an upright position to the front of the throne, one on the right, the other on the left side, and they represented the daughter and mother of the king. This piece was not more admirable for the exquisite art of the carver, than for the dimensions and beauty of the stone, which was free from the least flaw or blemish. Upon it was this proud inscription:—

"I AM OSTYMANDAR, KING OF KINGS: IF ANY ONE WISHES TO KNOW WHAT A PRINCE I AM, AND WHERE I LIE, LET HIM EXCEL MY EXPLOITS."

"Near this was a statue of his mother, twenty cubits in height, and cut out of one stone. She had three crowns on her head, purporting that she was the daughter, wife, and mother of a king. This court led to a second portico, far exceeding the first. On the wall of this, the king was represented waging a war in the country of the Bactrians, who had revolted from him, and against whom he led an army of 400,000 men, and 20,000 horses, in four divisions, each commanded by one of his sons. On the first wall, the king was seen besieging a fortress surrounded by a river, and contending in the foremost ranks with the enemy, accompanied by a

lion, from whence some authors conclude, that he always fought with a tame lion at his side, and others, that the figure was emblematical of his courage. On the second wall, captives were conducted without hands, and with other signs purporting them to be men destitute of courage. On the third, were a great variety of sculptures and paintings, indicating the sacrifices and triumph of the king. In the middle of this court was an altar of very beautiful stone, admirable for its size and its workmanship. On the fourth side were two sitting statues, of a single block each, measuring twenty-seven cubits in height. Near these courts were three passages, supported throughout by columns, and built in the manner of a theatre; these passages were 200 feet square. In this place were many wooden statues, representing persons engaged in law-suits, and the judges hearing the causes. These last, thirty in number, were carved on one side, with their president in the centre, at whose neck hung an image of Truth, with his eyes closed, and who was surrounded with many books. This signified that the duty of a judge was, to receive no bribe, and that he should only regard truth and equity. After this was a corridor, filled with numerous chambers, in which all kinds of viands most agreeable to the palate were introduced. Here the king was most curiously wrought, and painted in the most elegant colours. He was represented as presenting to the deity the gold and silver he annually received from the mines throughout Egypt, the amount whereof was 3,200 myriads of minas, or 96,000,000*l.* sterling. To these chambers the sacred library succeeded, over which was inscribed, 'The balsam of the soul.' Contiguous to the library were the images of all the Egyptian gods, to each of whom the monarch presented a suitable offering, in order that Osiris, and the rest of the deities placed beneath him, might know that he had passed his life with piety towards the gods, and with justice towards men. Adjacent to this library was an edifice of remarkable architecture, elegantly fitted up with twenty couches, where the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and the king were placed, who was thought to be here entombed. Around this were several pavilions, in which were hung beautiful paintings of all the sacred animals of the country. From hence was the ascent to the sepulchre. Beyond this, and immediately over the sepulchre, was a golden planisphere, which was carried away by Cambyses, when the Persians invaded Egypt. This planisphere measured 365 cubits in circumference, and one in thickness; and it was divided and marked at every cubit with the days of the year, the rising and setting of the stars according to the natural revolutions, and the signs ascertained from them by Egyptian astrologers."

Diodorus does not fix the exact epoch at which Ozymandis reigned in Egypt. This is a matter of great uncertainty, and scarcely two writers agree upon the subject. Mr. Wilkinson infers the identity of Ozymandis and Innandes and Memfis, and says, that in his reign the Bactrians, who had been subdued by Sesostris, rebelled, and threw off their allegiance to the Egyptians; thus placing Ozymandis after Sesostris. Dr. Hales, on the contrary, identifies Ozymandis with Se-

sostris, affirming that the particulars of the above description accurately correspond to Sesostris, and to no other king before or after. There are others, again, who, perhaps with more reason, conjecture that the name which Diodorus thus wrote was that of the monarch whom Manetho calls Sethos Ramesses, or Ramesses II., who was the father of Sesostris. The tomb of this monarch, as seen above, was opened by Belzoni, and it is certain that he was a great warrior, as Diodorus relates. His exploits are recorded in the palace of Karnac, and the Memnonium.

The reign of Ramesses II. was conspicuous as the Augustan era of Egypt, when the arts attained a degree of perfection which no after age excelled, and the arms of Egypt were extended considerably farther into the heart of Asia than during the most successful invasions of his predecessors. In the fourth year of his reign, he had already waged a successful war against several distant nations. His march lay along the coast of Palestine, and the record of that event is still preserved on the rocks of the Lycus, near Beyrout, where his name and figure present the singular circumstance of a Pharaonic monument without the confines of Egypt. That the Egyptians extended their dominions far beyond the valley of the Nile, is proved by the monuments and the sacred writings. Some of their northern possessions were retained until Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took from Pharaoh-necho all that belonged to him, "from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates," 2 Kings xxiv. 7. M. Champollion supposes that the people over whom Ramesses II. triumphed were the Scythians, and the hieroglyphics admit of such a reading. The dress, appearance, as well as the name of his enemies, shows them to have been inhabitants of Central Asia. These hieroglyphics indicate that they were skilful in the art of war, and that they possessed strong towns, and a country traversed by a large river. Their mode of fortifying their towns, the double fosses that surrounded their walls, their bridges over them, and their mode of drawing up the phalanxes of infantry, suggest a considerable progress in civilisation and the art of war. Their offensive and defensive arms consisted of spears and swords, helmets, shields, and coats of mail. They possessed two-horsed chariots, which contained each three men, thus forming a well-constituted and powerful body of troops. Some fought on horses, which they guided by a bridle, without saddles; but the far greater part fought in cars, all of which is indicative of an Asiatic people.

PROTEUS.

Proteus, whose Coptic name was Cetes, which Suidas says, signified a manifold sea monster sometimes a lion, a panther, a toad, a whale, etc., very difficult to be overcome, was a Memphite.

It was the name of this monarch that gave rise to the Grecian fable of Proteus, as described by Homer, (*Odys.* iv. 414—450,) and Virgil, (*Georg.* iv. 388—450.) Diodorus explains this fable, (for which we refer the reader to the pages of these poets,) as arising from a custom among the Egyptian kings of wearing on their heads, a

emblems of sovereignty, the figures of bulls, lions, and dragons, fire, branches of trees, with frankincense, and perfumes, not only to adorn themselves, but to strike awe and terror into the hearts of their subjects.

This explanation, however, is questioned by some, from the circumstance of the head dresses of the kings being represented in the sculptures, when offering to the gods, both numerous and varied in their forms.

The shrine of Proteus was still visible at Memphis in the time of Herodotus. It stood on the south of the temple of Vulcan, (the god of the ancients, who presided over fire, and who was the patron of all artists who worked in iron and metals,) and was magnificently ornamented. The Phœnicians of Tyre who had settled in Egypt lived in its vicinity when Herodotus visited the country, and the whole of the environs thence obtained the name of the Tyrian camp.

There was, also, in the same spot, a small temple dedicated to Venus, the stranger, a goddess who was conjectured by Herodotus to be the Grecian Helen, who was said to have lived some time at the court of Proteus. This author says, that the priests of Egypt gave him the subjoined information concerning this heroine:—"Paris, having carried off Helen from Sparta, was returning home, when contrary winds arising in the Ægean, he was driven into the Egyptian sea. The winds continuing unfavourable, he proceeded to Egypt, and putting into the Canopic mouth of the Nile, landed at the Taricheæ, or the salt pans, near a temple of Hercules. If, at any time, a slave fled for refuge to this shrine, and submitted to be marked with certain characters, in testimony of consecrating himself to the service of the deity, no one was permitted to molest him. The servants of Paris were aware of this privilege, and fleeing from their master, with a view of injuring him, became suppliants to the deity. They revealed the secret concerning Helen, and the wrong he had done to Menelaus, not only to the priests, but also to Thonis, governor of that mouth of the river.

"Thonis despatched a courier to Proteus at Memphis, with this message: 'A Trojan is arrived here, who has committed an atrocious crime in Greece. Not only has he seduced the wife of his host, but he has carried her away with his treasures. Contrary winds have brought him hither: shall I permit his departure, or seize his person and property?' Proteus commanded, that whoever the man was who had thus violated the rites of hospitality, he should be brought before him. Paris, with Helen, and all his treasures, were, therefore, sent to Memphis. Proteus inquired who he was, and from whence he came. The delinquent related the name of his family and country, and from what place he had set sail; but when he was questioned concerning Helen, he equivocated, and endeavoured to conceal the truth, till the slaves who had deserted him were confronted with him, and explained all the circumstances of his guilt. Proteus, therefore, pronounced this sentence: 'If I did not consider it a great crime to put a stranger to death, who has been driven on my coast by contrary winds, I would, thou worst of men, avenge the Greek whose hospitality thou

hast abused in so treacherous a manner. Thou hast seduced his wife, and, not contented with this, thou hast stolen her away, and still detainest her; and, to complete the crime, thou hast robbed his home. But, as I consider it not right to put a stranger to death, I suffer thee to depart. This woman, however, and the wealth thou hast brought, I forbid thee to take. These shall remain with me till the Greek demands them in person. In three days leave the coasts of Egypt with thy companions, or expect death.'

"Helen was detained by Proteus till the arrival of Menelaus, who finding, when Troy was taken, that Helen was in Egypt, repaired to the court of the Egyptian monarch. On his arrival, he related the object of his journey. He was received with the rites of hospitality, and Helen, who had been treated respectfully, was restored to him, with all his treasures. He then returned to the coast, intending to return to Greece immediately; but the winds were contrary; and Menelaus, unmindful of the favours he had received, clandestinely seized two children, and offered them as a sacrifice. This was no sooner made public, than the Egyptians resolved to punish the perpetrator of this gross outrage. But, as he fled by sea into Africa, they were unable to overtake him, and Menelaus thereby escaped their indignation, and the punishment he deserved." This history demolishes much of the Homeric fable.

Proteus is said to have founded the city of Memphis, the metropolis of Lower Egypt.* He reigned about fifty years, during which time the country is supposed to have enjoyed peace and prosperity. He is the last of the Egyptian monarchs whose history is connected with that of the heroic age.

RHAMPSINITUS.

This monarch is not distinguished for the extent of his conquests: but he surpassed all his predecessors in wealth, and in his fondness for riches. Diodorus says, that he was so avaricious, that he would not employ any of the treasure he had amassed, either for the service of the gods, or the benefit of his subjects. The monuments, however, which he erected at Memphis, disprove this statement, and claim for him a place among the patrons of his religion, and the encouragers of art. According to Herodotus, he added the western vestibule to the temple of Vulcan, and adorned it with two colossal statues, twenty-five cubits high. The same author relates a romantic tale concerning an artful and daring robbery committed on his treasury, and of the singular expedient which he employed to discover the robber; but the details deserve no mention in these pages.

Rhampsinitus is supposed to have been the patron of the Eleusinian mysteries, which were first instituted in Egypt, and which were designed to maintain the immortality of the soul and a future judgment after death, by the infernal deities Ceres and Bacchus. This sup-

* The reader will observe, that the founding of Memphis is ascribed by ancient historians to two monarchs of different ages, namely, to Menes and Proteus. It is probable that Menes founded it, and that it was enlarged by Proteus.

position is founded on another romantic tale, which states that Rhaupsinus descended into the infernal regions, and played at dice with the goddess Ceres, and alternately won and lost. The Eleusinian mysteries, which were an allegory kept secret from the multitude in all ages, and of which nothing is known, passed from Egypt into Greece. Why they were kept secret, we are told by Synesius. "The ignorance of the mysteries," he says, "preserves their veneration: for which reason they are intrusted only to the cover of the night." Clemens Alexandrinus, also, says, that the veil or mist through which things are only permitted to be seen, renders the truths contained under it more venerable and majestic. The learned Varro, moreover, in a fragment of his book, "Of Religions," preserved by St. Augustin, relates, that there were many truths which it was inconvenient for the state to be generally known; and many things which, though false, it was expedient the people should believe; and that, therefore, the Greeks shut up their mysteries in the silence of their sacred inclosures.

How different from all this is the promulgation of the doctrines of the Bible among mankind! By a stated ministry, charged to declare the whole counsel of God, we are taught the precious truths contained therein; and, if the meaning of any passage appears hidden from sight, we are encouraged to ask of God, and he, by his Holy Spirit, will guide us "into all truth." Truly these are proofs of the Divine origin and authority of the Holy Scriptures.

Till the reign of Rhaupsinus, Egypt was remarkable for its excellent laws, its strict justice, and moderation; but, according to Herodotus, in the two next reigns oppression and cruelty usurped their place.

CHEOPS.

On the authority of the Egyptian priests, it is stated by Herodotus, that this prince was the builder of the first pyramid, and that he shut up the temples, and prohibited the national sacrifices. This it is not probable a native king would either desire or dare to do; and, therefore, the report may have been made, as is supposed by some, to conceal the disgrace of their former slavery and oppression under the shepherd kings, and to enhance the power and grandeur of their native kings. It would appear, however, that Cheops disregarded justice, and bore an iron rule compared with his predecessors.

According to Dr. Hales, Cheops was the father of that princess of Egypt whom Solomon, king of Israel, married. See 1 Kings iii. 1. If such were the case, Cheops was a warlike prince; for it is recorded of him in the sacred writings, under the name of Pharaoh, that he took Gezer, and burned it with fire, and slew the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and gave it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife, 1 Kings ix. 16. It is not recorded how the king of Egypt came to be engaged in this undertaking; perhaps he had a quarrel of his own with the inhabitants of Gezer; or, his son-in-law, Solomon, who did not himself engage in any military undertaking, might have requested him to render him this

service. By this king, also, Solomon was supplied with horses, chariots, etc., out of Egypt, 1 Kings x. 28, 29.

But it must not be forgotten, that the placing of Cheops, by Herodotus and chronologists, after the Trojan war, is considered by some to be a gross anachronism. Manetho places him among the earliest of the Pharaohs, under the name of Suphis, and the monuments would seem to testify that he is correct. Be this as it may, Cheops, it would appear, reigned fifty years, and was succeeded by Cephrenes, his brother.

CEPHRENE.

By the same ancient writer, Herodotus, and on the same authority, the priests, Cephrenes is said to have built the second pyramid, and to have adopted the policy of his predecessor. Of this pyramid, Herodotus remarks, that this had no subterraneous chambers, nor any channel for the admission of the Nile, like the former, near which it stood; from which it would appear that the first was a water temple.

Most writers of ancient history, as stated in the article Sesostris, have identified that restless conqueror with the Sesac, or Shishak,* of Scripture; but Dr. Kussel, in the third volume of his "Connexion," and Dr. Hales, in his "Analysis of Chronology," have shown that Sesostris lived anterior to this event. The latter writer, who identifies Cephrenes with Shishak, says, "The reign of Cephrenes, so late as a.c. 1032, is corrected from a rectification of Syncellus's Catalogue, explained before. This date, combined with his long reign of fifty-six years, according to Herodotus, intimates, that he could be no other than the Sesac, or Shishak, of Scripture, now, for the first time, determined in the present system of chronology, after having been so long misunderstood, from the days of Josephus to those of Marsham and Newton."

One circumstance, namely, that Herodotus did not identify Sesostris with Shishak, is greatly in favour of this conclusion; but there is a great degree of uncertainty in the identification of Cephrenes with Shishak, inasmuch as Manetho places him, like Cheops, among the earliest of the Pharaohs. Without, therefore, identifying Shishak with either Sesostris or Cephrenes, here may be presented to the reader what is found in the sacred page concerning that monarch, under his scripture name.

SHISHAK.

It is said, 2 Chron. xii. 2—12, "And it came to pass, that in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, because they had transgressed against the Lord, with twelve hundred chariots, and three-score thousand horsemen: and the people were without number that came with him out of Egypt; the Lubims," (probably the Libyans), "the Sukkiims, and the Ethiopians. And he took the

* The word Shishak means a hard drinker, and is equivalent to his other title, Barchus, a bottle companion; titles which were considered by the ancients as very honourable. To be able to drink more wine than other men, was considered by them as part of the character of a hero.

framed cities which pertained to Judah, and came to Jerusalem. Then came Shemaiah the prophet to Rehoboam, and to the princes of Judah, that were gathered together at Jerusalem because of Shishak, and said unto them, Thus saith the Lord, Ye have forsaken me, and therefore have I also left you in the hands of Shishak. Whereupon the princes of Israel and the king humbled themselves; and they said, The Lord is righteous. And when the Lord saw that they humbled themselves, the word of the Lord came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; therefore I will not destroy them, but I will grant them some deliverance; and my wrath shall not be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak. Nevertheless they shall be his servants; that they may know my service, and the service of the kingdoms of the countries. So Shishak king of Egypt came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house; he took all: he carried away also the shields of gold which Solomon had made. Instead of which king Rehoboam made shields of brass, and committed them to the hands of the chief of the guard, that kept the entrance of the king's house. And when the king entered into the house of the Lord, the guard came and fetched them, and brought them again into the guard chamber. And when he humbled himself, the wrath of the Lord turned from him, that he would not destroy him altogether; and also in Judah things went well." See also 1 Kings xiv. 25-28.

It is thought by some, that the invasion of Judah by Shishak was at the instigation of Jeroboam, who had previously resided at the Egyptian monarch's court, and had married his daughter. It is probable, that this first king of Israel was immediately connected with the transaction; for the ten tribes over whom he reigned were in alliance with Shishak, and, at this date, in determined hostility towards the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, as appears from 1 Kings xii. The interest and security, therefore, of Jeroboam, seemed to require that the king of Judah, his rival, should be humbled by a foreign and superior power. The chastisement, however, as intimated by the sacred writer, came from the hands of the Almighty; and the narrative shows how jealous the Lord is of his own honour; how merciful he is to the repentant; and how kind in warning the creatures of his hands against straying from his fold. His design was, to restore Judah from the error of their ways; that effected, his anger ceased, and the Egyptians returned to their own land.

It may be mentioned, that the Shishak of Scripture is identified by Champollion and others with Sesonchia, according to Manetho, and She-shonk, according to the Phonetic signs. The latter name, with the title, confirmed by Ammon, appears on one of the columns of the first grand peristyle in the palace of Karnac. Among the sculptured ornaments of this palace, the personage thus named is represented as dragging to the feet of his gods the chiefs of thirty conquered nations; and it is remarkable, that there is one whose distinguishing hieroglyphic inscription is equivalent in Phonetic value to *Joude-ha-malek*,

meaning the king of the Jews, or of Judah. The names of the kingdom of Judah, and of several towns on the Egyptian frontier of Judah, Megiddo, Beth-horon, etc., occur in the list of his conquests. It may be inferred, therefore, that the triumphant scene commemorates, among many others, that recorded in the sacred writings, and as such it is highly interesting.

MYCERINUS.

This monarch is represented as the son of Cheops, and, therefore, advanced in years when he ascended the throne. Mycerinus was reckoned the builder of the third pyramid, which is represented by Herodotus as superior to the others in costliness of materials and excellence of workmanship, though inferior in size. But this structure could not possibly have been built within so short a period, which is a proof of the fallacy of the statements made by the priests of Egypt concerning the pyramids, and the monarchs during this period. Of Mycerinus they have reported that his character was the reverse of that of his father. So far from walking in his steps, he detested his conduct, and pursued opposite measures. He again opened the temples of the gods, restored the sacrifices, and did all that lay in his power to comfort his subjects, and make them forget their past miseries. He believed himself set over them for no other purpose but to exercise justice, and to administer to them the blessings of an equitable and peaceful administration. He heard their complaints, dried their tears, alleviated their misery, and considered himself the father of his people. This conduct procured for him the love and esteem of all his subjects; Egypt, it is said, resounded with his praises, and his name commanded veneration in distant lands.

This prudent and humane conduct did not exempt Mycerinus from calamity. Herodotus says, that his misfortunes commenced with the death of a beloved and only daughter, in whom his chief felicity consisted. He ordered extraordinary honours to be paid to her memory, which were continued in this historian's days; for he states, that in the city of Saïs, exquisite odours were burned in the daytime at the tomb of the princess, and that during the night a lamp was kept constantly burning. Her body is said to have been inclosed in a heifer, made of wood, and richly ornamented with gold.

After this, Mycerinus met with another calamity. He was informed by the oracle of Buto that his reign would continue but seven years, and upon complaining of this to the gods, and inquiring the reason why so long and prosperous a reign had been granted both to his uncle and father, who were equally cruel and impious, whilst his own, which he had endeavoured to render equitable and mild, should be so short and unhappy? he was answered, that these were the causes of it; it being the will of the gods to afflict Egypt during the space of one hundred and fifty years, as a punishment for its crimes; and that his reign, which was to have been, like those of the preceding monarchs, of fifty years' continuance, was shortened on account of his overmuch lenity. But all this bears upon the face of it the stamp

of fiction: for Mycerinus being an aged man when he succeeded the throne of Egypt, it could not be supposed, that, in the common course of nature, he should reign as long as Cheops, or Cephrenes. It is probable that Mycerinus reigned about ten years.

The immediate successor of Mycerinus is uncertain. Herodotus asserts it was Asychis, who appears to have been a Memphite. Diodorus, however, introduces the names of Tnephachthis, or, as Ptolemy calls him, Tenechthis, and his son, Bocchoris, both of whom are omitted by Herodotus, as Asychis and Anyasis are in his catalogue of kings.

TNEPHACHTHIS.

This prince is only known as being the father of Bocchoris, and as having led an expedition into Arabia, where he endured great privations, owing to the loss of his baggage in this inhospitable country. Being obliged to put up with poor and slender diet, and finding his sleep in consequence more sound and refreshing, he felt persuaded of the ill effects resulting from luxury, and was resolved on his return to Thebes to record his abhorrence of the conduct of Menes, who had induced the Egyptians to abandon their frugal and simple habits. Accordingly, he erected a stela, with an inscription to that purpose, in the temple of Amun at Thebes, where his son also made considerable additions to the sacred buildings dedicated to the deity. This stela, or tablet, cannot now be discovered in any of the ruins of Thebes, and the truth of this statement may, therefore, perhaps, be questioned.

BOCCHORIS.

This prince is the Bakhor, or Pehor, of the Phonetic signs, who reigned about 812 B.C. He is represented to have been despicable in his person, but the qualities of his mind fully compensated for any imperfections of the body; for, according to Diodorus, he excelled all his predecessors in wisdom or prudence, whence he obtained the surname of "the wise."

It is supposed by some that Bocchoris is mentioned by Herodotus under the name of Asychis, of which monarch, that historian relates, that he enacted the law relative to loans, which forbade a son to borrow money, without giving the dead body of his father by way of security, as explained page 28. Herodotus states, also, that Asychis prided himself in having surpassed all his predecessors, by the building of a pyramid of brick, more magnificent than any hitherto erected, with this inscription engraved on a marble slab: "Compare me not with the stone pyramids, for I am as superior to them as Jove is to the other gods. Thus was I made: men probing with poles the bottom of a lake drew forth the mud which adhered to them and formed it into bricks."

Bocchoris is reputed to have been one of the Egyptian lawgivers, and in this capacity to have introduced many useful regulations in the ancient code respecting debt and fiscal matters; but some have imagined that his care of the revenue proceeded from avarice, rather than from a de-

sire to benefit the state. So high, says Ptolemy, was the veneration his subjects paid him, that they fabled Isis to have sent an asp to deprive him of his sight, that he might judge righteously.

Diodorus places a long period between his reign and that of Sabachus the Ethiopian, who, however, follows him next but one in the Phonetic chronology and in that of Manetho, which is most likely to be correct in this particular. The monarch who intervened between Bocchoris and Sabachus, was, according to Dr. Hales and other chronologers, Anyasis.

ANYSIS.

Herodotus says, this king was blind; and that he had only reigned two years when Sabachus invaded Egypt, and drove him into the fens. It is agreed on all hands that the Sabachus of Herodotus was the So of Scripture, whose aid was implored by Hoshea king of Israel, against Sennacherib king of Assyria, about 726 years B.C. Sabachus ruled in Egypt with great justice and moderation about fifty years; he resigned the throne in obedience to an oracle, and returned to Abyssinia. Dr. Hales conjectures that the true cause of his leaving Egypt was the apprehension of an Assyrian war, which it is probable he had in the first instance sought to avert, by prompting Hoshea to rebel against Sennacherib. It is said that Sabachus built several magnificent temples, and among the rest, one in the city of Heliopolis, of which a copious and elegant description is given by Herodotus. After Sabachus had retired, Anyasis reascended the throne of Egypt, and reigned till his death, which occurred at the lapse of six years, or about 719 B.C.

SETHON, OR SEBECOM.

Sethon was a pontifical king, and his accession is fixed at B.C. 713, by the character of Sennacherib's invasion, as narrated by Herodotus. He says: "At this time there reigned in Egypt a priest of Vulcan, named Sethon, who neglected and contemned the military establishment which had been formed in Egypt, and among other dishonours which he put upon the soldier caste, he withdrew the allotment of twelve acres of land, which, under former kings, had been allowed as the portion of every soldier. After this, when Sennacherib invaded Egypt with a great army, not one of the military class would come forward to his assistance. The royal priest, in this emergency, seeing no help before him, withdrew to a temple, where, standing before the image, he deplored bitterly the evils with which his kingdom was threatened. As he wept, sleep overpowered him, and he saw in a vision the god standing by, who, bidding him be of good cheer, assured him that no harm should befall him if he marched out against the Assyrians; for he would himself send him assistance. Sethon took courage from this vision, and collecting a body of men, none of whom were soldiers, he marched out and formed his camp at Pelusium. The night after his arrival, myriads of field-mice infested the camp of the enemy, gnawing in pieces their quivers, their bow-strings, and the straps of

their shields; so that in the morning, finding themselves deprived of the use of their arms, they fled in great disorder, and many of them were slain. In order to commemorate this event, a marble statue of Sethon was erected in the temple of Ptah, at Memphis, representing the king holding a rat in his hand, with this inscription: "Whoever thou art, learn from my fortune to reverence the gods."

This, observes a learned writer, is evidently nothing more than an adaptation to Egypt, its king, and its gods, of what belonged to Judah, to Heshkiah, and to the power of Jehovah. It is, indeed, a parody of the miraculous destruction of the Assyrian army before Jerusalem, in the reign of Heshkiah, by the pestilential blast, as foretold by Isaiah, and the particulars of which are narrated, 2 Kings xix., and Isaiah xxxvii. It is there recorded, that the king of Assyria, having subdued all the neighbouring nations, and made himself master of all the other cities of Judah, resolved to besiege Heshkiah in Jerusalem. The ministers of this good monarch, in opposition to his will, and the remonstrances of the prophet Isaiah, who promised them, in the name of Jehovah, sure protection, if they would trust in him only, went secretly to the Egyptians and Ethiopians for succour. Their armies, being united, marched to the relief of Jerusalem: but they were met and vanquished by the Assyrians, who pursued them into Egypt, and laid waste their country. At their return from thence, on the very night before a general assault was to have been made upon Jerusalem, as the army of Sennacherib were resting in their tents,

"A mighty angel from the eternal God
Breathed death upon the slumbering host, and sent
The impious monarch, overwhelmed with shame,
Back to his native land and idol gods."

One hundred and eighty-five thousand of the Assyrians perished, and Sennacherib, confounded and disgraced, returned to his own land, where he perished by the hands of his own sons, "in the house of Nisroch his god."

These are the facts connected with the transaction; but through contempt of the Jews, says Dr. Hales, who were then a depressed people, and whose name Herodotus has not once deemed to notice in the course of his history, he had transferred the miracle in favour of the Egyptians, whom he admired; or else simply recorded the tradition of the priests, thus authenticating, while they perverted the original miracle.

The prophet Isaiah, on several occasions, had foretold that this expedition of the Egyptians, which had been concerted with such prudence, conducted with such skill, and in which the forces of two powerful empires were united in order to relieve the Jews, would not only be of no avail to them, but even destructive to Egypt itself, whose strongest cities would be taken, its treasures plundered, and its inhabitants of all ages and both sexes led into captivity. See Isa. xviii., xix., xx., xxxi., xxxii., etc. By some writers it is conjectured that the splendour of Thebes received its first blow at this period: the prophet Nahum mentions, indeed, that such an event occurred when "Ethiopia and Egypt were

bar strength," Nah. iii. 9, which indicates that it was at this period. The monarch of Ethiopia, who joined his forces with those of Sethon, as intimated in the sacred writings, was Tirhakah, who was one of the successors of Sabsachos, and who is supposed by some authors to have held Upper Egypt.* But this does not appear to be fully proved; for, at the death of Sethon, great confusion or anarchy took place, which continued two years; after which time, about B.C. 673, the Egyptians elected twelve kings, one for every nome, or district.

TWELVE KINGS.

The turbulence that attended this change of government, from a monarchy to an oligarchy, seems to have been foretold by the prophet Isaiah. Speaking in the name of Jehovah, he says,

"And I will set the Egyptians against the Egyptians:
And they shall fight every one against his brother,
And every one against his neighbour;
City against city.
And kingdom against kingdom." Isa. xix. 2.

Herodotus says, it was agreed by these twelve kings, that each should govern his own district with equal power and authority, and that no one should invade the dominions of another. To this end they bound themselves with the most solemn oaths, to elude the prediction of an oracle which had foretold that the oligarchy would be dissolved by that one among them who should offer his libation to Vulcan out of a brazen vessel. But accident brought to pass that which they sought to avoid. One day, as the twelve kings were offering solemn sacrifices to Vulcan, the priests having presented eleven of them with a golden bowl for the libation found that one was wanting; upon which, Psammitichus, one of the twelve, without any design on his part, supplied the want of this golden bowl with his brazen helmet, and with it performed the ceremony of the libation. This accident alarmed the rest of the kings, by recalling to their memory the prediction of the oracle, and they thought it necessary to secure themselves from his attempts, which they did by banishing him into the fenny parts of Egypt. After his expulsion to the fens, he consulted the oracle of Latona, at Buto, how to be revenged on his associates. He was answered, that "his revenge should come when brazen men should appear from the sea;" and not long after, he heard with astonishment, that the country was pillaged by "brazen men coming from the sea." These were a set of Ionian and Carian pirates, who were covered with helmets, cuirasses, and other arms of brass, and whom Psammitichus

* Mr. Wilkinson says on this subject: "that Tirhakah ruled at Napata and in the Thebaid at the same period, is sufficiently proved by the additions he made to the temples of Thebes, and by the monuments he built in Ethiopia; nor did the Egyptians efface his records, or forget the gratitude they owed to the defender of their country. The name of Nectanebo has, indeed, usurped the place of Tirhakah's name in one or two instances among the sculptures at Thebes: but such substitutions are not uncommon, and the name of the Ethiopian has not been erased from any ill-will, so often evident when an obnoxious monarch has ceased to reign." This is the strongest evidence we have on the subject, and it is rather presumptive than conclusive.

hired to assist him in dethroning his associates. This they did effectually, and made him sole sovereign of Egypt; and in reward of their services he settled them near Bubastis, at the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, whence they were transported afterwards by Amasis to Memphis.

This is derived from Herodotus: the version which Diodorus gives is more consistent with probability. It runs thus:—As Psammitichus, whose sway extended to the Mediterranean, had availed himself of the opportunities offered by the sea-ports within his province of establishing commercial intercourse with the Phenicians and Greeks, and had amassed considerable wealth by these means; his colleagues, jealous of his increasing power, and fearing that he would eventually employ it against them, resolved to prevent such an occurrence, and to dispossess him of his province. They, therefore, prepared to attack him, and by this step obliged Psammitichus to adopt measures which his ambition might not have contemplated. Apprised of their resolutions, and finding himself threatened by the formidable army of all the upper provinces, he sent to Arabia, Caria, and Ionia; and, having succeeded in raising a considerable body of mercenaries, he was soon able to oppose them; and putting himself at the head of these and his native troops, he gave them battle at Memphis, routed their combined forces, and obliging those of the princes who had escaped the slaughter to flee to Libya, became possessed of an undivided throne.

The twelve kings reigned in Egypt fifteen years; and to them is attributed the building of the labyrinth near the lake Meris. Of this wonderful structure, Herodotus says, that it had twelve courts, fifteen hundred chambers above, and as many more under ground, with very great variety of halls, passages, and mazes; and that the roof and walls were all encrusted with sculptured marble, and surrounded with pillars of white and polished stone. In the lower apartments, he was informed, were the tombs, both of the kings who originally built the labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. The upper apartments, which he examined, excited his admiration, as the greatest efforts of human art and industry; surpassing, in workmanship and expense, the far-famed pyramids, and the most admired temples of Ephesus and Samos.

From this representation it is questioned whether the labyrinth could have been constructed during the short space of fifteen years. It is probable, indeed, that several successions of kings were employed in this prodigious work, and that it was constructed by the shepherd dynasty, who were idolaters, and worshipped the Nile in their pyramids, and very likely the crocodile. Pliny reckons, that the labyrinth was built 3,600 years before his time. This date is too remote, for it would then have been erected before the deluge. His assertion, however, tends to prove that he considered the work to have been of the remotest antiquity.

PSAMMITICHUS.

From the time of the Grecian colony first settled in Egypt, by Psammitichus, and their constant intercourse with Greece, we know with cer-

tainly, says Herodotus, all that has passed in that country. The Egyptian annals, indeed, from the reign of this prince, about 658 years A.C., assume a regular and settled form in the succession of kings. The clearer knowledge of Egyptian history from this date is chiefly owing to a fact which Herodotus records of Psammitichus. He states that, having settled the Ionians and Carians in Egypt, he sent among them the Egyptian youths to be instructed in the Greek language; from whence sprang the state interpreters of that tongue. The youths chosen for interpreters were, without question, those of the priesthood; since to that order all letters and learning were restricted, and they had likewise a great share in the public administration. The priesthood, therefore, having the Greek tongue amongst them, which its use in public affairs would cause them to cultivate diligently, it is no wonder that some of these interpreters should afterwards employ themselves in translating the Egyptian records into the Grecian language; from whence the present knowledge of them is derived.

As soon as Psammitichus was settled on the throne of Egypt, he engaged in war against the king of Assyria, on the subject of the boundaries of the two empires. This war was of long duration. Ever since Syria had been conquered by the Assyrians, Palestine, being the only country that separated the two kingdoms, was the subject of constant discord; as it was afterwards between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids. They were ever contending for it, and it was ultimately won by the stronger. Psammitichus, seeing himself in the peaceable possession of all Egypt, and having restored the ancient form of government, as an act of policy looked to his frontiers to secure them against the aggressions of the Assyrians, whose power increased daily. He therefore entered Palestine at the head of a powerful army, and advanced as far as Azotus victoriously. But his career was here stopped. Azotus was at that time one of the principal cities of Palestine, and the Egyptians having seized it some time before, had fortified it with such care, that it was strongest on the side that Psammitichus attacked it; namely, that towards Egypt. The consequence was, it cost him the labour of twenty-nine years before he could retake it from the hands of the Assyrians, into whose possession it had fallen when Sennacherib entered Egypt. This is the longest siege mentioned in the pages of ancient history.

Diodorus says, that Psammitichus having assigned the right wing to the Greek troops in this war, and the left to the Egyptians, the latter were so indignant at the dishonour put upon them, that they quitted the camp, and with other regiments which had remained in Egypt, abandoned his service, and, to the number of 240,000 men, retired into Ethiopia. According to Herodotus, they entered into the service of the Ethiopian prince, and their migration, introducing the arts and manners of a refined nation, had a very sensible effect in civilizing the Ethiopians. The exact position of the country they occupied is unknown. Herodotus places it on the Nile. Strabo near Meroe; but Pliny, on the authority of Aristocreon, reckons "seventeen days from

Meroe to Kuar, a city of the Egyptians who fled from Psammithichus.

During this period, about the twenty-third year of his reign, or A.C. 635, the Scythians, who had defeated Cyaxares, prince of Media, and deprived him of all Upper Asia, the dominion of which they held twenty-eight years, pushed their conquests in Syria as far as the frontiers of Egypt, intending to invade that country, by way of retarding the invasion of Scythia by Sesostris. Psammithichus, however, marching out to meet them, prevailed upon them by presents and intreaties to desist from their enterprise, and thus averted the threatened blow.

Till the reign of Psammithichus, the Egyptians had imagined that they were the most ancient people upon the earth, and that the honour of the origin of language was due to them. Psammithichus was desirous of proving this claim, and Herodotus relates a whimsical experiment, which he adopted to find out the primeval language. He shut up two new-born infants in a solitary cottage, for two years, under the care of a shepherd, who was not to suffer any one to speak in their hearing, and who was to cause them to be suckled by goats. One day the shepherd, entering the cottage, both the children ran to him, holding out their hands, and crying, "Bekhos, bekhos!" This they repeated afterwards; and *bekhos* being found, on inquiry, to signify "bread" in the Phrygian dialect, the Egyptians yielded the palm of antiquity to the Phrygians. But this experiment was by no means conclusive; for the children evidently imitated "bek," stripped of the Greek termination, *Aos*, the bleating of the goats; and Herodotus himself acknowledges, elsewhere, that the Phrygians were a Macedonian colony, originally called Bryges, and afterwards Phryges; their barbarous dialect, therefore, could be no standard. One obvious and useful result, however, from the inconclusive experiment, says Dr. Hales, was, to show, that the faculty of speech was considered as innate, or "the gift of nature," by the Egyptians, then reckoned the wisest and the most argumentative people of antiquity. Far wiser, then, were they than some of our modern philosophers, who represent the faculty of speech as "a talent acquired, like all others," as an "invention" discovered posterior to several others, and after the formation of societies. The great moralist, Dr. Johnson, has well remarked:—Language must have come by INSPIRATION: a thousand, nay, a million of children could not invent a language; while the organs are pliable, there is not understanding enough to form a language; and by the time there is understanding enough, the organs are grown stiff. We know, that after a certain age, we cannot learn a language. The truth is, language is the gift of a beneficent and all-wise Creator, and it is given to man, to make known his wants, his desires, his sorrows, and all the multifarious circumstances of human life, as well with his relation to God as to his fellow-man. It is given, also, that man may glorify his Maker, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, and they who abuse this precious gift will meet with a due reward; for it is written, "that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment," Matt. xii. 36.

Psammithichus died about A.C. 619. He was succeeded by Necho.

NECHUS.

Necho, who is the Pharaoh-nechoh of Scripture, (2 Kings xxiii.) commenced his reign in the twentieth year of the reign of Josiah, king of Judah. This king is noted for remarkable undertakings. One of the principal of these was, to cut a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, a distance of about one thousand stadia, or about 118 English miles. But in this Necho was obliged to desist, after a great number of men had perished in the progress of the undertaking; being apprehensive of disastrous consequences from the superior elevation of the Red Sea.

Another great undertaking of this prince was the circumnavigation of Africa. This was the most renowned and brilliant circumstance of his reign. After the failure of the canal, Necho employed some skillful Phœnician mariners to sail on a voyage of discovery, from the mouth of the Red Sea, southward, round the peninsula of Africa, in which they doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and returned by the Straits of Gibraltar, through the Mediterranean Sea, completing their voyage in three years. Herodotus has recorded this fact; and he subjoins that these persons affirmed what to him seemed incredible, namely, that as they sailed round Africa, they had the sun on their right hand. But this statement serves, more than any thing else, to authenticate their story. It demonstrates, indeed, that they crossed the southern tropic of Capricorn, and confirms the truth of their narrative. Major Rennel has given an ingenious description of their probable route and their several stations, caused by the interruption of the trade-winds, monsoons, and currents, on the eastern and western sides of Africa. There has, however, been a threefold objection alleged against this historical fact: first, a total failure of all consequences; secondly, a total want of all collateral evidence; and, thirdly, a total silence of all other historians, but Herodotus and his followers. To these objections, Dr. Hales makes the following satisfactory replies: "1. The failure of consequences naturally resulted from the depressed state of Egypt, during the Babylonian and Persian dominations; which took place in, and after Pharaoh-nechoh's reign. 2. We have strong collateral evidence, in the voyage of Satespes, which was required by Xerxes to be made, in the contrary direction to this; namely, along the western coast of Africa, and to return by the eastern into the Red Sea. But this voyage failed, and probably prevented any farther attempts from Egypt. Nor was Herodotus the only author of antiquity among those whose works have come down to us, who believed that Africa had been sailed round; for Pliny believed that it had been achieved by Hanno, Eudoxus, and others; but he is silent concerning the voyage of Necho, while Herodotus is silent about Hanno's voyage. Hence it may be suspected, that as this navigation was made much about the same time with that of Hanno, Pliny may have confounded them together, referring the actions

of the Egyptian to the Carthaginian.* 3. The testimony of Herodotus is ably supported by Dean Vincent (the author who makes the foregoing objections) himself. It must be confessed, says he, that the facts Herodotus gives us of this voyage, though few, are consistent. The shadow falling to the south, the delay of stopping (about three months only) to sow grain and reap a harvest, and the space of three years employed in the circumnavigation, joined with the simplicity of the narrative, are all points so strong and convincing, that if they be insisted on by those, who believe the possibility of effecting the passage by the ancients, no arguments to the contrary, however founded upon a different opinion, can leave the mind without a doubt upon the question."

After this, Herodotus observes, the king betook himself to military exploits; and it is most interesting to find, that the military exploit which he proceeds to mention is no other than that very transaction which is recorded in Scripture in these words: "After all this, when Josiah had prepared the temple, Necho, king of Egypt, came up to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates; and Josiah went out against him. But he sent ambassadors to him, saying, What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah? I come not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war: for God commanded me to make haste: forbear thee from meddling with God, who is with me, that he destroy thee not. Nevertheless Josiah would not turn his face from him, but disguised himself, that he might fight with him, and hearkened not unto the words of Necho from the mouth of God, and came to fight in the valley of Megiddo. And the archers shot at king Josiah; and the king said to his servants, Have me away; for I am sore wounded. His servants therefore took him out of that chariot, and put him in the second chariot that he had; and they brought him to Jerusalem, and he died, and was buried in one of the sepulchres of his fathers," 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—24.

The words of Herodotus are: Necho invading the Syrians, overthrew them at Magdolum, and then took Cadytis, a great city in Syria. This Cadytis he afterwards mentions as a city of the Syrian Palestine, which he conjectured was little inferior in size to Sardis. That Magdolum is Megiddo, where Necho overthrew Josiah, and Cadytis, Jerusalem, is very generally agreed. This event may be dated 608 years a.c.

Necho, animated by this victory, continued his march, and advanced towards the Euphrates. He defeated the Babylonians; took Carchemish, a large city on that country, and securing to himself the possession of it by a strong garrison, returned to his own kingdom, after having been absent three months.

Being informed in his march homeward, that Jehoshaphat had caused himself to be proclaimed king of Jerusalem, without asking his consent, and considering this neglect as a token of hostile

feeling, he was highly incensed, and resolved on punishing his insolence. With this view, he ordered Jehoshaphat to meet him at Riblah, and he had no sooner arrived there than Necho commanded that he should be put in chains, and sent down to Egypt, where he died. From thence pursuing his march, Necho came to Jerusalem, where he placed Jehoakim, another of the sons of Josiah, upon the throne, in the room of his brother; and imposed an annual tribute on the land "of an hundred talents of silver, and a talent of gold," or about 40,435*l.* sterling, 2 Kings xxiii. 33—35. This being done, he returned in triumph to Egypt.

In the fourth year after this expedition, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, observing that since the taking of Carchemish by Necho, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him, and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march in person against the rebels, associated his son Nebuchadnezzar with him in the empire. This young prince (a.c. 604) took a severe revenge upon Necho. He invaded Egypt, and stripped him of all his conquests, from the Euphrates to the Nile, so effectually, that the king of Egypt went "not again any more out of his land to invade his neighbours. See 2 Kings xxiv. 7. This event was foretold by the prophet Jeremiah, in these emphatic words. "The word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah the prophet against the Gentiles; against Egypt, against the army of Pharaoh-necho, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish, which Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon smote in the fourth year of Jehoakim, the son of Josiah king of Judah," Jer. xli. 1, 2. So beautifully does prophecy and this historical fact harmonize. Necho died a.c. 603, and was succeeded by his son, Psammetichus.

PSAMMETICHUS.

History records nothing remarkable of Psammetichus, or Psammetichus, except that he made an expedition into Ethiopia. It was to this prince that the Arians sent an embassy, after having instituted the Olympic games. They had established all the regulations, and arranged every circumstance relating to them with such care, that, in their estimation, nothing was required to make them perfect, and envy itself could not find fault with them. They did not, however, desire so much to have the opinion, as to gain the approbation of the Egyptians, who were looked upon as the wisest and most judicious people in the world. On this subject, accordingly, the king of Egypt assembled the wise men of his nation. After everything had been heard which could be said in

of this institution, the Eleans were asked, whether citizens and foreigners were admitted in common to those games; to which answer was made in the affirmative. To this the Egyptians replied, that the rules of justice would have been more strictly observed, had foreigners only been admitted to these combats, because it was difficult for the judges, in their award of the victory and the prize, not to be prejudiced in favour of their fellow-citizens. Psammetichus died about a.c. 597, and was succeeded in his kingdom by his son Apries.

* This opinion of Dr. Hales does not appear to be well grounded; for though he states, that the expeditions were made "much about the same time," there was more than 100 years difference. Notwithstanding, Fliny may have confounded these expeditions; for we often find in ancient writers, actions recorded at one period, which took place in ages remote from that period.

APRIES, OR PHARAOH-HOPHRA.

During the first twenty-five years of his reign, Apries enjoyed greater prosperity than any of his predecessors, except Phammitichus. He defeated the Phœnicians, took Siden, and invaded Cyprus, which was finally subdued by Amasis, his successor.

But no state on earth is enduring; and the wise man has observed, that "pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall"—truths which were exemplified in the history of Pharaoh-Hophra in a remarkable manner.

In the pride of his heart, he imagined, says Herodotus, that no God could deprive him of the kingdom, so firmly did he think himself established. With reference to his haughtiness, the prophet Ezekiel, also, put these words into his mouth, "My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself," and symbolized him under the figure of the great dragon, or crocodile, basking in the midst of his rivers. See Ezek. xxix. 3. But in the height of his prosperity and fancied security, his doom was pronounced by the prophet Jeremiah in these emphatic words: "I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life," Jer. xlii. 30: which prediction was verified to the very letter, as will be seen in the course of this history.

Shortly after Apries had ascended the throne, Zedekiah king of Judah sent an embassy, Ezek. xvii. 15, and concluded an alliance with him. The next year, B.C. 588, rejecting the admonitions of Jeremiah, and looking for assistance from the king of Egypt, Zedekiah rebelled against Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who therefore besieged Jerusalem with a numerous force. The Egyptian monarch, elated by the success of his arms, and confident that nothing could resist his power, declared himself the protector of Israel, and promised to deliver Jerusalem out of the hands of Nebuchadnezzar. This drew upon him the anger of the Almighty, which was denounced by the prophet Ezekiel in these words:—

"Thus saith the Lord God;
Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt,
The great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers,
Which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself.
But I will put hooks in thy jaws,
And I will cause the fish of thy rivers to stick unto thy scales,
And I will bring thee up out of the midst of thy rivers,
And all the fish of the rivers shall stick into thy scales.
And I will leave thee thrown into the wilderness,
Thou and all the fish of thy rivers:
Thou shalt fall upon the open fields;
Thou shalt not be brought together, nor gathered:
I have given thee for meat to the beasts of the field
And to the fowls of the heaven.
And all the inhabitants of Egypt shall know that I am the Lord.
Because they have been a staff of reed to the house of Israel.
When they took hold of thee by thy hand,
Thou didst break, and rend all their shoulder:
And when they leaned upon thee,
Thou brokest, and madest all their loins to be at a stand.
Therefore thus saith the Lord God:
Behold, I will bring a sword upon thee,
And cut all man and beast out of thee.

And the land of Egypt shall be desolate and waste;
And they shall know that I am the Lord:
Because he hath said, The river is mine, and I have made it."
Ezek. xxix. 3-8.

The prophet continues his prediction of the calamities, in this and the three succeeding chapters, some of the most striking passages of which will be noticed hereafter.

Zedekiah, though well acquainted with these predictions, but lightly regarded them, and when he saw the king of Babylon raise the siege of Jerusalem, which he did on the approach of the Egyptian army, he fancied that his deliverance was completed, and anticipated a triumph. But his joy was momentary; the Egyptians seeing the Chaldeans advancing, retreated, not daring to encounter so numerous and well-disciplined an army. They marched back into their own country, and left Zedekiah exposed to all the dangers of a war in which they themselves had involved him: thus proving a "staff of reed to the house of Israel," in the full sense of the term. Nebuchadnezzar marched back again to Jerusalem, and took it, and burned it, according to the tenor of prophecy. See Jer. xxxvii. 2-10; with which passage compare Ezek. xxxi. This event is dated 586 years B.C.

Some time after, (about B.C. 574,) the chastisements with which the Almighty threatened Pharaoh-Hophra began to descend upon his head. The Cyrenians, a Greek colony which had settled in Africa between Libya and Egypt, having seized upon, and divided among themselves, a great portion of the country belonging to the Libyans, forced those nations to place themselves under the protection of Apries. Accordingly, this prince sent a large army into Libya to oppose the Cyrenians; but this army being defeated and almost destroyed, the Egyptians imagined that Apries had sent it into Libya in order to seek its destruction, and by that means to obtain absolute power over the property and lives of his subjects. This reflection prompted them to shake off his yoke; but Apries hearing of the rebellion, despatched Amasis, one of his officers, to suppress it, and to compel the rebels to return to their allegiance. The moment, however, Amasis began to address them, they placed a helmet upon his head, in token of the dignity to which they intended to raise him, and they proclaimed him king. Amasis, therefore, instead of performing his duty, pleased with his unexpected honours, stayed with the mutineers, and confirmed them in their rebellion.

Apries, on receiving intelligence to this effect, was more exasperated than ever, and he sent Patarbemis, one of the principal lords of his court, to arrest Amasis and bring him before him. This was not so easily effected; the rebel army surrounded Amasis to defend him, and Patarbemis was compelled to return without having executed his commission. Apries visited him for this supposed remissness of duty with unjustifiable punishment. He was treated, indeed, in the most inhuman and ignominious manner, his nose and ears being cut off by the command of Apries. But this outrage, committed upon a person of such high distinction, had the worst effect upon the minds of the Egyptians; they arose in a body and joined the

rebels, so that the insurrection became general. Apries was now forced to retire into Upper Egypt, where he supported himself some years, during which time Amasis made himself master of the rest of his dominions.

Internal discord was not all the misery brought upon Egypt at this period. The king of Babylon, seeing the troubles that distracted Egypt, embraced this opportunity of invading the kingdom. This prince, unknown to himself, was only an agent in the hands of the Almighty, to punish a people, on whom, as we have seen, he had, by the mouth of his prophet, denounced vengeance. Nebuchadnezzar had just before taken Tyre, where himself and army had suffered incredible hardships, and yet had obtained no recompense when the city fell into their hands; the Tyrians having spoiled the city themselves, and fled away with their effects. But the riches of the earth are in the hands of God, and he giveth them to whom he will. To recompense the toils which the king of Babylon had endured in taking Tyre, (which event also took place in accordance with prophecy,) God promised him the riches of Egypt, then one of the most prosperous and powerful kingdoms in the world. According to Herodotus, it was at this epoch at which Egypt was most flourishing, both with regard to the advantages conferred by the river on the soil, and by the soil on the inhabitants.

There are few passages in holy writ more remarkable than that which reveals the designs of the Creator with reference to this event, or which give us a clearer idea of the supreme authority he exercises over the children of men, however exalted their station may be. The Almighty said to his prophet Ezekiel:—

"Son of man, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon caused his army

To serve a great service against Tyrus

Every head was made bald, (owing to the pressure of their helmets,) and every shoulder was pecked, (the consequence of carrying baskets of earth and large pieces of timber to join Tyre to the continent.)

Yet had he no sages, nor his army, for Tyrus,

For the service that he had served against it:

Therefore thus saith the Lord God:

Behold I will give the land of Egypt

Unto Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon;

And he shall take her multitude,

And take her spoil, and take her prey;

And it shall be the wages for his army.

I have given him the land of Egypt

For his labour wherewith he served against it,

Because they wrought for me, saith the Lord God."

Ezek. xlii. 18—20.

The prophet Jeremiah, also, with reference to this event, uses these remarkable words: "He shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd putteth on his garment," (with the greatest readiness;) "and he shall go forth from thence in peace," Jer. xliii. 12.

The extent of the desolation of Egypt was foretold by the prophet Ezekiel, in these words

"The day is near,

Even the day of the Lord is near, a cloudy day;

It shall be the time of the heathen.

And the sword shall come upon Egypt,

And great pain shall be in Ethiopia,

When the slain shall fall in Egypt,

And they shall take away her multitude,

And her foundations shall be broken down.

Ethiopia, and Libya, and Lydia,

And all the mingled people, and Canaan,

And the men of the land that is in league, shall fall with them by the sword.

Thus saith the Lord;

They also that uphold Egypt shall fall;

And the pride of her power shall come down.

From the tower of Syene shall they fall in it by the sword,

Saith the Lord God.

And they shall be desolate in the midst of the countries

that are desolate,

And her cities shall be in the midst of the cities that are wasted.

And they shall know that I am the Lord,

When I have set a fire in Egypt.

And when all her helpers shall be destroyed.

In that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships

To make the careless Ethiopians afraid,

And great pain shall come upon them, as in the day of Egypt:

For, in, it cometh.

Thus saith the Lord God:

I will also make the multitude of Egypt to cease

By the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.

He and his people with him, the terrible of the nations,

shall be brought to destroy the land.

And they shall draw their swords against Egypt,

And fill the land with the slain.

And I will make the rivers dry,

And sell the land into the hand of the wicked;

And I will make the land waste, and all that is therein,

By the hand of strangers:

I the Lord have spoken it."

Ezek. xxx. 3—12.

How literally the event justified these predictions, profane history declares. In the spring of the year, B.C. 570, Nebuchadnezzar, that "cruel lord, and fierce king," invaded Egypt; and he quickly overran the whole extent of the country, from Migdol, its northern extremity near the Red Sea, to Syene, the southern, bordering on Ethiopia, or Abyssinia. He made a fearful slaughter wherever he came, and desolated the country so effectually, that the damage could not be repaired in forty years. The spoils he collected were immense. With these, he clothed, as it were, his army, and after he had made alliance with Amasis, or placed him on the throne as his viceroy, he returned to Babylon.

When the Chaldean army had retired from Egypt, Apries left the retreat in which he had secreted himself, and advanced toward the sea coast, probably on the side of Libya. Then, hiring an army of Carians, Ionians, and other foreigners, he marched against Amasis, to whom he gave battle near Memphis. In this battle, Apries was taken prisoner, and he was carried to the city of Saïs, and strangled in his own palace by the Egyptians; fulfilling the prophecy which saith, "Behold I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life," Jer. xlv. 30. See also Ezek. xxxii. 32. This occurred B.C. 569.

We have intimated that the king of Babylon was an agent in the hands of God in thus punishing Pharaoh-Hophra and his people the Egyptians. A notice of other remarkable prophecies, not before adduced, and relating to this event, may here be given. By the prophet Ezekiel, the Almighty said:

"Behold, I am against Pharaoh king of Egypt,

And will break his arms, the strong, and that which was broken;

And I will cause the sword to fall out of his hand.

And I will scatter the Egyptians among the nations,

And will disperse them through the countries.

And I will strengthen the arms of the king of Babylon,

And put my sword in his hand:

But I will break Pharaoh's arms,
And he shall groan before him with the groanings of
a sorely wounded man."

EXEK. XL. 23-25.

The very towns which were to be ravaged by
the victor are also enumerated.

"Thus saith the Lord God;
I will also destroy the idols,
And I will cause their images to cease out of Egypt:
And there shall be no more a prince of the land of Egypt:
And I will put a fear in the land of Egypt.
And I will make Fathos desolate,
And will set fire in Zoan, [Tanis,]
And will execute judgments in No.
And I will pour my fury upon this, [Pelusium,] the strength
of Egypt
And I will cut off the multitude of No.
And I will set fire in Egypt:
His shall have great pain,
And No shall be rent asunder,
And Noph shall have distresses daily.
The young men of Aven [Heliopolis] and of Pihoroth
[Pithotum] shall fall by the sword:
And these cities shall go into captivity.
At Tahpanhes [Daphne Pelusis] also the day shall
be darkened,
When I shall break there the yokes of Egypt:
And the pomp of her strength shall cease in her.
As for her, a cloud shall cover her,
And her daughters shall go into captivity."

EXEK. XXX. 13-18.

But the Almighty was not less punctual in the
accomplishment of his prophecies which here
reference to such of his own people as had re-
turned, contrary to his will, into Egypt, after the
taking of Jerusalem, and who had forced Jere-
miah to go down thither with them also. The
moment they had arrived in Egypt, and had
settled at Tanis, the prophet, after having hid in
their presence, by the command of God, some
stones in a grotto which was near the palace of
the monarch, declared to them that the king of
Babylon should soon arrive in Egypt, and that
his throne should be established in that very
place; that he would lay waste the whole king-
dom, and carry fire and sword into all places;
that themselves should fall into the hands of the
Chaldeans, when one part of them should be
slain, and the rest led captive to Babylon; and
that only a very small number should escape,
and be at length restored to their country. All
these prophecies were accomplished in the ap-
pointed time. See Jer. xlii. xlii.

CHAPTER V.

THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

BABYLONIAN DOMINATION.

AMASIS.

THE defeat and death of Apries, before men-
tioned, are given on the authority of Herodotus,
who represents Amasis as a rebel chief taking
advantage of the disaffection of the army to de-
throned his sovereign. This information he re-
ceived from the Egyptian priests; but they made
no mention of the signal defeat their army ex-
perienced, nor of that loss of territory in Syria
which resulted from Nebuchadnezzar's success.
It is reasonable to conclude, therefore, that they

disguised the truth from the Greek historians:
and without mentioning the disgrace which had
befallen their country, and the interposition of a
foreign power, attributed the change in the suc-
cession, and the elevation of Amasis to the
throne, solely to his ambition and the choice of
the military of Egypt. Josephus, however, ex-
pressly states that the Assyrian monarch led an
army into Coelo-Syria, of which he obtained pos-
session, and then waged war on the Ammonites
and Moabites. These being subdued, he invaded
and conquered Egypt; and having put the king
of that country to death, he appointed another in
his stead. If Josephus be correct in this state-
ment, there is reason to suppose he alludes to
Apries being deposed, and succeeded by Amasis;
and it may be readily imagined that the As-
syrians, having extended their conquests to the ex-
tremity of Palestine, would, on the rumour of
civil war in Egypt, hasten to take advantage of
the opportunity thus afforded them of attacking
the country. This would amount almost to a
certainty, if, as some suppose, the war between
Apries and Amasis did not terminate in the single
conflict at Memphis, but lasted several years;
and that either Amasis solicited the aid and in-
tervention of Nebuchadnezzar, or this prince,
availing himself of the disordered state of the
country, of his own accord invaded it, deposed
the rightful sovereign and placed Amasis on the
throne, on condition of paying tribute to the
Assyrians.

Amasis then ascended the throne of Egypt
as a vassal of the king of Babylon; and the in-
jury done to the lands and cities of Egypt by
this invasion, and the disgrace with which the
Egyptians felt themselves overwhelmed after
such an event, would justify the predictions of
the prophets concerning the fall of Egypt. To
witness their countrymen taken captive to Baby-
lon, and to become tributary to an enemy whom
they held in abhorrence, would be considered by
the Egyptians the greatest calamity, as though
they had for ever lost their station in the scale
of nations. This last circumstance would satis-
factorily account for the title Melek,* given to
inferior or tributary kings, being applied to
Amasis, in some of the hieroglyphic legends ac-
companying his name.

According to Africanus, Amasis was a native
of Siouph, in the nome, or district, of Saïs, in the
Delta. Herodotus relates a whimsical experi-
ment to which he had recourse in order to gain
the affections of his subjects, who, in the begin-
ning of his reign, despised him on account of his
mean extraction. He had a golden cistern, in which
himself and his guests were wont to wash their
feet. This he caused to be melted down, and
cast into a statue, which he exposed to public
worship. The superstitious people hastened in
crowds to pay their adoration to this new god.
This Amasis anticipated, and calling them to-
gether, he informed them of the vile uses to
which this statue, which they now adored, had
once served. The application was obvious and

* The term Melek denoted an inferior grade of "king,"
or it was reserved for those who governed as tributaries
or viceroys of a more powerful prince, of which this is an
example; others will appear after the Persian conquest.

t had the desired effect; for the people ever afterwards paid Amasis the respect due to majesty. Diodorus, however, asserts that Amasis was originally a person of consequence; that he was a distinguished member of the military caste, which accords with his rank as a general; and that he married the daughter of Psammitichus.

Amasis used to devote the whole morning to public business, to receive petitions, give audience, pronounce sentence, and hold his councils. The rest of the day was devoted to pleasure; and as Amasis, in these hours of diversion, was extremely gay, and indulged in unseemly mirth, his courtiers represented to him the unsuitableness of such conduct. He replied, that it was as impossible for the mind to be always intent upon business, as for a bow to continue always bent; a reply which indicated that he was well acquainted with the weakness of human nature.

This prince enacted a domiciliary law; namely, that every Egyptian, once during the year, should set forth to the monarch, or chief magistrate of his district, by what means he subsisted; and whoever did not attend, or could not prove that he lived honestly, was to be punished with death. This was a most effectual law against idlers, and thieves or robbers. So wise was it considered by Solon, the Greek legislator, who visited the court of Amasis about B.C. 554, that, according to Herodotus, he introduced it at Athens; where, says this historian, it is still in use as being a blameless law.

Amasis married a Greek wife from Cyrene. He was an admirer of the Grecians; and he prepared the way for great changes in the social condition of Egypt, by allowing Greek merchants to settle at Naucratis, and to build temples and bazaars. When the temple of Delphi was burned by accident, he sent a contribution of a thousand talents of silver towards rebuilding it; he also sent rich offerings to the temples of Cyrene, Lindus, and Samos.* From this cause, it has been inferred, that the Egyptian superstition was not so incompatible with that of other nations as might be imagined from the domestic feuds of the several sects, for the worshippers of dogs, cats, wolves, and crocodiles, exercised a continual warfare with each other as humorously described by Juvenal. He says:—

"How Egypt, mad with superstition grown,
Makes gods of monsters, but too well is known:
One sect devotion to Nile's serpent pays,
Others to this, that on serpents preys.
Where Theses, thy hundred gates lie unrequit'd,
And where maim'd Memnon's magic harp is heard,
Where these argosundering, let the sons combine
With pious care a monkey to enshrine!

* The present he made to the temple at Cyrene was a golden statue of Minerva, with a portrait of himself, to that of Lindus, two marble statues, with a lion carved; and to that of Samos, two figures of himself carved in wood, which were placed immediately behind the gates, where they remained till the time of Herodotus.

† The crocodile.

‡ A bird that is a great destroyer of serpents in Egypt.

§ This colossal or marble statue of Memnon held a harp in his hand, which uttered musical sounds when struck by the beams of the rising sun; which Strabo tells us that he both saw and heard, but confesses he is not able to assign a cause.

Pink gods you'll meet, with line and scales o'rgans;
Diana's dogs adorned in every town;
Her dogs have trophies, but the goddess none
The mortal sin an action to devour,
Each clove of garlic is a sacred power."

The kindness shown by Amasis to Samos, says Herodotus, was owing to the friendship which subsisted between him and Polycrates, the son of *Alaces*; but he had no such motive of attachment to Lindus, and was only moved by the report of the temple of Minerva having been erected there by the daughters of Danaus, when they fled from the sons of Egyptus. The same author informs us that his affection for the Cyrenians arose from his having married Ladice, a native of that country, who was afterwards, when Cambyzes conquered Egypt, sent back to her parents.

The friendship of this monarch of Egypt and Polycrates commenced at the period of the war between the Lacedæmonians and the latter, who had forcibly possessed himself of Samos. It had been cemented by various presents on both sides, and appeared to promise a long continuance. But Plutarch has well observed, that prosperity is no just scale, but adversity is the true balance to weigh friends. The ancient historian relates that the Egyptian monarch, offended with the tyrannical conduct of Polycrates, and foreseeing, from the feeling excited against him both among his subjects and foreigners, that his fate was inevitable, withdrew his friendship from him. The event justified his foresight; for the subjects of Polycrates revolted, and he was at length murdered by the treacherous Crates.

That Amasis was a great encourager of art we have ample testimony from the monuments which remain, as well as from the statements of ancient historians. He decorated the chief city of the nome in which he was born (Sais) with numerous great works. These were magnificent pyramids to the temple of Athene, enormous colossal, and large andro-sphinxes. His great architectural achievement was a monolith, or one stone temple, which he brought from the granite quarries of Syene, down the river, a distance of about 600 miles. The exterior dimensions of this stone were 31½ Greek feet long, 21 broad, and 12 high: a chamber was cut out in the interior, the dimensions of which were, 28½ feet long, 18 broad, and 7½ high. Amasis made, also, a colossus 75 Greek feet long, flanked by two smaller figures, 30 feet high, which he placed in front of the great temple of Nephthys, (Phtha,) at Memphis. He placed a similar one at Sais.

The restoration of Egypt, says Dr. Hales, under Amasis, seems to have been foretold in Scripture: "At the end of forty years will I gather the Egyptians from the people whither they were scattered," Ezek. xxix. 13. These forty years of captivity counted from Nebuchadnezzar's invasion, B.C. 570, expired B.C. 530, when Cyrus, who had subverted the Babylonian empire, B.C. 538, and into whose power Egypt, as a province of that empire, had fallen, by a wise and liberal policy, released the Egyptians, as he had before the Jews.

This act of grace occurred five years before

the death of Amasis. The next year B.C. 529, Cyrus died, and the Egyptians revolted, upon which, Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, made it his first act, after he had settled the eastern provinces, to invade Egypt. Herodotus, however, assigns a different cause for the invasion. He says, that towards the latter end of the reign of this monarch, Cambyses sent to Egypt to demand his daughter in marriage, a step to which he had been prompted by a certain Egyptian, an enemy of Amasis. This man was a physician; and when Cyrus had requested of the Egyptian king the best medical advice he could procure for a disorder in his eyes, Amasis forced him to leave his wife and family, and go into Persia.* Meditating revenge for this treatment, he instigated his successor to require the daughter of Amasis, that he might either suffer affliction at the loss of his child, or, by refusing to send her, provoke the resentment of Cambyses. Amasis detested the character of the Persian monarch; and persuaded that his treatment of her would neither be honourable nor worthy of a princess, he was unwilling to accept the overture; but fearing to give a positive refusal, he determined on sending the daughter of the late king. The name of this princess was Nitetia, or, as Herodotus calls her, Nitetia. She was possessed of great personal attractions; and Amasis, having dressed her in the most splendid attire, sent her into Persia as his own child. Not long after, Cambyses happening to address her as the daughter of Amasis, she explained the manner in which he had been deceived, by a man who had de-

throned and put Apries her father to death, and had seized upon the throne through the assistance of a rebellious faction. Upon this, Cambyses was so enraged, that he resolved to make war upon the usurper, and immediately prepared to invade Egypt.

This statement will not bear the test of examination. Nitetia is represented to have been sent to Persia towards the close of the reign of Amasis, which lasted forty-four years: and allowing her to have been born immediately before Apries was dethroned, she would have been of an age which, in Egypt and Persia, is no longer a recommendation or the associate of beauty. It is more likely, that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, refused, upon the death of that conqueror, to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. But whatever may have been the real motive for this war, it is certain that Cambyses was greatly enraged against Amasis; and that the Egyptians, when the country was invaded by the Persian monarch, were treated with unwonted cruelty. The death of Amasis, however, which happened six months before the arrival of the Persians, prevented Cambyses from satiating his meditated revenge on the Egyptian monarch: and judging from the savage rage which the Persian conqueror vented upon his lifeless body, it was fortunate for Amasis that he had not fallen alive into his hands.

Herodotus mentions the situation of the tomb of Amasis. Like all those of the Saite monarchs, it stood within the precincts of the temple of Minerva, in the chief city of that nome, which, during the reign of the princes of the twenty-sixth dynasty, had become the royal residence of the monarchs, and the nominal metropolis of Egypt; Thebes and Memphis still retaining the titles of the capitals of Upper and Lower Egypt.

* The Egyptians paid great attention to health; and as wisely, says Herodotus, was medicine managed by them, that no doctor was permitted to practise any but his own particular branch. Some were oculists, who only studied diseases of the eye; others attended solely to the complaints of the head; others to those of the teeth; some again confined themselves to complaints of the intestines; and others to secret and internal maladies, scrofulousness being generally, if not always, women.

The physicians received salaries from the public treasury. After they had studied those precepts which were laid down from the experience of their predecessors, they were permitted to practise. In order to insure their attention to the prescribed rules, and to prevent experiments being made upon patients, they were punished if their treatment was contrary to the established system; and the death of a person under such circumstances was deemed a capital offence. If, however, every remedy had been administered according to the sanatory law, they were absolved from all blame.

According to Pliny, the Egyptians claimed the honour of having invented the art of curing diseases. The Bible indeed, affords some sanction to this claim, by the fact that its first notice of physicians is to intimate their existence in Egypt. See Gen. 1. 2; Exod. xxi. 19. The employment of numerous drugs in Egypt is mentioned by sacred and profane writers; and the medicinal properties of many herbs which grow in the deserts are still known to the Arabs, although their application has been but imperfectly preserved. "O virgin the daughter of Egypt," says Jeremiah: "in vain shalt thou use many medicines: for thou shalt not be cured." Jer. xli. 11. Homer, in his *Odyssey*, describes the many valuable medicines given by Polydama, the wife of Theon, to Helen, when in Egypt; and Pliny makes frequent mention of the productions of that country, and their use in medicine. The same writer mentions, that the Egyptians examined the bodies after their death, to ascertain the nature of the diseases of which they died. We learn from Herodotus, moreover, that Cyrus, as stated above, and Darius, both sent to Egypt for medical men. All this tends to prove the medical skill of the ancient Egyptians; but notwithstanding this, it is indicated only in the painting of Beal Hassan, where a doctor and a patient are twice represented.

CHAPTER VI.

THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

PERSIAN DOMINATION.

CAMBYES entered the country of Egypt, B.C. 525, when he found that Amasis was just dead, and that he was succeeded in his kingdom by his son Psammenitus.

PSAMMENITUS.

The first operations of Cambyses were against Pelusium, which Ezekiel styled, "the strength of Egypt," and Suidas, "the key of Egypt," or its strong barrier on the side of Syria and Arabia. This place he took by a singular stratagem. Finding it was garrisoned entirely by the Egyptian troops, he placed a great number of the sacred animals, cats, dogs, cows, sheep, etc., in front of the Persians when advancing to the walls; and the Egyptians not daring to throw a dart, or shoot an arrow, for fear of killing some of their gods, the walls were scaled, and the city taken without difficulty.

Conscious of the great danger to which Egypt was exposed by the invasion of the Persians, Psammetichus made great preparations for the defence of the frontier, and advancing with his Egyptian troops, and the Ionian and Carian auxiliaries, to Pelusium, he encamped in a plain near the mouth of the Nile. The Persians having passed the desert, took up a position opposite the Egyptian army, and both sides prepared for battle. The conflict soon commenced, and the battle was for a long time obstinately disputed; till at length, after a great slaughter had been made on both sides, the Egyptians gave way and fled.

The way from Pelusium to Memphis was now open to the invader, and with rapid marches he hastened towards the ancient capital of Lower Egypt. Hoping, however, to obtain advantageous terms without another contest, Cambyses sent a Persian up by the river in a Mitylenian vessel, to treat with the Egyptians; but as soon as they saw the vessel enter Memphis, they rushed in a crowd from the citadel, destroyed it, and tore the crew to pieces. At the news of this outrage, the indignation of Cambyses knew no bounds; he immediately laid siege to Memphis, and having succeeded in reducing that city, he indulged his resentment by putting many of the inhabitants to the sword: the king was taken prisoner, and 2,000 Egyptians of the same age as the son of Psammetichus were compelled first to march in procession before the conqueror, and were then put to death as a retaliation for the murder of the Persian and Mitylenian herald. There were 200 Mitylenians destroyed in the vessel, so that *ten* of the first rank among the Egyptians suffered for every one who was destroyed on that occasion. Psammetichus himself was pardoned; and such was the respect entertained by the Persians for the persons of kings, that he would probably have been restored to a tributary throne; but being detected in fomenting a rebellion, he was put to death by Cambyses, after a brief reign of six months.

From this date, B.C. 525, to B.C. 413, Egypt was governed by the Persian kings.

Great havoc followed the reduction of Egypt by Cambyses. Temples and public buildings were destroyed; tombs were violated, and the bodies burned;* religion was insulted, private property pillaged or destroyed, and every thing which could tempt the avarice, or reward the labour of the spoiler, was seized and appropriated either by the chief or his troops. Gold and silver statues, and other objects of value, were sent to Persia; and it would appear that numerous Egyptian captives were also sent thither by the conqueror.

The name of Cambyses, says Mr. Wilkinson, as may be easily imagined, is never met with on Egyptian monuments; but a visitor to the state and breccia quarries, on the road from Coptos to the Red Sea, has, at a later period, recorded

* The officers of the French frigate, *Luzor*, it is said, who removed the obelisk, found the sarcophagus of the queen of Amasis in a pit at El Gournah, the body entirely burned, though placed in its original repository. The tomb had been violated, probably by the Persians, and the body thus treated, and was afterwards re-closed by the Egyptians in the sarcophagus. The body had been gilded.

the name of this monarch in hieroglyphics, adding to it the date of his sixth year. On the same rock two other ovals also occur; one of Darius, with the number 36; the other of Xerxes, with the year twelve; showing the inscription to have been written in the twelfth of Xerxes, and the date 36, intended as the full extent of the reign of Darius. On another rock, at the same place, are the sixteenth year of Xerxes, and the fifth of Artaxerxes Longimanus; and in the principal temple of El Khargeh, in the great Oasis, that of Darius again occurs, a considerable portion of the building having been erected by him; and it is remarkable, that he is the only Persian king whose Phonetic name is accompanied by a prenominal like those of the ancient Pharaohs; a circumstance which confirms the remark of Diodorus; namely, that he and he alone, of all the Persian monarchs, obtained while living the appellation of *Divus*, or "Good God," which was a title given by the Egyptians to all the ancient Pharaohs.

Upon the death of Cambyses, whose history is recorded in the history of the Persians, B.C. 487, the Persian empire fell into the hands of Smerdis, the Magian.

SMERDIS, THE MAGIAN.

This king usurped the Persian throne, by pretending to be Smerdis, a son of Cyrus, who had been slain by order of his brother Cambyses. This pretext was soon discovered, and the pseudo-Smerdis, after a brief reign of seven months, was slain as an usurper by Darius Hytaspes, who, by means of a stratagem, established himself upon the throne.

DARIUS HYTASPES

The rule of Darius was mild and equitable: he was not only careful to avoid everything that might offend the religious prejudices, or hurt the feelings of his foreign subjects, but having made diligent inquiry respecting the jurisprudence and constitution of the Egyptians, he corrected some abuses, and introduced many salutary laws, which continued to form part of their code, until, in common with many of those enacted by the Pharaohs, they were altered or abrogated by the Ptolemies, after the Macedonian conquest.

The Egyptians, however, impatient of foreign rule, and anxious to free their country from the presence of a people whose cruelties, at the time of the invasion of Cambyses, they could never pardon or forget, and thinking the reverses of Persia, during the Greek war, offered a favourable opportunity for throwing off the yoke, revolted towards the end of this monarch's reign, and succeeded in expelling the Persians from the valley of the Nile. Darius made great preparations, during three successive years, in order to restore it to the empire. At the end of that time, B.C. 484, he resolved to make war in person against Egypt as well as Greece; but death frustrated his designs. He was succeeded in the empire by Xerxes, who, in the second year of his reign, B.C. 482, invaded Egypt in person, at the head of a powerful army

XERXES.

Xerxes quickly defeated the Egyptians, and having subdued the whole country, he made the yoke of their subjection more heavy than before. He then gave the government of that province to Achæmenes, his brother, after which he returned to Susa, the seat of the Persian government.

Affairs remained in this state until the death of Xerxes, B.C. 460, when Artaxerxes Longimanus succeeded to the empire.

ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

At this period, considerable confusion occurred in Persia, which being augmented by the intrigues of Artabanus and the rebellion of Bactria, afforded the Egyptians another opportunity for asserting their independence. They prevailed on the Athenians to assist them with a fleet of forty sail; and they attacked and overwhelmed the Persian garrisons. Upon intelligence of this, an army of 400,000 foot, and a fleet of 200, or according to Diodorus, eighty sail, were equipped by Artaxerxes, and placed under the command of Achæmenes. Inarus, the son of Psammithichus, a native of Libya, and Amyrteus, of Susa, who had been invested with sovereign power, and were charged with the defence of the country, made every effort to resist him; and the two armies having met, the Persians were defeated with great slaughter, and Achæmenes received a wound from the hand of Inarus, of which he died.

Artaxerxes, enraged at this defeat, resolved on sending an overwhelming force under the combined command of Megabysus and Artabazus, consisting according to ancient authors of 500,000 men. Both armies fought valiantly, and many were slain on both sides; at length, Megabysus having wounded Inarus in the thigh, obliged him to retire from the field, and the rout became general. Inarus, with a body of Greek auxiliaries, took refuge in Byblus, which was strongly fortified. He there obtained for himself and companions a promise of pardon from Megabysus, upon condition of their surrendering themselves to the Persian monarch: but the remembrance of the death of Achæmenes overcame the regard he owed to the promise of this general, and Inarus, by the command of Artaxerxes, was crucified. Amyrteus escaped to the Isle of Elbo, and remaining concealed there, awaited better times. The Persian troops again took possession of the fortified towns, and Sarsamus was appointed satrap, or governor of Egypt.

No attempts were made to throw off the Persian yoke during the remainder of the reign of Artaxerxes; and though the Athenians sent them a fleet of sixty sail, in the fifteenth year of that reign, and some hopes were entertained of restoring Amyrteus to the throne, these projects were abandoned, and the Persians continued in undisturbed possession of the country till the reign of Darius Nothus.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

This monarch, perceiving that the Egyptians bore with great reluctance the presence of a

foreign governor, and anxious to allay the turbulent spirit and prejudices of that people, permitted Tanmyrus, the son of Inarus, and Psamiris, the son of Amyrteus,* to hold the office and nominal power of governors, or tributary kings. But nothing could conciliate the Egyptians. They beheld the fortified towns garrisoned by Persian troops; the tribute they had to pay to a people they detested was insupportable; and hence nothing would satisfy them, but the restoration of an independent monarch. To obtain this end, they made secret preparations for expelling the Persians, and Amyrteus being invited to put himself at their head, advanced from his place of concealment, routed the Persians, and succeeded eventually in obtaining possession of the whole country.

CHAPTER VII.

THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

EGYPTIAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

AMYRTEUS.

AMYRTEUS, or Aomahorte, was a Saite. Having established himself on the throne, he prepared to pursue the Persians as far as Phœnicia, and had already concerted measures with the Arabians to attack them in that country. Darius was informed of this, and he recalled a fleet, which he had promised the Lacedæmonians, to employ in the defence of his own dominions, by which means the designs of Amyrteus were frustrated.

Amyrteus is stated in Manetho's list to have been the only monarch of the twenty-eighth dynasty. His reign continued six years, during which period he laboured to repair the many losses sustained by his country from the sway of Persia. Numerous restorations were made to the temples of Thebes and other cities, many of which had suffered from the rage of Cambyses; some gateways, and other monuments bearing his name, are still in existence.

PSAMMITHICHUS II.

According to Manetho, Amyrteus was succeeded in his kingdom by Nephertites, the first king of the twenty-ninth dynasty; but Diodorus mentions Psammithichus, who was descended from the first of that name, whom he supposed to have preceded Nephertites. It is uncertain, however, whether he really ruled at this time, or whether the historian confounded him with the father of Inarus.

Psammithichus is chiefly remarkable for an act of perfidy and ingratitude, crimes which are alike hateful to God and man. Tanus, an Egyptian, who was one of the admirals of the fleet of Cyrus the younger when he invaded the Persian empire, had rendered essential services to Psammithichus. On the death of Cyrus, and

* This must have occurred previous to the year A.C. 445, since the history from whence it is derived, that of Herodotus, was then completed.

suppression of his rebellion, Tannus fled from Timasphernes, who was appointed his successor in the province of Asia Minor, and he implored the friendship and protection of the Egyptian king. Psammithicus was not only deaf to the calls of humanity, gratitude, and hospitality, but hearing that Tannus had brought considerable treasures with him, he perfidiously seized them, and deprived him of life.

NEPHERITES.

The Phonetic name of Nephertites occurs once amidst the ruins of Thebes. During his brief reign, Egypt appears to have enjoyed tranquillity, for he was enabled to join in active hostilities against the enemies of his country. He entered into a confederacy with the Lacedæmonians, and sent a fleet of 100 ships to their aid, with a supply of corn for their army. This last, however, fell into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of the transports putting in to Rhodes, which had lately submitted to the Persians. Nephertites reigned six years.

ACORIS.

Acoris seems to have adopted the policy of his predecessor. He made a treaty with Evagoras, king of Cyprus, against the Persians, and endeavoured, by every means in his power, to weaken the strength, and thwart the schemes of his adversary. This, combined with the defection of Gaus, the son of Tannus, who had been for some time commander of the Persian fleet, who now, abandoning their service, had entered into a league with Acoris, and the Lacedæmonians, added to the intrigues of Orontes, so embarrassed the affairs of Artaxerxes, that Egypt was able to defy his threatened projects of invasion. Acoris reigned thirteen years; he died B.C. 389.

PSAMMOUTIS.

During the reign of Psammoutis, which lasted only one year, nothing of consequence transpired; hence his name rarely occurs on any edifice, either of Upper or Lower Egypt; it is found, however, at the temple of Kartrak, at Thebes, which proves his reign.

Of the short period occupied by his two successors,

NEPHERITES II. AND MOUTHIS,

whose names are not met with on the monuments, little can be learned, either from that source, or from the accounts of ancient writers; except that the Persians, intent upon the recovery of Egypt, prepared to make a descent upon that country, which they attempted in the reign of the succeeding monarch without success.

NECTANEBIA.

In the first year of the reign of this prince, Artaxerxes Mucman, after three years' preparation, invaded Egypt with a powerful army of Persians, under the command of Pharnabazus, which was augmented by Grecian mercenaries, under Iphi-

crates. But this army was unsuccessful. The slowness of their operations, and the rising of the Nile, defeated their designs, and they retreated with great loss. On this occasion, Iphicrates, having observed to Pharnabazus, that he was quick in his resolutions, but slow in the performance, the latter rejoined, that his words were his own, but his actions depended wholly on his master, which shows the extent of authority which the Persian monarchs held over their subjects.

The Egyptian monarch now directed his attention to the internal administration of affairs, and the encouragement of art. Many temples were repaired or enlarged in various parts of the country; a fine obelisk was cut, and transported from the quarries of Syene; and the name of Nectabeno (his name on the monuments) still occurs in Upper or Lower Egypt. That he restored the temple of Mars, at Sebennyus, with great splendour, is recorded in a Greek papyrus, which modern researches have discovered in an Egyptian tomb. Nectanebis, after a reign of eighteen years, was succeeded by Tachus.

TACHUS, OR TÆOS.

Tachus had scarcely ascended the throne, when he was alarmed by the warlike preparations of the Persian monarch, who threatened again to invade his country. To withstand this mighty power, he hired a body of Spartan mercenaries, who were commanded by Agesilaus, their king, whom Tachus promised to make generalissimo of his army. But this commission did Agesilaus no honour. As soon as he landed in Egypt, the king's principal generals, and his chief officers of state, came to receive him and pay their court to him. The fame of his renown also drew multitudes of the Egyptians to the shore, for the purpose of catching a glance at the hero. But the Egyptians were too fond of pomp and show to be attracted by the appearance of Agesilaus. When they saw only an old man, of mean aspect and dwarfish stature, dressed in a simple robe of coarse stuff, they were disposed to ridicule him, and they applied to him the fable of the mountain in labour, when only a mouse came forth.

This disaffection towards him was felt also at court. When Agesilaus met Tachus, and had joined his troops with those of Egypt, he was surprised that he was not appointed general of the whole army, but only of the foreign troops, that Chabrias was made general of the forces at sea, and that Tachus retained the command of the army himself.

This was not the only mortification Agesilaus had to experience. Tachus had formed a resolution to march into Phœnicia, thinking it more advisable to make that country the seat of war, than to contend with the Persians in Egypt. Agesilaus thought to the contrary; and he represented to Tachus that his affairs were not sufficiently established to admit his removing out of his dominions; that he would act more wisely by remaining in Egypt himself, and acting by his generals in the enemy's country. Tachus despised this counsel, and expressed disregard for Agesilaus on all occasions. The consequence was, that Agesilaus, incensed at such conduct,

joined the Egyptians who had taken up arms against Tachus during his absence, and had placed his cousin Nectanebus on the throne.

Tachus was now obliged to quit Egypt, and he retired to Sidon, from whence he went to the court of Persia, where he was received with favour by Artaxerxes, who gave him the command of his troops against the rebels.

But Nectanebus was not yet established on the throne of Egypt. At this period, about a.c. 362, another prince of the city of Mendes disputed the crown with him, and he collected a numerous force to support his pretensions. Agesilaus gave advice to the effect that this force should be attacked before they were disciplined; but Nectanebus, imagining that Agesilaus desired to betray him, took no notice of his advice, and thereby gave his enemy time to prepare his troops for operations. He did this so effectually, that he reduced Nectanebus to the necessity of retiring into a city. Thither Agesilaus was obliged to follow him, and they were besieged there by the Mendesian prince.

Nectanebus would have attacked the enemy before his works (which were begun in order to surround the city) were advanced; but Agesilaus would not listen to his proposals. At length, when he saw these works in a sufficient state of forwardness, and that there remained only as much ground between the two ends of the line as the troops within the city might occupy, he told Nectanebus that it was time to attack the enemy. The attack was conducted by Agesilaus, and success attended all his operations, so that the Mendesian prince was always overcome, and at length taken prisoner.

NECTANEBUS

was now, a.c. 361, left in possession of the throne of Egypt. But he did not long enjoy it in peace. Darius Ochus, who had succeeded to the kingdom of Persia, dissatisfied with the failures of his lieutenants, invaded Egypt with a numerous force, resolving to reduce it entirely to his allegiance. Upon his arrival there, he encamped before Pelusium, from whence he detached three bodies of troops, each of them commanded by a Greek and a Persian, to whom he assigned equal authority. Darius himself remained with the main body of the army in the camp, to wait the event, and to be ready to support these detachments in an emergency, or to improve the advantages they might gain.

Nectanebus had long expected this invasion—for the preparations had been going forward some years—and he therefore was prepared to meet the Persian forces. He had, it is said, an army of 100,000 men, 20,000 of whom were Greek, and 30,000 Libyan mercenaries. Part of this army he disposed on the frontiers of Egypt, and the rest he headed at the passes, to dispute the enemy's entrance.

The first detachment of Ochus was sent against Pelusium, where there was a garrison of 5,000 Greeks. Lechares the Theban, who headed this detachment, besieged the city, while that under Nicostratus the Argive, going on board a squadron of fourscore ships of the Persian fleet, entered one of the mouths of the Nile at the same

time, and sailed into the heart of Egypt, where they landed, and fortified themselves in a camp advantageously situate. The Egyptian troops in these parts were immediately drawn together under Clinias, a Greek, and prepared to repel the enemy. An action ensued, in which Clinias and 5,000 of his troops were killed, and the rest dispersed.

This action decided the fate of Egypt. Nectanebus, apprehending that the Persian army would embark again upon the Nile, and take Memphis, the capital of his kingdom, abandoned the passes, and hastened thither to defend it, thus leaving the country open to the enemy. Mentor, indeed, who commanded the third detachment, finding the passes clear and unguarded, entered the country, and made himself master of it without opposition. He caused a report to be spread, that Darius had given orders that all those who would submit should be treated with favour, and that such as made resistance should be destroyed; and the whole country, upon this report, Greeks as well as Egyptians, strove which should be foremost in their submission.

The overthrow of Nectanebus occurred a.c. 350. He was the last native king of Egypt, and since his time, Egypt has been, and still continues to be, "the basest of the kingdoms," according to the proph. of Ezekiel, chap. xxix. 15. It has, indeed, says an acute writer, been an independent kingdom under the Ptolemies and the Saracens, and it may be possible that the present ruler should establish its independence. But this matters not; for these independent sovereigns in Egypt were foreigners, surrounded by people of their own nation, who engrossed all wealth, power, and distinction; leaving Egypt as a country, and the proper Egyptians as a people, oppressed and miserable. This is, surely, a marked fulfilment of prophecy, delivered at a time when Egypt, under its own kings, great and magnificent, took no second place among the nations. In this event, therefore, we may trace the finger of God, and say that he ruleth among the nations, and hath done whatsoever he pleased, *Psa. xxii. 28; cxi. 3.*

CHAPTER VIII.

THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

PERSIAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

DARIUS OCHUS.

It has been recorded, that during the previous occupation of Egypt by the Persian troops, the inhabitants had been exposed to much persecution. They were now doomed to severer sufferings. Darius, the king of Persia, as soon as he had conquered Egypt, commenced a fearful work of slaughter and destruction throughout the country. If Cambyzes had committed unheard-of enormities—if he had derided the religion and insulted the various deities of Egypt—if, as Herodotus affirms, he had ordered their bull-god Apis to be brought before him, and had stabbed

it with his dagger—if he had been guilty of every species of oppression; he was still surpassed in acts of barbarity by Ochus. Wanton injustice, murders, profanation of religious rites, and continual persecutions were his delight. One of the most flagrant insults which Darius put upon their established religion, towards which their minds were strongly affected, though it is not possible to conceive one more absurd and grossly idolatrous, was, not only that he caused the sacred Apis to be slaughtered, but also he caused it to be served up at a banquet, of which he and his friends partook.

After these insults, Darius returned in triumph to Babylon, laden with the spoils of Egypt. He left the government of Egypt to Pharendates, a Persian of the first rank, who carried on the work of demolition his master had commenced. All Egypt groaned under the tyranny of Ochus. His reign, however, was not of long duration: in two years, the Egyptians were relieved from his yoke by his death; and to show their hatred of him, they substituted for his reign the representation of a sword, the emblem of destruction, in their catalogue of kings.

Ochus was succeeded in his empire, B.C. 348, by

ARSES,

in whose reign nothing transpired concerning Egypt worthy of notice. To Arses succeeded, B.C. 333, Darius Codomanus, who seems to have followed the line of policy upon which Ochus acted towards Egypt.

DARIUS CODOMANUS.

Egypt did not continue long under the Persian sway. Alexander the Great, having conquered the whole of Asia Minor and Syria, resolved to invade Egypt also, and to wrest it out of the hands of Darius. Accordingly, he marched thither with an army flushed with successive victories, and hence almost irresistible.

The Egyptians were at this time ripe for rebellion, and cared little who ruled over them, so that they were freed from the Persians. They were incensed by their continual oppressions to the utmost; and the knowledge of this, combined with a circumstance here narrated, might have had the effect upon the mind of Alexander of bringing him to the resolve of invading Egypt.

One Amyntas, a general in the service of Alexander, had deserted from him, and had joined the interest of Darius. But there was no bond in those days of paganism to bind men together in love and fealty. Amyntas had proved faithless to Alexander, and he rebelled against Darius also. He had commanded the Grecian forces in the service of the Persians at the battle of Issus, and having escaped into Syria by the way of Tripoli, with 4,000 men, had been seized upon as many vessels as he wanted, burned the rest, and set sail for Cyprus. He afterwards marched towards Pelusium, and upon feigning that he had a commission from Darius, appointing him governor in the room of Sabaces, who was killed in the battle of Issus, he took that city. This accomplished, he threw off the mask, claiming the crown of Egypt and declaring that

the motive of his coming was to expel the Persians. Upon this declaration, great numbers of the Egyptians went over to him, and Amyntas having his forces thus augmented, marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom. Here he fought a battle with and defeated the Persians, shutting them up in Memphis; but after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his soldiers in a body, the Persians sallied forth, and destroyed them, with Amyntas their leader.

If this circumstance did not give rise to Alexander's invasion of Egypt, it increased the aversion which the Egyptians entertained for the Persians, so that, when Alexander reached that country, he was hailed by the natives as their deliverer from bondage. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, presented them with sure protection, which Amyntas could not offer them; and from this consideration, they unanimously declared in his favour; and Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding that he could not resist so powerful a force, and that Darius was not able to succour him, set open the gates to the conqueror, and gave him all the treasures which Darius possessed in that city. Thus Alexander possessed himself of all Egypt without a single conflict. The period at which this event occurred is dated B.C. 332.

CHAPTER IX.

THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT.

MACEDO-GRECIAN ADMINISTRATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

ALEXANDER.

As soon as Alexander had conquered Egypt, he paid a visit to the temple of Amun, or Jupiter Ammon, which was situate in the midst of the sandy deserts of Libya. Plutarch attributes this to political motives; and he affirms that he neither believed nor was elated with the notion of his divinity, as the son of Amun, but only made use of it to bring others into subjection, among the barbarians. To the Greeks, he was extremely cautious of avowing such pretensions; and when wounded once with an arrow, he exclaimed, "My friends, this is blood, and not the ichor shed by the immortal gods." His pretensions to divinity, therefore, must be looked upon as an imposition upon the vulgar, and as one of those means whereby he climbed to the height of his ambition, that of conquering the known world.

As Alexander was going thither, he gave orders to build the city of Alexandria, between the sea and the Mareotic Lake, which city afterwards became the capital of the kingdom. The erection of this city was proceeded with immediately, so that when he returned from Libya, on visiting the spot, he found that considerable progress had been made. To hasten the building of this city, he appointed Cleomenes inspector over it, with orders for him to levy the tribute which Arabia was to pay, an order which was executed with

the utmost rigour. When it was completed, he showed a wise plan to people it. He invited settlers from all parts of the world, to whom he offered advantageous conditions. Among others, he drew thither a great number of Jews, to whom he gave great privileges, leaving them the free exercise of their religion and laws, and assigning them equal civil rights with the Macedonians, whom he had settled there.

On his return from Libya, Alexander wintered at Memphis, where he settled the affairs of Egypt. He directed that none but Macedonians should command the troops. He appointed separate and independent governors of the several garrisoned towns, in order to prevent the mischief so often experienced by the Persians, by intrusting too much power to a single governor. He separated the financial, judicial, and military functions, to prevent the oppression of the people by their union. Finally, he directed that Alexandria should be the common imporium of commerce for the eastern and western worlds, by its two adjacent seas, the Red Sea and the Mediterranean.

Egypt continued under the sway of Alexander till his death, which occurred B.C. 323, when it came into the possession of the Ptolemies. The first of these was Ptolemy Lagus, who was the natural brother of Alexander, and one of his generals.

PTOLEMY LAGUS

The reign of Ptolemy is dated in the Canon, A.C. 305. This arises from the circumstance that he did not assume the title of king until after the extinction of Alexander's posterity, by the murder of his natural son, Alexander Aëgus, the year before, about which time other generals, also, among whom the Persian empire had been divided, as it is expressed, "put on crowns."

Besides Egypt, Ptolemy Lagus had for his share, Libya and Cyrenæica, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. But he does not seem to have been satisfied with his portion, though it was a widely extended one. His first noted act was to wrest the provinces of Cœlo-Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa, from Laomedon to whom they had been assigned. This he soon accomplished. Nicanor, whom he sent into Syria with a body of land forces, defeated Laomedon, and took him prisoner, by which means he soon conquered the inland country. The same success attended Ptolemy Lagus, who headed the fleet which attacked the coasts, so that he became absolute master of those provinces. The people who caused him the most trouble were the Jews. Regarding the obligation they were under by the oath they had taken to their governor, they were determined to continue faithful to it. But he besieged Jerusalem with a large army, and taking advantage of the sabbath-day, on which no Jew thought it lawful to defend himself, he stormed it without any resistance from the inhabitants, A.C. 322. At first, Ptolemy treated the Jews with great rigour, carrying away 100,000 of them captives to Egypt, and according to Appian, demolishing their walls. Afterwards, however, he changed his policy towards them. Wishing to attach a people so faithful to their governors,

and so important, as a barrier on his northern frontier, he restored to them the privileges which Alexander had granted them, intrusted to them the garrisoning of the most important fortresses of Egypt, Judæa, and Samaria, and gave great encouragement to those who would settle in his new capital of Alexandria.

After this event, Ptolemy Lagus extended his conquests to Cyprus, Arabia, Libya, and Ethiopia, and became great in the sight of men. There is a reference made to his greatness in the prophecies of Daniel. That prophet, predicting the intermarriages and wars of the kings of the north and south, or of Syria and Egypt, and the oppressions and persecutions of the Jews between the two contending powers, till the depression of the Syrians by the Romans, which he does with minute historical precision, says, "And the king of the south [Ptolemy Lagus] shall be strong, and one of his [Alexander's] princes, [Seleucus, the governor of Babylon and the eastern provinces,] and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion, his dominion shall be a great dominion." Dan. xi. 5.

Ptolemy Lagus retained these provinces till about B.C. 314, at which time, Antigonus, whose ambition it was to make himself master of the empire of Asia, wrested from him Phœnicia, Syria, and Judæa. Afterwards, however, about B.C. 312, Ptolemy having made himself master of Cyprus, made a descent into Syria, where he acquired great spoils, and took a large number of prisoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. He then, with Seleucus, concerted a plan for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and marched thither with a large army, after repressing a revolt among the Cyrenians. He found Demetrius Poliorcetes, or the "taker of cities," the son of Antigonus, at Gaza, by whom he was opposed with much valour. But Ptolemy succeeded in his designs. After a fierce engagement, in which Demetrius lost 5,000 men slain, and 8,000 prisoners, besides his tents, treasures, and equipage, he was compelled to abandon Phœnicia, Palestine, and Cœlo-Syria to Ptolemy. The conqueror generously returned the riches which he had taken from Demetrius, as well as the friends and domestics of that prince, but the prisoners were sent into Egypt to serve him in his fleet.

Ptolemy now pursued his conquests. But they were of short duration. In the same year, Demetrius, deriving experience from his misfortune, obtained a great victory over Cillex, Ptolemy's lieutenant, who had arrived in Syria, with a numerous army, and the next year, (A.C. 311,) Antigonus advanced thither in order to secure the advantages which this event presented to him.

Antigonus crossed Mount Taurus, and joined his son, whom he tenderly embraced, and Ptolemy, being sensible that he was not able to oppose the united forces of the father and son, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Acco, Joppe, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he returned into Egypt with the greater part of the riches of the country, and numbers of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phœnicia, Cœlo-Syria, and Judæa wrested from Ptolemy a second time.

Josephus says, that the inhabitants of these

provinces who followed Ptolemy did so more out of inclination than restraint; the moderation and humanity with which he had governed them having gained their hearts so effectually, that they were more desirous of living under his sway in a foreign country, than of continuing subject to Antigonus in their own. They were strengthened in this resolution by the advantageous proposals which Ptolemy made them; for, in order to people Alexandria, his capital, he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. Such was his policy on a former occasion, and such it doubtless was at this time. Many of the inhabitants that followed him from these provinces were Jews, to whom he confirmed the privileges which Alexander had granted to them: a large body of Samaritans, also, were established there under the auspices of the same liberal policy.

About B.C. 309, Ptolemy Lagos recommenced the war. He took several cities in Cilicia and other parts from Antigonus; but Demetrius soon regained what his father had lost in Cilicia, and the other generals of Antigonus had the same success against those of Ptolemy. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preserved his conquests.

In order to obtain some compensation for what he had lost in Cilicia, Ptolemy, about B.C. 308, invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and other provinces of Asia Minor, where he took several places from Antigonus. He then sailed into the *Ægean Sea*, and made himself master of the Isle of Andros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and some other cities.

But Ptolemy was recalled from his pursuit of conquest by the treachery of the governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who excited an insurrection which caused him great inquietude. This officer, whose name was Ophellus, had served under Alexander, and after the death of that prince had embraced the interest of Ptolemy Lagos, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy gave him the command of the army which was to reduce Libya and Cyrenaica to his allegiance, and when he had accomplished this, the government of the provinces was bestowed upon him. But when Ophellus saw his master engaged in war with Antigonus and Demetrius, he rendered himself independent. He did not long, however, enjoy the possession of these provinces, for he was slain by the treachery of Agathocles, B.C. 307, [see the History of the Carthaginians,] and Ptolemy upon his death recovered Libya and Cyrenaica.

About B.C. 306, Demetrius, was commissioned by his father to go with a numerous army to retake the Isle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he sent ambassadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance against Ptolemy; but the Rhodians resolved to preserve a strict neutrality. Demetrius then advanced to Cyprus, where he made a descent, and marched to Salamis, the capital of that island. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, had taken refuge in this city with most of his troops; but on the approach of Demetrius, he withdrew out and gave him battle. Menelaus was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place, with the loss of 1,000 slain and 3,000 prisoners.

Demetrius now besieged the city, but Menelaus having given advice to Ptolemy of his defeat, and the consequent siege of Salamis, he caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out, and advanced with the utmost expedition to his assistance. He arrived with a fleet of 180 sail, and both sides prepared for battle. Ptolemy directed Menelaus, who was still at Salamis, to advance with the sixty vessels under his command, in order to charge the rear-guard of Demetrius in the heat of the battle: but that general had placed a sufficient guard at the entrance of the port, which was very narrow, to prevent his coming forth. Demetrius then drew out his land forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the sea, that he might, in case of defeat, be able to assist those who might be obliged to save themselves by swimming. After this, he sailed into the sea with 180 galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with so much impetuosity that he broke the line of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had recourse to flight, and the eight galleys that accompanied him were all that escaped.

The train and baggage of Ptolemy, together with his wives, friends, and domestics, provisions, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the store ships which lay at anchor, were seized by Demetrius, who caused them to be carried to his camp. These prisoners, however, he afterwards returned without ransom, and he caused the slain to be interred in a magnificent manner. With so much more generosity, says Justin, was war carried on in those days than we find transactions now among friends. At this period, indeed, conquerors seemed to vie with each other in acts of this kind. How much more nobly would they have acted had they forgiven each others' wrongs, and respected each others' rights, so as to have refused drawing the sword from the scabbard, and meeting in the deadly strife! How much more happiness would they have known, had the law of love ruled their actions! In silent eloquence nature declares that all beside man fulfil the works of love and joy; and why should he fabricate a sword to stab his peace, and why cherish the snake revenge in his bosom? Reason cries out against it, and our best feelings recoil at the idea of war; but human depravity shows itself to be deaf to the voice of nature and of reason.

In this year it was that Ptolemy, with the other successors of Alexander, first assumed the title of king; he must, therefore, be now spoken of as the king of Egypt.

In the first year of Ptolemy's reign, B.C. 306, Antigonus made great preparations for the invasion of Egypt. With this intention he assembled an army of 100,000 men in Syria, which he conducted by land; and Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coasted along the shore to Gaza. At the time they arrived at Gaza, the sea was very tempestuous, and the pilots advised them to wait till the setting of the Pleiades, or about eight days; but Antigonus, impatient to surprise Ptolemy, while he was unprepared to meet him, disregarded this advice, and marched forward. Demetrius was ordered to make a descent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilst Antigonus was to endeavour to open a passage by land into the heart of the country. But their

designs proved abortive. The fleet of Demetrius sustained much damage from storms; and Ptolemy had taken such precautions to secure the mouth of the Nile as to render it impossible for him to land his troops. Antigonus, also, had endured many hardships in crossing the deserts that lie between Palestine and Egypt, and he had much greater difficulties to surmount than Demetrius, so that he was not able to pass the first arm of the Nile that lay in his march. Ptolemy, moreover, bribed a great number of the followers of Antigonus to desert from him; so that, after hovering on the frontiers of Egypt to no purpose, he was compelled to return into Syria.

This was the last attack which Ptolemy had to sustain for the crown of Egypt, and the result greatly contributed to confirm it to him. Ptolemy the astronomer, therefore, fixes the commencement of his reign at this period, and afterwards points out the several years of its duration in his Chronological Canon.

In the year a.c. 304, Ptolemy sent an army to aid the Rhodians, who were besieged by Demetrius; by whose prowess they were saved from apparent destruction. To testify their gratitude to him for his assistance, they consecrated a grove to him, after they had consulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of solemnity. They erected also a magnificent edifice within it to his honour. This was a sumptuous portico, continued along each side of the square which encompassed the grove, containing a space of about 1,000 yards. This portico was called the Ptolemaion.

Nor did their gratitude stop here; it led them, indeed, into acts of the grossest impiety. They paid divine honours to him in the Ptolemaion, and in order to perpetuate the memory of their deliverer in this war, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which signifies "a saviour;" thus giving to man what is due to God alone.

It is by the term Soter that historians usually distinguish Ptolemy Lagus from the other Ptolemies who succeeded him on the throne of Egypt.

In the year a.c. 302, a confederacy was formed between Cassander of Macedonia, Lysimachus of Thrace, Seleucus governor of Babylon, and Ptolemy king of Egypt, against Antigonus and Demetrius, whom they defeated at Ipsus in Phrygia, in the following year, at which time Antigonus was slain. The result of this battle was, a new division of the Macedonian empire, fulfilling prophecy, (Dan. viii.) wherein four kings are emblematically described under the figure of four horns. In this division, Egypt, Libya, Cælio-Syria, and Palestine, were confirmed to Ptolemy.

Little more is recorded of Ptolemy save that he regained Cyprus, a.c. 295; and that he renewed the league with Lysimachus and Seleucus a.c. 287, in which they likewise engaged Pyrrhus king of Epirus, in order to frustrate the designs which Demetrius entertained of regaining the empire of his father in Asia; which they did effectually.

At length, a.c. 283, Ptolemy Soter, after a reign of twenty years in Egypt with the title of king, and of nearly thirty-nine from the death of Alexander, was desirous of transmitting the throne to Ptolemy Philadelphus, one of his sons by Berenice.

The ruling motive for so doing, appears to have been, to prevent contentions about the throne. Ptolemy had several children by his other wives, and among them, Ptolemy surnamed Ceramus, or "the Thunderer," who being the son of Eurydice the daughter of Antipater, and the eldest of the male issue, considered the crown as his right when his father should be deceased. But Berenice, who came into Egypt merely to accompany Eurydice, at the time of her espousals with Ptolemy, had so charmed him with her beauty, that he married her, and so great was her ascendancy over him, that she obtained the crown for her son, in preference to all the rest. In order, therefore, to prevent contentions after his death, he resolved to have Ptolemy Philadelphus crowned while yet he himself was living. At the same time, he resigned his dominions to him, declaring that it was more glorious to create than to be a king.

Ptolemy Soter died B.C. 283, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He was one of the most able and worthy men of his race, and he left behind him an example of prudence, justice, and clemency, which his successors rarely imitated. During the time he governed Egypt, he raised it to such a height of grandeur and power, as rendered it superior to other kingdoms. He retained upon the throne the same fondness for simplicity of manners, and the same aversion to ostentation, as he displayed when he first ascended it. He was accessible to his subjects to a degree of familiarity. He frequently visited them at their own houses, and when he entertained them himself, he considered it no disgrace to borrow articles of gold and silver plate from the rich, and to acknowledge that he had little of his own. Plutarch says, that when some persons represented to him that the regal dignity required an air of opulence; his answer was, that the true grandeur of a king consisted in enriching others, not in being rich himself. Ptolemy seems also to have been a man of enlightened mind, and to have made himself acquainted with polite literature. Arrian records that he compiled the life of Alexander, which was greatly esteemed by the ancients, but which has not reached the moderns.

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS.

On ascending the throne of Egypt, this prince entertained the people with the most splendid festival recorded in the pages of ancient history, and which gives a clear idea of the opulence and dotalry of Egypt at this period.

This pompous solemnity continued a whole day, and was conducted through the extent of the city of Alexandria. It was divided into several parts, and formed a variety of processions. Thus the gods had each of them a distinct cavalcade, the decorations of which were descriptive of their history. That of Bacchus, a portion of which we give as related by Athenæus, will convey an idea of the magnificence (if so it may be called) of the rest.

This procession began with a troop of Sileni, some habited in purple, others in robes of a deep red; their employment was to keep off the crowd, and clear the way for the pageant.

Next to the Sileni, came a band of satyrs,

composed of twenty in two ranks, each carrying a gilded lamp.

These were succeeded by Victories, with golden wings, carrying vases nine feet in height, partly gilded and partly adorned with the leaves of ivy, in which perfumes were burning. Their habits were embroidered with figures of animals, and were covered with gold.

After these, came a double altar, nine feet in height, and covered with a luxuriant foliage of ivy, intermixed with ornaments of gold. It was also beautified with a golden crown, made in imitation of vine leaves, and adorned with white fillets.

A hundred and twenty youths advanced next, clothed in purple vests, each of them bearing a golden vase of incense, myrrh, and saffron.

These were followed by forty satyrs, wearing crowns of gold which represented the leaves of ivy, and in the right hand of each was another crown of the same metal, adorned with vine leaves. Their habits were diversified with a variety of colours.

In the rear of these marched two Sileni, arrayed in purple mantles and white drawers; one of them wore a kind of hat, and carried a golden caduceus in his hand; the other had a trumpet. Between these two, was a man six feet in height, masked, and habited like a tragedian. This man carried a golden cornucopia, and was distinguished by the appellation of The Year.

This person preceded a beautiful woman, as tall as himself, dressed in a magnificent manner, and glittering with gold. She held in one hand a crown composed of the leaves of the peach-tree, and in the other a branch of the palm. She was called Penteteris, a word signifying the space of five years, because at the expiration of every fourth year, the feast of Bacchus was celebrated at the beginning of the next, which was the fifth.

The next in the procession were the geni of the four seasons, wearing characteristic ornaments, and supporting the golden vases of odours, adorned with ivy leaves. In the midst of these geni was a square altar of gold.

A band of satyrs next appeared wearing golden crowns, fashioned like the leaves of ivy, and arrayed in red habits. Some bore vessels filled with wine, others carried drinking cups.

Immediately after these came Philiscus, the poet and priest of Bacchus, attended by comedians, musicians, dancers, and other persons of that class.

Two tripods were carried next, as prizes for the victors at the athletic combats and exercises. One of these tripods being thirteen feet and a half in height, was intended for the youths; the other, which was eighteen feet high, was designed for the men.

A car, which had four wheels, was twenty-one feet in length, and twelve in breadth, and was drawn by 180 men, followed next. In this car was a figure representing Bacchus, fifteen feet in height, in the attitude of performing libations with a large cup of gold. He was arrayed in a robe of brocaded purple, which flowed down to his feet. Over this was a transparent vest of a saffron colour, and above that a large purple mantle embroidered with gold. Before him was a large vessel of gold surmounted in the Lacedæmonian fashion,

and forming fifteen measures, called in the Greek, *astribolæ*. This was accompanied with a golden tripod, on which were placed a golden vase of odours, and two golden cups full of cinnamon and saffron. Bacchus was seated under the shade of ivy and vine leaves, intermixed with the foliage of fruit trees; and from these hung several crowns, fillets, and thyrsi, with timbrels, ribbands, and a variety of satiric, comic, and tragic masks. In the same car were the priests and priestesses of that deity, with the other ministers, and interpreters of mysteries, dancers of all classes, and women bearing vases.

These were succeeded by the Bacchantes, who marched with their hair dishevelled, and who wore crowns, composed, some of serpents, and others of the branches of the yew, vine, or ivy. Some of these women carried knives in their hands, others serpents.

During the games and public combats, which continued some days after this solemnity, Ptolemy Soter presented the victors with twenty crowns of gold, and they received twenty-three from Berenice his consort. It appeared by the registers of the palace, that these last crowns were valued at 2,230 talents and fifty mines, about 334,400*l*. sterling: from whence some judgment may be formed of the immense sums to which all the gold and silver employed in this ceremonial amounted.

Such was the nature of the pageant exhibited by Ptolemy Philadelphus at his coronation. In no part of it does it seem to have been conducted with elegance, or to have exhibited the least trace of taste or genius. The spoils of whole provinces and cities were sacrificed to the pomp of a single day, and displayed to public view only to raise the vain admiration of a senseless populace, without conducting to any real good. But there was something more lamentable in this procession or solemnity of religion than this. It was converted into a public school of intemperance and licentiousness, calculated only to excite the most degrading passions in the spectators, and to induce an utter depravity of manners, by presenting to their view all the instruments of excess and debauch, with the most powerful allurements to indulge in them. And all this was done under the pretext of paying adoration to the gods! How different from these are the solemnities of our most holy religion! In them we discern nothing but what is lovely and of good report, and that tends to purify the heart, and make holy the life of the worshipper. Truly, the religion of the blessed Saviour is of Divine origin.

To the native Egyptians this pageant must have been peculiarly afflictive. They must have looked upon it as an insult to their native gods, as established upon their own ruin, and as indicative of the ascendancy of that power which ruled over them—a power which they could never hope to subdue. So literally, even at this early date, was the inspired prophecy fulfilled. That the native Egyptians were an oppressed people at this period, is evident from the number of foreigners who had taken up their abode there during the sway of the Persian empire, and the rule of Alexander and Ptolemy Soter. All places of trust were confided to foreigners; for no more is heard of the rule of the priests, or the power

the Egyptian deity. Caste was broken down, and by this act they were humbled to the dust: for casts was the glory of ancient Egypt.

In the first year of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, B.C. 284, which was also the first year of the 194th Olympiad, the famous watch-tower in the island of Pharos was completed. This tower was usually called the tower of Pharos, and it has been reputed as one of the seven wonders of the world. It was a large square structure, built of white marble, on the top of which a fire was kept continually burning, in order to guide ships onward in their course. The cost of its erection was 800 talents, which, estimated by Athenian money, according to Arbuthnot's calculation, are equal to 300,000*l.* sterling, but if computed by the coin of Alexandria, nearly double that sum. The architect of the edifice was Sostratus, of Cnidus.

Ptolemy Philadelphus was a great encourager of learning, and a patron of learned men. About this time, ancient historians say, that under his auspices was commenced that excellent translation of the Old Testament into Greek, called the Septuagint, from the seventy or seventy-two interpreters said to have been employed therein. The copy from whence it was taken was furnished the king by Eleazar, the son of Simon the Just. It is probable that the version of the Pentateuch was first completed. A note at the close of the Book of Esther expressly states it was finished in the fourth year of Ptolemy Philometer, or A.C. 177. The whole was finished, according to the rev. T. H. Horne, about A.C. 170.*

This was one of the best fruits of the Grecian conquests; and was, doubtless, comprehended in the design which God had in view, when he delivered up the east to the Greeks, and supported them in those regions, notwithstanding the divisions and jealousies, the wars and the revolutions, that were constantly taking place among them. He brought about the union of so many nations, of different languages and manners, into one society, that the doctrines of revelation and the gospel of his dear Son might be afterwards promulgated among them, through the instrumentality of one language; and that language the finest, most copious, and most correct, that ever was spoken in the world; and which was so captivating, that it became common to all countries conquered by Alexander. The way of salvation through faith in Christ Jesus, by this means, was made known to thousands who had hitherto sat in the shadow of the regions of death, and its hallowed effects are seen to the present moment.

About this time, also, the image of the god Serapis was brought from Pontus to Alexandria. Ptolemy had been induced by a dream, to demand it by an embassy, of the king of Sinope, a city of Pontus, in which it was kept. It was, however, refused him for the space of two years, till at length the inhabitants of Sinope, suffering from famine, bartered their god to Ptolemy for a supply of corn! The statue was conveyed to

Alexandria, and placed in one of the suburbs called Bihacotis, where it was adored by the name of Serapis, and where a famous temple, called the Serapion, was afterwards erected. This structure, according to Ammianus Marcellinus, surpassed in beauty and magnificence all the temples in the world, except the Capitol at Rome.

About the same time, A.C. 283, Ptolemy Soter, in consequence of the suggestions of Demetrius Phalereus, who had seen and profited by public libraries at Athens, founded the Alexandrian library, so famous in history. This library, according to Eusebius, contained 300,000 volumes at the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus. It was enlarged by succeeding princes sevenfold, so that it was necessary that a portion of it (300,000 volumes) should be deposited in the Serapion; for which reason it was called its daughter.* The library was burned when Cæsar made war with Alexandria, but that part of it in the Serapion displayed its treasures till the seventh century, when it suffered the same fate as its parent, being burned by the Saracens.

The circumstances attending its final destruction are worthy to be here recorded. John, surnamed the Grammarian, a famous follower of Aristotle, was at Alexandria when the city was taken, and as he was much esteemed by Amri Abnol, the general of the Saracen troops, he intreated that commander to bestow upon him the Alexandrian library. Amri replied, that it was not in his power to grant such a request; but that he would write to the khalif for his orders respecting it. He accordingly wrote to the khalif; and his answer was, that if those books contained the same doctrine with the Koran, they could not be of any use, because the Koran was sufficient in itself, and comprehended all necessary truths; but if they contained any doctrines contrary to that book, they ought to be destroyed. Upon this reply, they were all condemned to the flames, without any farther examination, and they were distributed among the public baths, where, for the space of six months, they were used for fuel instead of wood. Thus were these stores of learning lost to the world for ever, through the blind ignorance of a bigoted follower of that arch impostor Mohammed.

The museum of Cruchion was not, however, burned with the library attached to it. Strabo informs us that this was a large structure near the palace, and facing the port, and that it was surrounded with a portico, in which the philosophers walked. He adds, that the members of this society were governed by a president, whose station was so honourable and important, that in the time of the Ptolemies, he was always chosen by the king himself, and afterwards by the Roman emperor; and that the members had a hall, where the whole society ate at the ex-

* For critical remarks on this fact, as laid down by ancient historians, the reader may refer to "THE CORRECTION OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT," published by the Religious Tract Society.

* It is to be recollected that the written rolls, volumes, spoken of, contained far less than a printed volume; so, for instance, the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, in fifteen books, would make fifteen volumes, and one *Diogenes* is said by Athenæus to have written 1,500 volumes. This consideration will bring the number assigned at least within the bounds of credibility. The books, moreover, were collected from all nations. There were these in the Jewish, Chaldean, Persian, Ethiopian, Egyptian languages, etc. as well as in Greek and Latin.

praise of the public, by whom they were liberally supported.

Alexandria was indebted to this museum for the advantage it long enjoyed of being the greatest school in that part of the world, and of having trained up members who excelled in literature. It is from thence, in particular, that the church has received some of its most illustrious doctors; as Clemens Alexandrinus, Ammonius, Origen, Anselmus, Athanasius, and many others, who studied in that seminary. It must, however, be remembered, that the instruction they received from their heathen teachers led them in many respects from the simplicity of the Christian faith, so that their productions are to be read with caution by the modern reader, as may be gathered from the Life of Origen.*

At the date of the death of Ptolemy Soter, *a.c.* 283, Ptolemy Philadelphus became sole master of all his dominions. These were Egypt, Phœnicia, Cœlo-Syria, Arabia, Libya, Ethiopia, the island of Cyprus, Pamphylia, part of Cilicia, Lycia, and the isle denominated the Cyclades.

One of his first acts after this event reflects great disgrace upon his character. It has been narrated, that Ptolemy Soter abdicated his throne in favour of Ptolemy Philadelphus, before all his brethren. Before he did this, he consulted with Demetrius Phalereus, who was a very learned man, and probably the first president of the Academy at Alexandria, with whom he was wont to advise before all his counsellors. Demetrius advised him to regulate his choice by the order prescribed by nature, which was generally followed by all other nations; thus advising him to prefer his eldest son, Ptolemy Ceraunus, by Eurydice his first wife. Ptolemy Philadelphus seems to have taken umbrage at Demetrius Phalereus for this, and to have resolved upon revenge the first opportunity. As soon, therefore, as he saw himself sole master of the kingdom, he caused that philosopher to be seized, and sent him with a strong guard to a remote fortress, where he ordered him to be confined, till he should determine in what manner to treat him. This was soon resolved upon. The bite of an asp put a period to the life of that great man; a man who merited, says the ancient historian, a better fate.

Nothing is recorded of Ptolemy Philadelphus after this dark deed, till about *a.c.* 274, at which date the reputation of the Romans having spread to distant lands, through the war they had maintained against Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, he sent ambassadors to desire their friendship. The Romans were pleased at this circumstance, and the next year they sent an embassy from Rome to Egypt to return these civilities. The ambassadors were, Q. Fabius Gurgæ, Cn. Fabius Pictor, with Numerius his brother, and Q. Olgunius. These men displayed, while in Egypt, pure disinterestedness, and a greatness of mind which is rarely discovered among the moderns. Ptolemy gave them a splendid entertainment, and took that opportunity of presenting each of them with a crown of gold, which they received out of courtesy; but the next morning they placed them on the head of the king's statue erected in the

public squares of the city. The king having likewise bestowed very considerable presents at their audience of leave, they received them, but before they went to the senate to give an account of their embassy, after their arrival at Rome, they deposited all these presents in the public treasury; thus testifying that persons of honour ought, when they serve the public, to seek the public good, rather than their own advantage.

About the year *a.c.* 268, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent a fleet to assist the Laedæmonians against Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia. The next year, he was perplexed by a revolt, excited in Egypt, as related by Pausanias, by a prince from whom he had reason to expect better things. Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and Libya, having set up the standard of rebellion against Ptolemy, his master and benefactor, caused himself to be proclaimed king of those provinces. Ptolemy and Magas were brothers, by the same mother; the latter being the son of Berenice and Philip, a Macedonian officer, who was her husband before she married Ptolemy Soter. Her solicitations, therefore, obtained for him this government when she was advanced to the honours of a crown, upon the death of Ophellas. Magas had so well established himself in the government by long possession, and by his marriage with Apame, the daughter of Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, that he endeavoured to render himself independent; and, as ambition knows no bounds, he resolved to go a step farther. He was not content with wresting from his brother these two provinces, but he formed a resolution to dethrone him. With this view he advanced into Egypt at the head of a great army, and in his march towards Alexandria, made himself master of Pretonium, a city of Marmarica.

The mischief he designed for others awaited him in his own provinces. He received intelligence of the revolt of the Marmaridæ in Libya, and he returned in order to quell these disturbances. Ptolemy, who had marched an army to the frontiers of Egypt, had now a favourable opportunity of attacking him in his retreat, and of annihilating his troops; but a new danger called him likewise to another quarter. A conspiracy was formed against him by 4,000 Gauls, mercenaries, who resolved to drive him out of Egypt and seize it for themselves. In order, therefore, to frustrate their design, he found himself compelled to return into Egypt, where he drew the conspirators into an island in the Nile, in which they perished by famine and their own swords.

As soon as he had calmed the troubles which occasioned his return, Magas renewed his designs on Egypt, and he engaged his father-in-law, Antiochus Soter, to enter into his plan. It was resolved that Antiochus should attack Ptolemy on one side, while Magas invaded him on the other; but Ptolemy, who possessed secret intelligence of the treaty, anticipated Antiochus in his designs, and gave him so much employment in his maritime provinces, by repeated descents, and the devastation made by the troops he sent into those parts, that this prince was obliged to continue in his own dominions; and Magas desisted from carrying his designs into effect.

About *a.c.* 267 Ptolemy conceived an expe-

* Published by the Religious Tract Society.

light to draw into Egypt all the maritime commerce of the east, which till then had been in possession of the Tyrians, who transported it by sea as far as Elath, and from thence by land to Rhinocorura, and from this place by sea again to the city of Tyre. Elath and Rhinocorura were two sea-ports; the first on the eastern shore of the Red Sea; the second at the extremity of the Mediterranean, between Egypt and Palestine, and near the mouth of the river of Egypt.

In order to effect this design, Ptolemy thought it necessary to found a city on the western shore of the Red Sea, from whence the ships were to sail. He accordingly built one almost on the frontiers of Ethiopia, and he gave it the name of his mother, Berenice. This port, however, was not very commodious, and that of Myos Hormos eventually held the preference. At this port the treasures of Arabia, India, Persia, and Ethiopia were landed, and from thence they were carried on camels to Coptus, where they were again shipped and brought down the Nile to Alexandria, which transmitted them to all the west in exchange for merchandise, afterwards exported to the east.

The passage from Coptus to the Red Sea lay across the deserts, where no water could be procured, and which had neither cities nor houses to lodge the caravans. Ptolemy remedied this inconvenience by causing a canal to be opened along the great road from the Nile, on the edge of which houses were erected, at stated distances, for the reception and accommodation of man and beast.

These were useful labours, but Ptolemy did not deem them sufficient for the accomplishment of his design. He considered that protection was required, and accordingly fitted out two fleets, one for the Red Sea, and the other for the Mediterranean. This latter is mentioned by Theocritus in his *Idyllium*, entitled "Ptolemy," as being magnificent. He says,

"E'en lesser Asia and her isles grew pale,
As o'er the billow pass'd thy crowd of sail."

JUVENAL.

Some of the vessels of which it was composed were very large; two of them, in particular, had thirty benches of oars; one, twenty; four rowed with fourteen; two, with twelve; fourteen, with eleven; thirty, with nine; thirty-seven, with seven; five, with six; and seventeen, with five. There were many more with four and three benches of oars, besides a number of small vessels. With this fleet, he not only protected his commerce, but kept in subjection most of the maritime provinces of Asia Minor; as Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, as far as the Cyclades.

At this period, about a.c. 258, Magas, king of Cyrene and Libya, growing aged and infirm, caused overtures of accommodation to be tendered to his brother Ptolemy, with the proposal of a marriage between Berenice, his only daughter, and the eldest son of the king of Egypt, and a promise to give her his dominions for a dowry. The negotiation succeeded, and a peace was concluded on these terms. Before this treaty was executed, however, Magas died, and his widow Apama, whom Justin calls Arsinoë, resolved to break off her daughter's marriage with the son

of Ptolemy, as it had been concluded against her consent. With this view, she employed persons in Macedonia to invite Demetrius, the uncle of Antigonus Gonatas, to come to her court, assuring him that her daughter and crown should be his. Demetrius accordingly came; but as soon as Apama beheld him, she conceived a violent passion for him, and resolved to espouse him herself. Demetrius was, however, afterwards slain by a conspiracy in which Berenice herself took part; after which she went to Egypt, where her marriage with Ptolemy was completed, and Apama was sent to her brother Antiochus Theos, in Syria.

Through the influence of this princess, Antiochus Theos proclaimed war against Ptolemy, a.c. 256, which continued its ravages a long while, and was productive of fatal consequences to the aggressor. During the next year, the contending armies met, but history has not preserved the particulars of what passed in this and several succeeding campaigns.

In the meantime, notwithstanding the war, Ptolemy was intent upon enlarging his library. He was continually enriching it with new books; and he added also to it paintings and designs by the best masters. Aratus, the famous Sicyonian, was one of those who collected for him in Greece, and he so pleased Ptolemy, that he presented him with twenty-five talents, which he expended in the relief of the necessitous Sicyonians, and the redemption of such as were detained in captivity—a noble act, and one that would put many professed Christians to the blush, if compared with their acts of benevolence.

While Antiochus was employed in war with Egypt, a formidable insurrection in the east made him desirous of ending the war with Ptolemy. Accordingly, a.c. 249, a treaty of peace was concluded between them. The conditions of this treaty were, that Antiochus should divorce Laodice, and espouse Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy; and that he should also disinherit his issue by the first marriage, and secure the crown to his children by the second. This treaty was put into effect. After it was concluded, Antiochus repudiated Laodice, and Ptolemy then embarked at Pelusium, and conducted his daughter to Seleucia, a maritime city, near the mouth of the Orontes, a river of Syria, where the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence.

Ptolemy appears to have had a great affection for his daughter; for he gave orders to have regular supplies of water from the Nile transmitted to her, believing it more conducive to health than any other water in the world, as noticed before.

It has been said, when marriages are contracted from no other motives than political views, and are founded on such unjust conditions, they are generally attended with calamitous and fatal events. Thus it was with this union; and yet it was ordained of Heaven that it should be a striking proof that God ruleth in the earth, and that no events occur without his permission.

To this treaty and this marriage, there is allusion in the prophetic writings of Daniel. After having explained the overthrow of the Persian empire, under Darius Codomannus, the last king, by Alexander the Great; and the division of his empire among his four generals, Dan. xi. 3—4.

the prophet proceeds to notice the wars of the kings of the north and south, or Syria and Egypt. (ver. 5;) after which he says, "And in the end of [several] years they [the kings of the south and of the north] shall join themselves together, [by marriage:] for [Berenice] the king's daughter of the south [Egypt] shall come to the king of the north [Syria] to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm, [or her interest with Antiochus, who after some time brought back his former wife, Laodice, and her children, to court:] neither shall he [Antiochus] stand, nor his arm, [for he was poisoned:] but she [Berenice] shall be given up, and they that brought her, [her Egyptian attendants,] and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times," [her father, Philadelphus, who died shortly before,] ver. 6.

The prophet in these two latter verses, and throughout the remaining part of this chapter, confines himself to the kings of Egypt and Syria, because they were the only princes who engaged in war against the people of God. This will obtain more ample notice hereafter. But we would here direct the reader's attention to the strong testimony that this fact in ancient history bears to the Divine origin of Scripture. The prediction was uttered nearly three hundred years before the event: what hand, then, but that of an Almighty Being, could have caused so many different views, intrigues, and passions, to tend to the same point? What knowledge but that of Omniscience could with so much certainty have foreseen such a variety of distinct circumstances, subject, not only to the freedom of man's will, but to his wild caprice? Reader! reflect upon this, and adore that sovereign power which God exercises, secretly indeed, but not less certainly, over kings and princes, whose very crimes he renders subservient to the execution of his holy will and pleasure, and the accomplishment of his immutable decrees.

During the time that Ptolemy continued in Syria, he was presented with a statue of Diana, which he admired, and which he carried into Egypt on his return. This gave rise to an incident, as related by Libanius, which shows the debasing superstition and idolatry of that age. He says, that some time after the return of Ptolemy, his wife Arsinoe was seized with indisposition, and dreamed that Diana appeared to her, acquainting her that Ptolemy was the occasion of her illness, by his having taken her statue out of the temple where it was consecrated to her divinity. Upon this, the statue was immediately sent back to Syria, in order to be replaced in the temple whence it was taken. It was also accompanied with rich presents to the goddess, and a variety of sacrifices were offered up to appease the angry divinity. But they had no such effect. The disorder of the queen was so far from abating, that she died the same year, *n. c.* 248, leaving Ptolemy inconsolable at her loss. His grief, it is said, was heightened by the reflection of his having removed the statue of Diana out of the temple, to which he imputed her death.

Though Arsinoe was older than Ptolemy, he retained a constant and tender affection for her to the last; and at her death, he rendered all imaginable honours to her memory. He gave

her name to several cities, and by many remarkable actions testified his affectionate regard for her. Pliny states, that he formed a design of erecting a temple to her memory, with a dome rising above it, the concave part of which was to be lined with adamant, in order to keep an iron statue of the queen suspended in the air. This design was the invention of Dinocrates, a famous architect of antiquity; and the moment he proposed it to Ptolemy, orders were given to commence the work. But the project failed, for Ptolemy and the architect died within a short time after it was resolved upon.

Ptolemy Philadelphus survived his beloved Arsinoe but a short period. He was naturally, says Athenæus, of a tender constitution, and the luxurious life he led contributed to the decay of health. His affliction, also, for the loss of his consort, seemed to hasten his end. He died, *n. c.* 247, in the sixty-third year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign.

Although this prince had many excellent qualities, he cannot be proposed as a model of a good king. His resentment against Demetrius Phaleræus will ever remain as a stain upon his character; and the luxuries and effeminate pleasures (the usual concomitants of such high fortunes) in which he indulged to excess, do not evince a noble mind. Nevertheless, his love of the arts and sciences, and his generosity to learned men, reflect no small honour upon his memory. The fame of these liberalities brought several illustrious poets to his court; among whom we may enumerate Callimachus, Lycophron, and Theocritus,—the latter of whom celebrated Ptolemy's fame in his poems. His taste for books has been noticed; he also always retained a peculiar taste for the sciences, and in order to perpetuate it among his subjects, he erected public schools and academies at Alexandria, where they flourished for many ages. He loved to converse with men of learning; and as the greatest masters in every kind of science were emulous to obtain his favour, he possessed an enviable advantage of obtaining wisdom. Happy are those princes who follow his footsteps in this particular, who know how to use the opportunity of acquiring, in agreeable conversations, knowledge whereby they may learn how to govern a people wisely.

The intercourse of Philadelphus with learned men, and his care to give due honour to the arts, may be considered as the source of those measures he pursued, to make commerce flourish in his dominions, in which he so happily succeeded, as his history testifies. It has been already observed, that he built cities in order to protect and facilitate traffic; that he opened a canal through the arid desert; and that he maintained a navy in each of the two seas, merely for the defence of his merchants. His principal aim was to secure to strangers safety, convenience, and freedom in his ports, without fettering trade, or endeavouring to turn it from its proper channel, in order to make it subservient to his own interest. He was persuaded that commerce resembled those springs that cease to flow when diverted from their natural course.

These were views worthy of a great prince, and a consummate politician; and their effects

were highly beneficial to his kingdom. The effects have, indeed, continued to the present day, strengthened by the principles of the first establishment, after a duration of above two thousand years; pouring a perpetual flow of new riches, and new commodities of every kind into all nations; drawing continually from them a return of voluntary contributions; uniting the east and west by the mutual supply of their respective wants; and establishing on this basis a commerce that has supported itself from age to age without interruption. Conquerors and heroes, whom the world has applauded so much, have scarcely left behind them any traces of the acquisitions they have made for aggrandizing their empires; or, if they have, the revolutions to which the most potent states are subject divert them of their conquests in a few short years, and transfer them to others. On the contrary, the commerce of Egypt, established thus by Philadelphus, instead of being shaken by time, has rather increased through a long succession of ages, and become daily more useful to all nations. If we trace commerce, therefore, up to its true source, we shall be sensible that this prince was not only the benefactor of Egypt, but of mankind in general, to the latest posterity. About this epoch we may, at least, date the extension of that trade with India, by which the products of the great Asiatic peninsula, and of Ceylon, were more generally diffused over the western world. The origin of the trade between the Indian peninsula and Arabia and Eastern Africa, belongs to a period anterior to any history; and this commerce has probably never been totally interrupted at any period since its commencement. That the coast of Africa had been navigated long before this, may be seen in the History of the Carthaginians, where it is stated that Hanno explored its western coasts, and, according to Dr. Vincent, as far as Quiloa on the southern coast.

The most essential duty of kings, and the most grateful pleasure they can enjoy, amidst the splendours of a throne, is to gain the love of mankind, by making their government desirable. This appears to have been the policy of Ptolemy Philadelphus. He was sensible that the only expedient for extending his dominions without any act of violence, was to multiply his subjects, and attach them to his government by their interest and inclination; to cause the land to be cultivated; to make arts and manufactures flourish; and to augment, by judicious measures, the power of a prince and his kingdom, whose strength, humanly speaking, consists in the multitude of his subjects. Hence it was, that so many from different nations transplanted themselves into Egypt during his reign, preferring a residence in a foreign land to their native soil. This is a favourable trait in the character of this prince, and cannot be too closely imitated by those who bear rule among the nations of the earth.

Ptolemy Philadelphus was succeeded in his kingdom by his eldest son Ptolemy Evergetes.

PTOLEMY EVERGETES.

The first act of Ptolemy Evergetes, was to revenge the wrongs of his sister. This princess

had been repudiated by Antiochus Thapsa soon as he heard of the death of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Laodice and her children had been recalled to his court. Laodice caused Antiochus to be poisoned, and she concerted measures with Seleucus Callinicus, her son, who had ascended his father's throne, to destroy Berenice and her son also. But Berenice being informed of their design, escaped with her son to Daphne, where she shut herself up in the asylum built by Seleucus Nicator. Thither Ptolemy Evergetes hastened, but before he arrived Berenice had been betrayed by the perfidy of those who besieged her in her place of retreat, and had been murdered, with her son, and all her Egyptian attendants, by order of Laodice.

The cities of Asia Minor, touched with pity at the misfortunes of Berenice, had also sent a body of troops to her relief. These now joined those of Egypt, and Ptolemy, who commanded the whole army, made war upon Seleucus Callinicus. He soon had his revenge. The criminal proceeding of Laodice, and of Seleucus, had alienated the affection of the people from them; and Ptolemy not only caused Laodice to suffer death, but made himself master of all Syria and Cilicia; after which he passed the Euphrates, and conquered all the country as far as Babylon and the Tigris. If the progress of his arms had not been interrupted by a sedition, which obliged him to return to Egypt, it is probable he would have subdued all the provinces of the Syrian empire. He left Antiochus, one of the generals, to govern the provinces he had gained on this side of Mount Taurus, and Xanthippus was intrusted with those that lay beyond it. Ptolemy then marched back to Egypt laden with the spoils he had acquired by his conquests. These events occurred A. C. 246.

The spoils which Ptolemy collected in this expedition were 40,000 talents of silver, (about six million pounds sterling,) a large quantity of gold and silver vessels, and 2,500 statues. Part of these statues were Egyptian idols, which Cambyse, after his conquest of that kingdom, had transported into Persia; and Ptolemy gained the affections of his subjects by replacing them in their ancient temples. The Egyptians, indeed, who were more devoted to their superstitious idolatry than the rest of mankind, thought they could not sufficiently express their gratitude and veneration to Ptolemy for the restoration of their gods. They gave him the title of Evergetes, which signifies "a benefactor," as a token of their gratitude; a title which it were to be wished he had merited by some nobler action than the perpetuating of idolatry, since it is infinitely preferable to all appellations which conquerors have assumed from a false idea of glory.

It may here be observed, that all the facts that have been related proved an exact accomplishment of what the prophet Daniel had foretold. Foreseeing the result of the marriage of the "daughter of the south" with "the king of the north," as before noticed, he says of the former, "But she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand, nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times." He discovered that the issue of this princess, notwithstanding all the express pre-

cutions in the treaty for securing their succession to the crown, in the exclusion of the children by a former marriage, were so far from assuaging the throne, that they were entirely exterminated; and that the new queen herself was delivered up to her rival, who caused her to be destroyed with all her officers who had conducted her out of Egypt and Syria, and who, till then, had been her strength and support.

The prophet next describes the conquests of Euergetes: "But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand upon his estate [her brother, Euergetes,] which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress [or the fenced cities] of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail: and shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, [that is, the kingdom of Seleucus of the north,] and shall return into his own land," [into Egypt.] Dan. xi. 7—9.

The remarkable precision with which this prediction was accomplished cannot fail to strike every reader. Porphyry has, indeed, discerned the resemblance between the prediction and the accomplishment, and, strange to relate, at the expense of truth, he has asserted that the prophecy was written after the several events to which it refers had occurred; to such miserable artifices will the infidel resort, in order to falsify God's holy word. But all his endeavours are vain.

"All flesh is grass,
And all the goodness thereof is as the flower of the field

The grass withereth, the flower fadeth
Because the spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it:
Surely the people is grass.

The grass withereth, the flower fadeth
But the word of our God shall stand for ever"

ISA. xl. 6—8

When Ptolemy Euergetes set out on this expedition, his queen, Berenice, being apprehensive of the dangers to which he would be exposed in the war, made a vow to consecrate her hair if he should return in safety. This was a sacrifice of no mean kind, since it was esteemed by all ancient nations before all other personal ornaments. Accordingly, when she saw him return, her first care was the accomplishment of her promise. She caused her hair to be cut off, and then dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which Ptolemy Philadelphus had founded in honour of his beloved Arsinoe, on Zephyrion, a promontory in Cyprus, under the name of the Zephyrian Venus. This consecrated hair was lost soon after, and Ptolemy was extremely offended with the priests for their negligence: upon which Conon of Samos, who was then at Alexandria, being an artful courtier, took upon him to affirm that the locks of the queen's hair had been conveyed to heaven; and pointed out seven stars near the lion's tail, which till then had never formed part of any constellation; declaring, at the same time, that those were the hair of Berenice. Several other astronomers, either to make their court as well as Conon, or that they might not draw upon themselves the displeasure of Ptolemy, gave those stars the name of

Berenice's hair, by which they are known to this day.

On his return from this expedition, Ptolemy passed through Jerusalem, where he offered a great number of sacrifices to the God of Israel, in order to render homage to him, for the victories he had obtained over the king of Syria; by which action he discovered his preference of the true God to all the idols of Egypt. Some have supposed that the prophecies of Daniel were shown to that prince, and that he might have concluded from thence, that his conquest and successes were owing to that God who had revealed them to his prophets.

In the extremities to which Seleucus was reduced, he made application to his brother Antiochus, whom he promised to invest with the sovereignty of the provinces of Asia Minor, if he would act in concert with him against Ptolemy. This young prince was then at the head of an army in those provinces; and though he was but fourteen years of age, yet, according to Justin, he had all the ambition and malignity of mind that appear in maturer years. He immediately accepted the offers made to him, and advanced in quest of his brother; not with any intention to secure to him the enjoyment of his dominions, but to seize them for himself. The avidity of this young prince was, indeed, so great, that he acquired the surname of Hierax, which signifies "a kite," the peculiar characteristic of which bird is, that it is ready to seize upon everything within the range of its flight.

This alliance occurred B.C. 244. The next year, Ptolemy receiving intelligence that Antiochus was preparing to act in concert with Seleucus against him, reconciled himself with the latter, and concluded a truce with him for ten years, that he might not be at war with both these princes at the same time.

From the time of his concluding the peace with Seleucus, he seems to have made it his principal care to extend his dominions to the south. Accordingly, before his death, he had extended it the whole length of the Red Sea, as well along the Arabian, as the Ethiopian coast, and even to the straits of Babelmandel, which form a communication with the southern ocean.

Ptolemy devoted the time of peace to the cultivation of the sciences in his dominions, and the enlargement of his father's library at Alexandria; but as a proper collection of books could not be made without a librarian, Euergetes, upon the death of Zenodotus, who had held the office from the time of Ptolemy Soter, sent to Athens for Eratosthenes, the Cyrenian, who was then in great esteem for learning; and who had been educated by Callimachus. Eratosthenes was a man of universal learning; but none of his works have reached our days, except his catalogue of the kings of Thebes, with the years of their respective reigns, from Menes, or Minnium, who first peopled Egypt after the deluge, to the Trojan war. This catalogue contains a succession of thirty-eight kings, and is still to be seen in Synesius.

In the year B.C. 233, the original manuscripts of *Æschylus*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, were lent to Ptolemy Euergetes on a pledge of fifteen talents.

The same year, Onias, the high priest of the Jews, having neglected to send to Egypt the annual tribute of twenty talents, which his predecessors had always paid to the king of that country, Ptolemy sent Athenion, one of his courtiers, to Jerusalem, to demand the payment of the arrears, which then amounted to a large sum; and to threaten the Jews in case of refusal, with a body of troops, who should be commissioned to expel them from their country, and divide it among themselves. This caused great alarm at Jerusalem, and it was deemed necessary to send a deputation to the king in the person of Joseph, the nephew of Onias, who, though in the prime of his youth, was universally esteemed for his prudence, probity, and justice. Athenion, during his continuance at Jerusalem, had conceived a great regard for his character, and as he set out for Egypt before him, he promised to render him all the good offices in his power with the king. Joseph followed him soon after. On his way thither, he met with several of the most considerable persons of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, who were also going to Egypt with an intention of offering terms for farming the great revenues of those provinces. As the equipage of Joseph was less magnificent than theirs, they treated him with disrespect, and considered him as a person of little note. Joseph concealed his dissatisfaction at their behaviour; but he drew from the conversation that passed between them all the information he could wish with relation to the affairs that took them to court.

When they arrived at Alexandria, they were informed that the king had gone to Memphis. Joseph immediately repaired thither, and he met him as he was returning from Memphis, with the queen and Athenion in his chariot. The king, who had been prepossessed in his favour by Athenion, was pleased to see him, and invited him into his chariot. Joseph, to excuse his uncle, represented the infirmities of his great age, and the natural tardiness of his disposition, in such an engaging manner as satisfied Ptolemy, and created in him a high esteem for the able advocate of the high priest. He ordered Joseph an apartment in the royal palace of Alexandria, and allowed him a place at his table.

When the day arrived for purchasing, by a sort of auction, the privilege of farming the revenues of the provinces, the companions of Joseph, in his journey to Egypt, offered 8,000 talents only for the provinces of Cælo-Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria. Joseph, who had discovered in the conversation that passed between them in his presence, that this purchase was worth double the sum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues, and offered 16,000 talents. Ptolemy was well pleased to hear of his revenues being so much increased; but being apprehensive that the person who proffered so large a sum would not be able to pay it, he asked Joseph what security he would give him for the performance of the agreement. Joseph calmly replied, that he had such persons to offer for his security on that occasion as he was certain his majesty could have no objection to. Upon being ordered to mention them, he named the king and queen themselves, adding that they would be his securities to each

other. The king could not avoid smiling at this pleasantry, and he allowed him to farm the revenues without any other security than his verbal promise for payment. Nor was his confidence abused. Joseph acted in that station for the space of ten years, to the mutual satisfaction of the court and provinces.

In the year a.c. 222, Ptolemy entertained Cleomenes the Spartan, who had been driven from his throne by Antigonus. He gave that prince repeated assurances, indeed, that he would send him into Greece with a fleet and a supply of money, and would re-establish him on his throne. The next year, however, before his designs could be carried into execution, Euergetes died, and Cleomenes found by experience how vain it was to trust in man. Truly wise is the advice of the psalmist, wherein he says: "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help. His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish." *Psa. cxlvi. 3, 4.*

Ptolemy Euergetes had reigned twenty-five years. He was the last of the race of the Ptolemies, says Strabo, in whom any true virtue and moderation shone forth; the generality of his successors being monsters of debauchery and wickedness. He was succeeded on the throne of Egypt by his son, Ptolemy Philopater.

PTOLEMY PHILOPATER.

This prince plunged himself into the most abominable excesses during the whole of his reign. The very commencement of it was marked by outrage and bloodshed. By some historians he is said to have poisoned his father, whence he received the surname of Philopater, by antiphrasis, that word signifying "a lover of his father." He received the name of Tryphon from his extravagance and debauchery; and that of Gallus, because he appeared in the streets of Alexandria like one of the bacchanals, and with all the wild gestures of the priests of Cybele.*

In the early part of his reign, a.c. 220, Ptolemy committed a gross act of injustice and cruelty upon the person of Cleomenes. That prince still continued in Egypt; but as Ptolemy regarded nothing but pleasures and excesses of every kind, he led a very solitary life. At first, however, Ptolemy made use of Cleomenes. As he was afraid of his brother Magas, who, on his mother's account, had great authority and power over the soldiery, he admitted Cleomenes into his most secret councils, in which means for getting rid of his brother were devised. Cleomenes was the only person who had moral rectitude enough to oppose the unnatural scheme; declaring that a king cannot have any ministers more zealous for his service, or more able to aid him in sustaining the burden of government, than his brothers. This wise counsel prevailed for a moment; but Ptolemy's suspicions soon returned, and he imagined there would be no other way to disperse them there by taking away the life of

* In the celebration of the festivals of Cybele, her priests imitated the manners of madmen, and filled the air with dreadful shrieks and howlings, mixed with the confused noise of drums, tabrets, baglans, and organs. This was in commemoration of the sorrows of Cybele for the loss of her favourite Atys.

him that occasioned them. Accordingly, he publicly named Berenice his mother, and Magas his brother, to be put to death. After this, says Plutarch, he thought himself secure, fondly concluding that he had no enemies to fear either at home or abroad; because Antigonus and Seleucus, at their death, left no other successors but Philip and Antiochus, both of whom he despised on account of their tender age. In this security, he devoted himself to all kinds of pleasures, never interrupting them by cares or business. His very courtiers, and those who had employments in the state, dared not approach him, and he would scarcely deign to bestow the least attention on what occurred in the neighbouring kingdoms.

With such dispositions, it can readily be imagined that he had no great esteem for Cleomenes. This was manifested by his conduct. The instant the latter heard of the death of Antigonus, that the Achæans were engaged in a war with the Ætolians, that the Lacedæmonians were united with the latter against the Achæans and Macedonians, and that all things conspired to recall him to his native country, he solicited leave to depart from Alexandria. At first he implored the king to favour him with troops and warlike stores sufficient for his return, and when he found that he could not obtain this request, he desired that he at least might be suffered to depart with his family, and be allowed to embrace the favourable opportunity for repossessing himself of his kingdom. But Ptolemy was too much engaged by his pleasures to lend an ear to the intreaties of Cleomenes.

Sosibius, who at this time had great authority in the kingdom, and who ministered to the king's brutal pleasures, assembled his friends; and in this council a resolution was formed not to furnish Cleomenes either with a fleet or provisions. They supposed such an expense would be useless; for, from the death of Antigonus, all foreign affairs had seemed to them of small importance. This council were apprehensive, moreover, that—as Antigonus was dead, and as there was no one to oppose Cleomenes—that prince, after having made a conquest of Greece, would become a formidable enemy to Egypt. And what increased their fears was, his having thoroughly studied the state of the kingdom, his knowing its weak points, his holding the king in sovereign contempt, and seeing many parts of the kingdom separated and at a great distance, which an enemy might have many opportunities of invading. For these reasons, it was deemed politic not to grant Cleomenes the aid which he desired. And on the other side, to give so bold and enterprising a prince leave to depart, after having refused these succours, would be making an enemy, who would certainly one time or other resent the insult offered to him. Sosibius was therefore of opinion, that it was not safe to allow him to retire from, or even to allow him his liberty in Alexandria. A word which Cleomenes had previously uttered occurred to his memory, and confirmed him in this opinion. In a council, where Magas was the subject of the debate, the prime minister had signified his fears lest this prince should raise an insurrection by means of foreign soldiers. "I answer for them," says Cleomenes, "speaking of those of Peloponnesus, and you

may depend, that upon the first signal I give, they will take up arms in your favour." This made Sosibius hesitate no longer. On a tedious accusation, which he corroborated by a letter he himself had forged in the name of Cleomenes, he prevailed with the king to seize his person, and to imprison him in a secure place, where he might maintain him always in the manner he had hitherto done, with the liberty of seeing his friends, but not of going abroad with them.

This treatment threw Cleomenes into the deepest affliction; and as he did not perceive any end of his calamities, he formed a resolution, in concert with those friends who used to visit him, which despair only could suggest. This resolution was, to repel the injustice of Ptolemy by force of arms; to stir up his subjects against him; to die a death worthy of Sparta; and not to wait, as stalked victims, till it was deemed expedient they should be sacrificed.

His friends having found means to get him forth from prison, they all ran in a body with drawn swords into the streets, exhorting and calling upon the populace to recover their liberty; but no one joined them. They killed the governor of the city, and some noblemen who came to oppose them, and afterwards ran to the citadel with an intention of forcing the gates, and of setting the prisoners at liberty; but they found it impracticable. Cleomenes now lost all hope. He ran up and down the city in despair, during which he was neither aided nor opposed by the citizens. When they, therefore, saw that it would be impossible for them to succeed in their enterprise, they terminated it in a tragical manner: they ran upon each others' swords to avoid the infamy of punishment. Ptolemy caused his body to be hanged on a cross, and he ordered his wife, children, and all the women who attended them, to be put to death. When that unhappy princess was brought to the place of execution, the only favour she asked was, that she might die before her children. But this was denied her. Her maternal feelings were outraged by the sight of the death of her offspring, a sight more grievous to a mother than death itself. After this she presented her own neck to the executioner, mournfully exclaiming, "Ah! my dear children, to what a place did you come!"

While this tragical scene was performing, Ptolemy was pursuing his guilty pleasures. But in the midst of his wild career, B. C. 218, he was called to war with Antiochus, king of Syria. Theodotus, the Ætolian governor of Cælo-Syria under Ptolemy, had repulsed that prince the year before, in a battle wherein he had displayed great fidelity and courage. The court of Egypt, however, was not satisfied with his services on that occasion. Those who governed the king, had expected greater results from his valour; and were persuaded that it was in his power to have done something more. He was accordingly sent for to Alexandria, to give an account of his conduct; and his life was even threatened. But after the reasons for his conduct were heard, he was acquitted, and sent back to his government.

Theodotus could not forget the insult

which had been offered to him by this unjust proposition; he was, indeed, so exasperated at the affront, that he resolved to revenge it. The luxury and effeminacy of the whole court, to which he had been an eye-witness, increased, also, his indignation and resentment. He could not endure the idea of being dependent on the supplies of so base and contemptible a set of courtiers, and therefore he resolved to find a sovereign more worthy of his services. Accordingly, he had no sooner returned to his government, than he seized upon the cities of Tyre and Ptolemais, declared for Antiochus, and despatched a courier to invite him thither.

One of Ptolemy's generals, Nicolaus, though he was of the same country with Theodotus, would not desert Ptolemy, but preserved his fidelity to that prince. The moment, therefore, that Theodotus had taken Ptolemais, he besieged him in it, possessed himself of the passes of Mount Libanus, to stop the progress of Antiochus, who was advancing to the aid of Theodotus, and defended them to the last extremity. He was, however, finally obliged to abandon them, and Antiochus took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais.

In these two cities were the stores which Ptolemy had laid up for the use of his army, with a fleet of forty sail. Antiochus gave the command of these ships to Diogenes, his admiral, who was ordered to sail to Pelusium, whither the king intended to march by land, with the view of invading Egypt on that side. Being informed, however, that this was the season in which the inhabitants used to lay the country under water, by opening the dykes of the Nile; and consequently, that it would be impossible for him to advance into Egypt at that time, he abandoned the project, and employed his army in reducing the rest of Coelo-Syria. He seized upon some fortresses, and others submitted to him; and, at length, he possessed himself of Damascus, the capital of that province, after having deceived Dion the governor of it by a stratagem.

The last action of this campaign was the siege of Dora, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel. This place, which was strongly situated, had been so well fortified by Nicolaus, that it was impossible for Antiochus to reduce it. He was, therefore, forced to agree to a truce of four months, proposed to him in the name of Ptolemy; and this served as an honourable pretence for marching back his army to Seleucia on the Orontes, where he put them into winter quarters. Theodotus was appointed by Antiochus governor of all the places he had conquered in this campaign.

During the interval of this truce, a treaty was negotiated between the two crowns. The motive of both, however, in taking this step, was only to gain time. Ptolemy had occasion for this in order to make the necessary preparations for carrying on the war; and Antiochus for reducing Achæus, who was endeavouring to dethrone him, and to dispossess him of all his dominions.

In this treaty, the principal point was, to ascertain to whom Coelo-Syria, Phœnicia, Judæa, and Samaria had been given in the partition of Alexander the Great's empire. Ptolemy claimed them by virtue of their having been assigned by

treaty to Ptolemy Soter, his grandfather. On the other side, Antiochus pretended that they had been given to Seleucus Nicator, and therefore that they were his right; he being heir and successor of that king in the empire of Syria. Another difficulty embarrassed the commissioners. Ptolemy would have Achæus included in the treaty; but Antiochus opposed this, alleging that it was infamous for a king like Ptolemy to expose the quarrel of rebels, and countenance revolt.

The period of the truce at length arrived, *a. c.* 218, and nothing being concluded, recourse was had to arms. Nicolaus the Ætolian had given so many proofs of valour and fidelity in the last campaign, that Ptolemy gave him the command in chief of his army, and charged him with every thing relating to the service of the king in those provinces which were the occasion of the war. Perigenes, the admiral, put to sea with the fleet, in order to act against the enemy on that side. Nicolaus appointed Gaza for the rendezvous of all his forces, whither all the provisions necessary for the campaign had been sent from Egypt. From thence he marched to Mount Libanus, where he seized all the passes between that chain of mountains and the sea, by which Antiochus was necessarily obliged to pass, hoping thereby to prevent his further progress.

Antiochus, on the other hand, made every preparation both by sea and land for a vigorous invasion. He headed his land forces himself, and gave the command of his fleet to Diogenes. Both fleets sailed along the coasts, and followed the army, so that the naval as well as land forces met at the passes which Nicolaus had seized. Whilst Antiochus attacked Nicolaus by land, the fleets also came to an engagement, so that the battle began by sea and land at the same time. At sea, neither party gained the superiority, but on land, Nicolaus was overpowered. He was forced to retire to Sidon, after losing 4,000 of his soldiers, who were either killed or taken prisoners. Perigenes followed him thither with the Egyptian fleet, and Antiochus pursued them to that city both by sea and land. He designed to besiege them there; but he found that this would be attended with many difficulties, because of the great number of troops in the city, and the quantity of provision and other necessities laid up in store for them there. Instead, therefore, of besieging this city, he sent his fleet to Tyre, and marched into Galilee. After having made himself master of it by the capture of several cities, he passed the river Jordan, entered Gilead, and possessed himself of all that part of the country formerly inhabited by the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh.

The season was now too far advanced to prolong the campaign, for which reason he returned by the river Jordan, left the government of Samaria to Hippolochus and Keræa, who had deserted Ptolemy's service, and gave them 5,000 men to keep it in subjection. He then marched back the rest of the forces to Ptolemais, where he put them into winter quarters.

The campaign was opened in the spring, *a. c.* 317. Ptolemy caused 70,000 foot, 5,000 horse, and seventy-three elephants to advance towards Pelusium. He placed himself at the head of these forces.

and marched them through the deserts which divide Egypt from Palestine, and encamped at Raphia, between Rhinocorura and Gaza, at the border of which cities the two armies met. That of Antiochus was something more numerous than the other. His forces consisted of 72,000 foot, 4,000 horse, and 102 elephants. He first encamped within ten furlongs, and then within five of the enemy. All the time they lay so near one another, there were perpetual skirmishes between the parties who went to fetch fresh water or to forage, as well as between individuals who wished to distinguish themselves by deeds of bravery.

Theodotus the Ætolian, favoured by the darkness of the night, and accompanied by two accomplices, entered the camp of the Egyptians with a design of killing Ptolemy, and thereby putting an end to the war. He was taken for an Egyptian, so that he met with no difficulty in approaching Ptolemy's tent. He entered the tent, but the king was not there. The rage of Theodotus, however, was so great, and he was so blinded by this mad principle, that he did not perceive it, and he killed the first physician in mistake for the monarch. He also wounded two other persons, and during the alarm which the attempt occasioned he escaped to his own camp.

The two kings at length resolving to decide their quarrel, drew up their armies in battle array. They rode amongst their troops, to animate them, and encourage them to behave valiantly. Arsinoë, the sister and wife of Ptolemy, was not content with exhorting the soldiers to behave manfully before the battle, but did not leave her husband-brother during the heat of the engagement.

The issue of this engagement was, that Antiochus, at the head of his right wing, defeated the enemy's left. But whilst hurried on with rash ardour, he engaged too warmly in the pursuit, Ptolemy, who had been as successful in the other wing, charged the centre of the troops of Antiochus in flank, which was then exposed, and he broke it before it was possible for that prince to come to its relief. An old officer, watching the direction of the dust, concluded that the centre was defeated, and drew the attention of Antiochus to that point. He feared about that instant, but he came too late to amend his fault, for his army was broken and put to flight. Antiochus himself was obliged to retreat. He retired to Raphia, and afterwards to Gaza, with the loss of 10,000 men killed, and 4,000 taken prisoners. Finally, finding it impossible for him to maintain himself in that country against Ptolemy, he abandoned all his conquests, and retreated to Antioch with the remains of his army.

The battle of Raphia was fought at the same time with that in which Hannibal defeated Flaminius the consul, on the banks of the lake Thrasymenus in Etruria.

The inhabitants of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, having been long accustomed to the yoke of Egypt, were more attached to the Egyptians, than to Antiochus; hence, after his retreat, they submitted to Ptolemy with great cheerfulness. The court of the conqueror was soon crowded with ambassadors from all the cities, and from Judæa among the rest, to make their submission and to offer him presents.

After receiving these ambassadors, Ptolemy made a progress through his conquered provinces, and among other cities, he visited Jerusalem. We learn from the book of Maccabees that he went to the temple, and even offered sacrifices to the God of Israel: making at the same time oblations and bestowing considerable gifts. Not being satisfied, however, with viewing it from the outward court beyond which no Gentile was allowed to go, he was desirous to enter the sanctuary, and to go even as far as the Holy of Holies, to which no one was allowed access but the high priest, and that but once * every year, on the great day of expiation. See Heb. ix. 7-10. The report of this rash desire soon spread abroad, and it occasioned a great tumult. The high priest informed Ptolemy of the boldness of that prince, and the express law of God, by which all others were forbidden to enter it.† The priests and Levites, also, with one accord, opposed his rash design, and the people at large conjured him to lay it aside. Every place echoed with lamentations, occasioned by the idea of the profanation to which their temple would be exposed, and the multitude lifted up their hands to implore the interposition of Heaven. This opposition, instead of prevailing with the king, only inflamed his curiosity the more. He forced his way as far as the second court; but as he was preparing to enter the temple itself, he was struck with such terror that he was carried off half dead. After this, he left the city, highly exasperated against the Jewish nation, and threatening it with vengeance. He kept his word. The following year, a.c. 216, he raised a cruel persecution, especially against the Jews of Alexandria, whom he endeavoured to reduce by force to worship idols.

When Antiochus arrived in Antioch, he sent an embassy to Ptolemy, to sue for peace. The circumstances which prompted him to this were, his suspicions of the fidelity of his people, with whom his credit was lessened since his last defeat, and his desire of checking the progress which Achæus was making in his dominions. To obviate these dangers, he invested his ambassador with powers to give up to Ptolemy the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine,‡ which were the subject of their contest. A truce was therefore agreed upon for twelve months; and before the expiration of that time, a peace was concluded on the offered terms.

Ptolemy, who might have taken advantage of

* That is on not more than one day in the year. During that day, he entered four times: the first time, to offer incense; the second time, to sprinkle the blood of the bullock; the third time, with the blood of the goat; and the fourth time, to bring out the censers. If he entered a fifth time that day, it was considered that he was worthy of death.

† It was death for any one else, priest or layman, to enter the sanctuary. So carefully was this observed and provided for, that, to prevent its being necessary for any one to enter to bring out the body of the high priest in case he should die there before the Lord on the great day of expiation, a cord was fastened to his foot, the end of which was left beyond the veil. The Jews were always in fear lest the high priest should perish in performing the services of that great day.

‡ Cælo-Syria included that part of Syria which lies between the mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus and Palestine, or the country which anciently was inhabited by the Hebrews: the coast of these two provinces was what the Greeks called Phœnicia.

this victory, and probably have conquered all Syria, was desirous of putting an end to the war, that he might devote himself to his pleasures. His subjects, knowing his want of spirit and effeminacy, could not conceive how it had been possible for him to have been so successful; and at the same time, they were displeased at his having concluded a peace so readily. The discontent they conceived on this account was the chief source of the subsequent disorders in Egypt, which finally rose to an open rebellion; so that Ptolemy, by endeavouring to avoid a foreign war, drew one upon himself in his own dominions. This occurred a.c. 215; and, according to Polybius, it occupied a civil war; but neither that author nor any other relates the particulars of that event.

About a.c. 210, the Romans, according to Livy, sent deputies to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, (the same queen before called Arsinoë,*) to renew their ancient friendship and alliance with Egypt. These carried, as a present to the king, a robe and purple tunic, with an ivory chair: and to the queen, an embroidered robe and a purple scarf, presents which bear testimony to the happy simplicity which prevailed among the Romans at this period.

During the ten succeeding years, after the signal victory which Philopater had obtained over Antiochus at Raphia, he abandoned himself to pleasures and excesses of every kind. Agathocles, his concubine, Agathocles, her brother, and their mother, governed him entirely. All his time was spent in gaming, drinking, and the most infamous irregularities. His nights were passed in debauches, and his days in feasts and revels. Forgetting the duties and character of a king, instead of applying himself to the affairs of state, he valued himself upon presiding at concerts, and his skill in music. The women, Justin says, disposed of everything. They conferred all employments and governments; and no one had less authority in the kingdom than the king himself. Sosibius, who had been in office during three reigns, was at the helm, and his experience had made him capable of the administration. He could not act, indeed, as he desired, but as the favourites would permit him; and he was so servile and so wicked, that he paid blind obedience to the unjust commands of a corrupt prince and his unworthy minions.

Arsinoë, it appears, had no power or authority at court during this period. The favourites and prime minister did not, indeed, show her the least respect; and she was not patient enough to suffer everything without murmuring. At length, the king and those who governed him grew weary of her complaints, and they commanded Sosibius to rid them of her. The degenerate minister obeyed: for that purpose, he employed one Philammon, who, it has been conjectured, was experienced in such barbarous deeds.

This last base action drew upon the head of Sosibius the vengeance of the people; and their clamours were so loud, that he was obliged to

quit his employment. He was succeeded by Tlepolemus, a young man of quality, who had signalized himself in the army by his valour and conduct; and who was chosen unanimously by the grand council held for the purpose of choosing a prime minister. Sosibius resigned to him the king's seal, which was the badge of his office. Tlepolemus performed the several functions of it, and governed all the affairs of the kingdom during the king's life. But though this was not long, he discovered that he had not all the qualifications necessary for so difficult a post. He had neither the experience, ability, nor application of his predecessor. As he had the administration of the finances, and disposed of all honours and dignities in the state, all the people were assiduous in making their court to him. He was extremely liberal; but his bounty was bestowed without discernment, and almost solely on those who shared in his pleasures. The extravagant flatteries of those who crowded about his person made him fancy his talents superior to those of all other men: till at length he assumed haughty airs, abandoned himself, like his master, to luxury and profusion, and at last grew insupportable to all around him.

In the meantime, Philopater was pursuing his guilty round of pleasure. But it has been well said by the poet, that

"Death treads on pleasure's footsteps round the world,
When pleasure leads the path which reason shuns,
When against reason not shuts the door,
And luxury supplies the place of sense."—*DR. YOUNG.*

Before Philopater had lived half the allotted days of man, he fell a victim to his intemperance and excesses. He died a.c. 204, after a reign of seventeen years, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Ptolemy Epiphanes, his son, who was then only five years of age.

PTOLEMY EPIPHANES.

As the only persons present at the death of Philopater were Agathocles, his sister, and their creatures, they concealed it as long as possible from the public, in order that they might have time to possess themselves of the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace. They also formed a plan to maintain themselves in the same authority they had enjoyed under the deceased monarch, by usurping the regency during the minority of his son. They imagined this might easily be done, if they could despatch Tlepolemus, and measures were concerted by them for this purpose.

The mischief they designed for others fell upon their own heads. The people were informed, at length, of the king's death; and a great council of the Macedonians was assembled, in which Agathocles, and Agathocles his sister were present. Agathocles, with tears in his eyes, opened the proceedings by imploring protection for the infant king, whom he held in his arms. He told them, that his royal sire, in his expiring moments, committed him to the care of Agathocles, whom he pointed out to them; and had recommended him to the fidelity of the Macedonians: that, for this reason, he was come to implore their assistance against Tlepolemus, who meditated the design of usurping the crown. He

* Justin calls her Eurycles: if he is not in error, this queen had, therefore, three names—Arsinoë, Cleopatra, and Eurycles. Cleopatra was, however, a name common to the queens of Egypt, so that of Ptolemy was the king's.

offered to bring witnesses to prove the treason of Tlepolemus. But his artifice was too gross to be believed. It served only, indeed, to recall to the remembrance of the people the many other crimes of which the favourites of Philopater had been guilty, and they immediately resolved upon the destruction of Agathocles, his sister, and all their creatures. The young king was taken out of their hands, and seated on the throne in the Hippodrome, after which, Agathocles, his sister, and Eranthe their mother, were brought before him, and there put to death as by his order. The populace exposed their dead bodies to all the indignities possible, dragging them through the streets, and literally tearing them to pieces. All their relations and creatures met with the same treatment.

Among those who died was Philammon, the assassin who murdered Arsinoe. This man having returned from Cyrena to Alexandria two or three days before the tumult broke out, the ladies of honour of that unfortunate queen had instant notice of it, and taking the opportunity which the distractions of the city gave them, they resolved to revenge her death. Accordingly, they broke open the door of the house where he was, and killed him with clubs and stones.

The care of the king's person was now given to Sosibius, son to him who had governed during the last three reigns. History does not state whether the father was still alive; but it is certain that he lived to a great age, as he had passed above sixty years in the administration. Polybius says, that no minister was ever more corrupt or more subtle than Sosibius. Provided they conduced to his purpose, he made no scruple in committing the blackest crimes. This author, indeed, attributes to him the murder of Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy; of Arsinoe, daughter of that Lysimachus; of Magas, son of Ptolemy; of Berenice, daughter of Magas; of Berenice, mother of Ptolemy Philopater; of Cleomenes, king of Sparta; and of Arsinoe, daughter of Berenice. If he was such a monster of iniquity, it is surprising that he should so long have supported himself in the administration.

Although Antiochus king of Syria, and Philip king of Macedonia, had, during the reign of Ptolemy Philopater, discovered great zeal for the interest of that monarch, and were ready to assist him on all occasions, yet, no sooner was he dead, than they joined in a criminal alliance to destroy the infant heir, whom the laws of humanity and justice enjoined them not to disturb, in order to divide his dominions between them. Philip was to possess Caria, Libya, Cyrenaica, and Egypt, and Antiochus all the rest. With this view, the latter entered Coelo-Syria and Palestine; and, in less than two campaigns, made an entire conquest of those two provinces, with all their cities and dependencies. Their guilt, says Polybius, would not have been so glaring, had they, like tyrants, endeavoured to gloss over their crimes with some specious pretence; but, so far from doing this, their injustice and cruelty were so barefaced, that to them was applied what is generally said of fishes, that the larger ones, though of the same species, prey on the lesser. This author adds:—"One would be tempted, at seeing the most sacred laws of society thus

openly violated, to accuse Providence of being indifferent to the crimes of man." But the issue showed that there is One who ruleth on high; One who taketh note of all the deeds of every man, and who rewardeth them according to their deserts. Whilst these princes were meditating the destruction of an infant, and the subversion of his kingdom, Providence raised up the Romans against them, who entirely subverted their kingdoms, and subdued their successors.

This confederacy was formed a. c. 303, and during the next two years Egypt was threatened. At the end of that time, the court, sensible of their danger, had recourse to the Romans for protection, offering them the sole guardianship of the king, and the regency of his dominions during his minority; declaring that the late monarch, at his death, had recommended them thus to act. It was the interest of the Romans not to suffer the power of Philip and Antiochus to increase, by the addition of so many rich provinces, of which the empire of Egypt at that time consisted. They foresaw, also, that they would soon be engaged in war with those two princes, with one of whom they were already involved in a quarrel. For these reasons, they did not hesitate to accept the guardianship of Epiphanes. They sent thither Æmilius, who, pursuant to the instructions he had received from the senate, settled everything to as much advantage as the state of affairs in Egypt would then admit. He appointed Aristomenes, the Acarnanian, who had long been connected with the court of Egypt, to superintend the education and person of the young monarch, and made him prime minister; duties which he discharged with the utmost prudence and fidelity.

At the same time that Æmilius was sent into Egypt to assume the guardianship of Epiphanes, two other deputies were despatched to Antiochus and Philip, to acquaint them with their resolution, and to enjoin them not to molest the dominions of their royal pupil; otherwise, they would be compelled to declare war against them. This declaration in favour of an oppressed infant monarch was making a just and noble use of their power; and it were to be wished that powerful states would at all times act thus generously.

The first thing Aristomenes sought to effect was, to defend himself against the invasion of the two confederate kings. For this purpose, he sent Scopas into Ætolia, with large sums of money, to levy as many troops as possible; the Ætolians being looked upon at that time as the best soldiers in the world. In this mission Scopas succeeded; he brought 6,000 soldiers from that country, which was considered to be a valuable reinforcement for the Egyptian army.

This Scopas had formerly enjoyed the highest posts in his own country, and was thought to be one of the bravest and most experienced generals of that age. When the time of continuing his employment expired, he flattered himself with the hopes of being continued in his office, but was disappointed. This gave him disgust, so that he left Ætolia, and engaged in the service of the king of Egypt.

The next year a. c. 199, the Egyptians, seeing Antiochus employed in Asia Minor, in the war

which had broken out between him and Attalus, king of Pergamene, sent Scopas into Palestine and Celo-Syria, to endeavour to recover those provinces. He carried on the war so successfully, that he recovered several cities, retook Judea, threw a garrison into the citadel of Jerusalem, and upon the approach of winter returned to Alexandria, whither he brought exceeding rich spoils, taken in the conquered countries.

The success of this campaign was principally owing to the absence of Antiochus and to the little resistance which had been made, for he was no sooner arrived there, A. C. 198, than victory declared in his favour. Scopas, who had returned with an army, was defeated at Paneas, near the source of the river Jordan, in a battle wherein a great slaughter was made of his troops. He was forced to flee to Sidon, where he shut himself up with the 10,000 men he had left. Antiochus besieged him in it, and reduced him to such extremities, that, being in want of provisions, he was forced to surrender the city, and content himself with having his life spared. The government of Alexandria employed its utmost efforts to relieve him in Sidon, and three of the best generals, at the head of the choicest troops of the state, had been sent to raise the siege. But Antiochus made such judicious arrangements, that all their efforts were defeated, and Scopas was obliged to accept of the ignominious condition of being sent home, naked and disarmed.

Antiochus went from thence to Gaza, where he met with a strong resistance, which highly incensed him; and, accordingly, having taken the city, he abandoned the plunder of it to his soldiers. He then secured the passes through which the troops of Egypt approached, and, as he returned, subjected all Palestine and Celo-Syria.

The instant that the Jews, who had at that time cause to be offended with the Egyptians, knew that Antiochus was advancing towards their country, they came to meet him, and to deliver up the keys of all their cities. When he came to Jerusalem, the priests and elders came out in great pomp to meet him, and to pay him honour. They likewise assisted him in driving from the castle the soldiers whom Scopas had left there. In return for these services, Antiochus granted them a great many privileges; and he enacted, by a particular decree, that no stranger should be allowed access to the inner part of the temple,—a prohibition which had reference to Philopater's attempt to force his way thither.

Having thus subjected all Celo-Syria and Palestine, Antiochus resolved upon making the like conquest in Asia Minor. But as it would be necessary, for the success of his design, to prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests, at a time that he should be far away from his kingdom, he sent Eucles the Rhodian to Alexandria, to offer his daughter in marriage to Ptolemy; but on this condition, that they should not celebrate their nuptials till they should be a little older; and that then, on the day of their marriage, he would give up those provinces to Egypt, as his daughter's dowry. This proposal being accepted, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the Egyptians, re-

lying on his promise, suffered him to carry on his conquests unmolested.

About the year A. C. 196, a conspiracy was formed against the life of Ptolemy, by Scopas. That general, seeing himself at the head of all the foreign troops, the greater part of which were, like himself, *Ætolians*, imagined that, with these veteran forces, it would be easy for him to usurp the crown during the king's minority. His plan was already formed; and, had he not wasted his time in consulting and debating with his friends, instead of acting, it is probable he would have succeeded. Aristomenes, the prime minister, being apprised of the conspiracy, laid Scopas under an arrest; after which, he was examined before the council, found guilty, and executed, with all his accomplices.

This plot made the government no longer confide in the *Ætolians*, who till then had been held in great esteem for their fidelity; most of them were removed from their employments, and sent into their own country.

The transition from avarice to perfidy and treason is very short, and the fidelity of the man who is governed by a passion for riches cannot be safely relied on. This it was that led Scopas to his tragical end. After his death, immense treasures were found in his coffers, which he had amassed by plundering the provinces over which he commanded, more especially that of Judea. It has been well observed, that "a wise man will desire no more than what he can get justly, use prudently, distribute cheerfully, and live contentedly with;" for when avarice rules dominant in the heart, it leads to various crimes, and to ultimate ruin, of which this is a striking instance.

One of the principal accomplices of Scopas was Dicearchus, who had formerly been admiral to Philip, king of Macedonia. A strange action is recorded of this man. That prince having commanded him to fall upon the islands called Cyclades, in open violation of the most solemn treaties, he set up two altars, one to Justice, and the other to Impiety, and offered sacrifices on both, thereby insulting both gods and men. As this man had so greatly distinguished himself by his crimes, Aristomenes distinguished him from the rest of the conspirators in his sufferings; for while they were despatched by poison, he was made to endure the most severe torments.

About this time, Epiphanes, although he had not attained the years appointed by the laws, was declared of age, and was set upon the throne with great pomp and solemnity; after which, he took the government upon himself.

Three years after, A. C. 193, the marriage of Epiphanes with Cleopatra, daughter of Antiochus, took place. She was brought by her father to Raphia, a frontier city of Palestine, towards Egypt, where the marriage was solemnised, and where Epiphanes received the provinces of Celo-Syria and Palestine as her dowry, but upon condition that he should pay to Antiochus half the revenues.

Immediately upon his accession to the throne, Epiphanes sent an ambassador into Achæia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter readily embraced the friendship of Epiphanes,

and accordingly sent as deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopomenus, who was at that time in office, invited Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, at which the conversation turned upon Epiphanes. His ambassador expatiated long and loudly on his dexterity in the chase, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and, to give an example of what he asserted, he declared that this prince had killed, on horseback, a wild bull with one stroke of his javelin: as though such a deed was an ennobling virtue, redounding to the honour, and not, as it in reality did, to the disgrace of Epiphanes; since such dexterity could only be attained by neglecting his duties as a king.

It was a wise saying of Antisthenes, "It is better to fall amongst birds of prey than flatterers; for they only devour the dead, but the flatterer devours the living." As long as Aristomenes was at the helm, and Epiphanes listened to his wise counsels, the affairs of state were managed so as to gain universal approbation. But as soon, almost, as he became his own master, the flattery of his courtiers gained the ascendancy over him; and the remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous. Aristomenes did not cease to give him good advice, and to intreat him to conduct himself in a manner more worthy of his exalted station. But he was unheeded. Plunging himself into all the vices which had rendered his father's name and reign odious, instead of hearkening to his wholesome admonitions, Epiphanes ordered Aristomenes to be put to death for the liberties he had taken. After this foul deed, he abandoned himself to excesses of every kind, following no other guides, in the administration of affairs, but his own wild passions, and exercising a most cruel tyranny over his subjects.

This brought Epiphanes into great difficulties. The Egyptians, (B.C. 183) unable to endure the grievances to which they were daily exposed, formed associations, and entered into a conspiracy, with a design to depose him, which Diodorus says, they were upon the point of executing. To extricate himself, however, Epiphanes appointed Polycrates prime minister. This man possessed great bravery, superior abilities, and consummate experience, in affairs both of peace and war. He had commanded in the capacity of general under his father in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he greatly contributed to the victory. Afterwards, he was made governor of Cyprus, and happening to come from thence to Alexandria, when the conspiracy of Scopas was brought to light, the expedients he adopted conducted much to the preservation of the state. By his aid Ptolemy overcame the rebels. He obliged their leaders, who were the chief lords of the country, to capitulate and submit, upon certain conditions. But having got them into his power, he violated his promise; and, after exercising various cruelties upon them, caused them to be put to death. This treacherous conduct involved him in fresh difficulties, from which he was again delivered by the counsel of Polycrates.

Epiphanes maintained, during the whole of his

reign, a strict friendship with the Romans. Livy tells us that he offered them a thousand pounds' weight of gold, and twenty thousand of silver, to carry on the war against Antiochus, king of Syria, whose daughter he had married; and that when Antiochus was driven out of Europe by the Roman arms, he sent an embassy to Rome to congratulate the senate on the deliverance of Greece, and the flight of Antiochus; and to offer them, in his name, and in that of his queen Cleopatra, ships, money, or provisions, to aid them in their strife with the Syrian monarch. This is very probable; for Ptolemy hated Antiochus on account of disturbances which he had fomented in his kingdom, and Cleopatra, in all likelihood, was shocked at her father's treachery and cruelty; for he is said to have married her to Ptolemy with no other view but to get rid of him by her means, and to possess himself of Egypt. The virtuous young queen, inviolably attached to her duty, joined with Ptolemy against Antiochus, and preferred, says Jerome, conjugal affection to the ties of blood.

Ptolemy cultivated with great care the friendship of the Achezan republic. In the end of his reign, he sent ambassadors to them, inviting the confederacy to join with him in an offensive and defensive league, and promising them six thousand shields, two hundred talents of brass, and ten ships of fifty oars each, equipped for war. His offer was accepted, and ambassadors were appointed; namely, Lycortas, with his son Polybius, and Aratus, to renew the alliance, and bring the ten ships into Peloponnesus.

This treaty, however, was not carried into effect. Ptolemy, having reduced his subjects at home, was preparing to make war upon Seleucus, king of Syria. But as his finances were exhausted, one of his chief officers asked him by what means he would carry on his designs? He replied, that his friends were his treasures. This answer being circulated among his officers and courtiers, they concluded that he designed to pursue the war with their fortunes and estates. To prevent this evil, therefore, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their king, or any misfortune which could befall their country, they caused him to be poisoned. This tragical act occurred B.C. 183, after Ptolemy had lived twenty-nine, and had reigned twenty-four years. He was succeeded in his kingdom by his son Ptolemy Philometer.

PTOLEMY PHILOMETER.

This king, under the guardianship of his mother, for the space of eight years, governed the kingdom of Egypt with great prudence and moderation. At the end of that time, Cleopatra dying, the regency fell to Lameus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country, and to Fulusus, an eunuch, who was charged with the care of the young king's education. They had no sooner entered upon the administration, than they demanded Coelo-Syria and Palestine of Antiochus Epiphanes, who at that time reigned in Syria; a demand that eventually occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother to one of these kings, and sister to the other, had prevented the strife as long as she lived; but the new regents did not show much

regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed belonged to their sovereign by right. It is certain, indeed, that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces, from the time of Ptolemy Soter, till Antiochus the Great wrested them from Ptolemy Epiphanes, and left them to Seleucus, his son. His right, therefore, was no other than that of conquest, and as such alone they had descended to Antiochus Epiphanes.

To enforce their pretensions, the Egyptians declared that, in the last division of the empire between the successors of Alexander, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter; that himself, and the successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time to the battle of Panass, when Antiochus the Great dispossessed Egypt of them; that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage contract.

Antiochus denied these facts, and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria, including Cælo-Syria and Palestine, had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator, and that, consequently, they belonged to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted that it was chimerical. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides, without coming to any conclusion, they resolved to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

At this time, *B.C.* 171, Ptolemy Philometer, having attained his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent an ambassador, on that occasion, to congratulate the young king in his name. This was, ostensibly, to do honour to his nephew; but his real motive was to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine. His ambassador returned with the intelligence that preparations were making for war; whereupon he visited the frontiers of the country, and put himself in a posture of defence against the Egyptians. Nor did he stop here. Finding himself in a condition to begin war, he resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into Egypt. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but sixteen years of age, and was governed by unskilful ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded also, that the Romans, under whose protection Egypt still remained, had such deep warlike engagements, that it would be impossible for them to give the Egyptians the least succour; and that the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedonia, would afford them no leisure. He thought, in short, that the present juncture was very favourable for him to decide his differences with the Egyptians.

In the meantime, he sent ambassadors to Rome, to represent the right he had to the disputed provinces, and the necessity of his engaging in a war to support that right. Immedi-

ately after, he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. The two contending armies met near Mount Casius and Pelusium, and a battle was fought, in which Antiochus was victorious. He now put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover the provinces; after which enterprise, he retired to Tyre.

The next year, *n. c.* 170, Antiochus again invaded Egypt, both by sea and land. By this time, Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but it was to no purpose. Antiochus gained a second battle on the frontier, took the city of Pelusium, and marched into the very heart of Egypt.

In this defeat of the Egyptians, it was in the power of Antiochus to have caused a universal desolation. But it was the ruin of his nephew alone that he sought. With this end in view, instead of carrying on the work of slaughter, he obliged his soldiers to sheathe the sword, which affected clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians. When he advanced into the country, the inhabitants came in crowds to pay homage to him, so that he soon took Memphis and all Egypt, Alexandria excepted.

Philometer was either taken or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at liberty. After this they lived apparently in great friendship. For some time indeed, Antiochus affected to be anxious for the interests of his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But when he had gained a firm footing in the country, he seized whatever he thought fit. He plundered all places, and enriched himself as well as his soldiers with the spoils of the Egyptians.

All this time, says Justin, Philometer made a miserable figure. In the field he avoided danger, and did not even show himself to those who fought for him. And after the battle, he submitted himself to Antiochus in the most abject manner, without even making one effort to recover his kingdom. This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and capacity, (for he afterwards gave proofs of both,) as the effects of his effeminate education under Euleus. That perfidious minister had used his utmost endeavours to plunge Philometer into luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of public business, that he might retain all power in his own hands, even when he, the king, had attained the right of governing for himself.

The Alexandrians, *n. c.* 169, seeing Philometer in the hands of Antiochus, considered him as lost, and therefore they declared the kingdom void, and seated his younger brother upon the throne. This prince, according to Porphyry, had the name of Ptolemy Euergetes II. given him, which was soon changed to that of *Cæsar-gestes*; the former signifying "beneficent," and the latter "evil-doer." Afterwards, he was named *Physcon*, which was a term of derision, alluding to his gluttony, which had made him remarkably corpulent; under which name he is usually mentioned by ancient historians. Cines and Cumanus were appointed the chief ministers of *Physcon*, and they were directed to use their utmost endeavours to restore the affairs

of the kingdom to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus took note of these proceedings, and returned a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch, but in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his ministers, who advised him to assemble a grand council to deliberate on the measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. After many debates, the council called came to this resolution—That, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be necessary for them to seek a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria, should be desired to employ their mediation, to which they readily consented. They repaired with two of Ptolemy's ambassadors to the camp of Antiochus with the overtures of peace. The king gave them a favourable reception, regaled them in a magnificent manner, and appointed the next day for them to make their proposals. The Achaean spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Euleus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his mal-administration, and to the minority of Philometer. At the same time, they apologised in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with him, laying particular stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in his reply, agreed with them as to the cause and origin of the war, and took occasion from thence to expatiate on the right he had to Cœlio-Syria and Palestine, alleging the reasons before stated, and producing some documents which were judged so conclusive, that the members of this congress were convinced of the justice of his claim to these provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; giving them reason to hope that a solemn treaty would be drawn up as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring at the same time, that he would not take any measures without them. But this was a subterfuge. After he had given this answer, he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and besieged it.

In this extremity, Euergetes, and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome, representing the deplorable condition to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared in the audience with all the marks of ceremonial sorrow used at that time in great national afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed, that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations; and that Antiochus particularly had received so many obligations from them, that if they would only declare by their ambassadors that the senate did not approve of his making war against nations in alliance with Rome, he would draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria. They likewise represented, that should the senate

refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be compelled to repair to Rome; an act, they said, that would reflect dishonour on the Roman name.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it was their interest to check the designs of Antiochus, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lænas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negotiation. They were instructed to wait first upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; to order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war; and to declare, that should either of the parties refuse compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them allies. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, the Roman deputies set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

A little before their departure, ambassadors from Rhodes arrived in Egypt to terminate, if possible, the disputes between the two crowns. They visited Antiochus in his camp, and did all that lay in their power to induce him to come to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insinuating on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated largely on these topics, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared that they had no occasion to make a long harangue on this subject, that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a strict friendship; and that if he were recalled and placed upon the throne, the war would be ended.

These were his declarations, but his intentions were very different; his views being only, says Livy, to perplex affairs for the attainment of his own ends. But the resistance he met with from Alexandria, the rage of which he foreaw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude that it would henceforth be his wisdom to preserve an enmity, and occasion a war between the two brothers. He conceived that this might so weaken both powers, that he might seize upon their kingdom at his pleasure. With this unhalloved view, which demands a sigh for human depravity, he raised the siege, marched towards Memphis, and gave Philometer, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted. This city he reserved as a key for entering Egypt the instant matters should be ripe for his evil purpose.

These selfish and malicious designs of Antiochus were defeated. Philometer began at length to wake from his lethargy, and to be sensible of the calamities brought upon him. He saw, indeed, through the designs of Antiochus, and rightly concluded that he reserved Pelusium for a future opportunity of making war upon Egypt, should himself and his brother carry on war against each other. The instant, therefore, that Antiochus marched away, he sent to inform his brother that he was willing to come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected by the mediation of Cleopatra, their sister on con-

dition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometer returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of its inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered severely from this unhalloved warfare.

Reader, it was unhallowed, because the ties of blood were not sufficient to stem the tide of ambition. The kings of Syria and Egypt were all united in near relationship; but this was of no avail; ambition had uprooted all family affection, and hence the discord that prevailed between the two powers. But why need we wonder at this? Our great forefather had not long fallen from his lofty state of innocence, when one of his offspring lifted up the arm of revenge against the other, and slew him. Thence, therefore, springs all the discord in families and kingdoms; and, till mankind are restored to their original righteousness, till they have been washed in the blood of the Lamb, and sanctified by God's Holy Spirit, the Christian, exalted far above his fellows, will have occasion to sigh over the actions of the world at large, and to pray ardently for their conversion, that deeds at which his heart sickens, and discord at which he trembles, may cease.

Had Antiochus spoken truly, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometer to his throne, he would have been pleased to have heard that the brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts. As soon as he heard of their reconciliation, he resolved to employ his whole force against them both.

The brothers anticipated such a result, and prepared for the blow. They sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only 1,000 foot soldiers, under the command of Lycortas, and 200 horse, under Polybius. Calliærates, who presided in the assembly, opposed this request, under the pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates to concern themselves with foreign affairs; and he asserted, that they ought to preserve their soldiers to aid the Romans, who were menaced with a fierce battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius, speaking next, observed, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcian, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him, the consul had declined the offer, stating that, as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; therefore, the Achæans, they added, could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. They further represented, that, as the league was able, without inconvenience, to levy 30,000 or 40,000 men, so small a number as was required by the Egyptian princes would not lessen their strength; that it would be ungrateful of them to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians; and that their refusal would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Calliærates dismissed the ambassadors, pretending that it was contrary to the laws, to debate an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

Another assembly was therefore held, some

time after, in Sicily; and, as the members were about to take the same resolution, Calliærates read a forged letter from Q. Marcian, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus; and, in consequence, caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to these princes.

In the meantime, Antiochus, after taking measures for preserving the possession of the island of Cyprus, marched at the head of a very powerful army, with the express design of subduing Egypt to his yoke. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometer, who represented to him, that their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus; and that he conjured him not to destroy his own work, by employing force of arms, but to acquaint him amicably with his intentions. Antiochus, now throwing off the mask of friendship which he had hitherto worn, told the ambassadors that he insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile on which it was situate, resigned to him for ever, on which conditions alone he would make peace. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

That day having arrived, and the satisfaction he claimed not being made, Antiochus began hostilities. He penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed, and he there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. Afterwards, he marched towards Alexandria, with a design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of Egypt. He would have succeeded in his enterprise, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, before mentioned, which broke all the measures he had taken to possess himself of Egypt.

These ambassadors landed at Alexandria, as Antiochus was marching to besiege it. They accordingly went out to meet him. They met with him at Eleusine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome, when he was a hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him as an old friend. The Roman, however, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bade him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popilius, displeased with this evasion, drew, with the wand he held in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice—"Answer," says he, "the senate, before you stir out of that circle." The king, confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities, and returned his friendship.

It may be mentioned, that the circumstance which made Popilius so bold, and Antiochus so

submissive on this occasion, was, the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus, king of Macedonia. From that instant, everything was prostrate before them, and the Roman name was formidable to all princes and nations: thus realizing the description of their empire found in the prophecies of Daniel: "And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise," Dan. ii. 40. The use the Romans made of this power was, in this instance, a noble one. Justice and humanity shone forth conspicuous in the action, and it would have been well for the Roman name had they always acted thus. But with their prosperity, pride entered their ranks, and luxury followed in its train, which led them to acts of rapine and of slaughter among the nations around.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius and his colleagues returned to Alexandria, where he brought to a conclusion the treaty of union between the two brothers. He then crossed into Cyprus, sent home the fleet of Antiochus, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians, restored the island to the kings of Egypt, and then returned to Rome, to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Almost at the same time, ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies, and Cleopatra, his sister, arrived in Rome. The former reported, "That the peace which the senate had been pleased to grant their sovereign appeared to him more glorious than the most splendid conquests; and that he had obeyed the commands of the Roman ambassadors, as strictly as if they had been sent from the gods!" They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The other ambassadors spoke in the same fulsome and impious strain. They said, "That the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra thought themselves bound in as great obligations to the senate and people of Rome, as to their parents, and even to the gods; having been delivered, by the protection which Rome had granted them, from a very grievous siege, and re-established on the throne of their ancestors, of which they had been well nigh dispossessed." The senate replied, "That Antiochus acted wisely in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and that the senate and people of Rome were *pleased* with him for it." With regard to the Ptolemies and Cleopatra, it was answered, "That the senate were very much pleased with the opportunity of doing them some service; and that they would endeavour to make them sensible, that they ought to look upon the friendship and protection of the Romans as the most solid support of their kingdom." The prætor was then directed to make the ambassadors the usual presents. All these latter events occurred *a.c.* 162.

The swords of the uncle and nephews had scarcely been sheathed, by the intervention of the Romans, when the brothers turned their arms against each other. Their divisions, indeed, rose to such a height, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to

proceed to Alexandria, and to use their utmost endeavours to reconcile the two kings. But before the ambassadors reached Egypt, Physcon, the younger brother, had driven Philometer from the throne, and obliged him to quit the kingdom. He embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundisium, from whence he travelled to Rome on foot, meanly dressed, and with very few attendants. This humble appearance he affected, in all likelihood, to excite the pity of the senate. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopater, late king of Syria, was then a hostage at Rome; and when he had notice of the arrival of Ptolemy in Italy, and of the deplorable condition in which he was going to appear in the metropolis of the world, he caused an equipage to be prepared for him suitable to his dignity, and went out with it himself to meet him, that he might appear at Rome as a king. Demetrius found Philometer at twenty-six miles distant from Rome, covered with dust. He embraced him, put a crown on his head, and begged he would make use of the royal equipage, which he had brought for that purpose. Ptolemy expressed his gratitude for the honour and respect the Syrian had shown him, but had his reasons for not accepting the offers of the prince. He would not even permit Demetrius to accompany him the rest of his journey, but entered Rome on foot, with the same mean attendance, and in the same dress with which he first set out on his journey, and without any state or ceremony took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent for Philometer, and excused themselves for not having received him with those ceremonies which were usual on such occasions; assuring him that it was not from any neglect, or want of respect, but because his arrival in Italy had been kept so secret, that they were not apprized of it till after he had entered Rome. After thus, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to fix a day for an audience of the senate, in order to lay before them the motives of his journey, he was conducted by some of the senators to lodgings suitable to his dignity, and the quaestor was ordered to supply him with every necessary, at the expense of the public.

On the day appointed for his audience with the senate, he represented to them the injustice of his brother, and the wrongs he had received at his hands, so effectually, that they immediately decreed his restoration, and deputed two of their body, Quintius and Canuleius, to attend him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put into execution. They reconducted him, accordingly; and on their arrival in Egypt, succeeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers, in virtue of which, Physcon was put in possession of Libya and the province of Cyrene; and Philometer, of all Egypt and the island of Cyprus, each of them being declared independent of the other in the dominion allotted them. The treaty of agreement was confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

Oaths and sacrifices, however, at this date, (*a.c.* 162,) had long been with the generality of princes mere ceremonies, by which they did not consider themselves bound in the slightest degree. Accordingly, soon after, Physcon being dissatisfied with his portion, went to Rome to complain

to the senate. He demanded that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the island of Cyprus. He alleged that he had been forced by the necessity of the times to comply with the former proposals, and that, even though Cyprus should be granted him, his share would be still inferior to his brother's. Menithyllus, whom Philometer had sent to plead his cause, maintained it with great zeal and ability. He made it appear that Physcon not only held Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also from the goodness of his brother; that he had made himself so much abhorred by the people by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government had not his brother rescued him from their resentment, by making himself mediator; that at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself happy in presiding over the region allotted to him; and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. The truth of this statement was confirmed by Quintus and Canuleius, who had negotiated the treaty between the brothers.

Nothing could be more equitable than the decisions of the senate of Rome, when their own interest did not interfere and help to turn the balance. But as it was for the advantage of the republic that the strength of the kingdom should be divided, and consequently lessened, those refined politicians, without any regard to justice, granted the younger brother his demands. Polybius observes on this transaction, that the Romans were ever careful to improve to their own advantage the quarrels and disputes which arose among kings and princes, conducting themselves therein in such a manner as to make the contending parties believe that they favoured them, while they promoted their own interest, which they had solely in view in all their resolutions. This alone prompted them to favour Physcon, and adjudge to him the island of Cyprus.

While Physcon was at Rome on this occasion, he had frequent opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who was the pattern of her sex, and the prodigy of her age. Being taken, not so much with her charms as with her virtue and extraordinary qualification, he caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But she, being the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul, and once censor, despised the offer, imagining it to be more honourable to be one of the first matrons of Rome than to reign with Physcon upon the throne of Libya.

When Physcon returned, two commissioners were sent with him to carry their decree into effect—to put him in possession of Cyprus. Their orders were, to use gentle methods, and endeavour by fair means to prevail upon Philometer to give up Cyprus to his brother. Their plan was, to concert an interview between the two brothers on the frontiers of their dominions, and there to settle matters between them agreeably to their instructions. But Torquatus, on his arrival at the court of Alexandria, found Philometer no ways inclined to comply with the decree of the senate. He urged the late agreement made between him and his brother by Quintus and

Canuleius, the former ambassadors, in virtue of which, Cyprus having been allotted to him, he deemed it strange that it should, contrary to the articles of that treaty, be now taken from him and given to his brother. Philometer did not, however, absolutely refuse to yield to the order of the senate, but showing himself inclined to grant some things, and objecting against others, he spun out the time without coming to any determination, in order that he might concert secret measures against his brother.

In the meantime, Physcon, waited at Apis in Libya, as had been agreed, to hear the result of the negotiations of Torquatus; receiving no intelligence from him, he sent Merala the other ambassador also to Alexandria, hoping that both might be able to prevail upon Philometer to comply with the orders of the republic. But Philometer still observed the same conduct, treating the ambassadors with great kindness, flattering them with fair words, and entertaining them in a costly manner for forty days together, without giving them any definite reply. At length, when he found that he could evade their demands no longer, he declared that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and no other. With this answer, Merala returned to Physcon, and Torquatus to Rome.

The Cyrenians, in the meantime, being informed of the conduct of Physcon during his brief reign at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion against him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. Philometer, it was believed, secretly fomented these disturbances, in order to find his brother employment at home, and thereby divert him from raising fresh commotions in Egypt, or Cyprus. Physcon being informed of these troubles, and, at the same time, receiving intelligence that the Cyrenians were already in the field, laid aside all thoughts of Cyprus, and leaving Apis, where his fleet lay in harbour, he hastened to Cyrene with all his forces, but was on his arrival overthrown by the rebels. Having now well nigh lost all hope, Physcon sent two deputies to Rome, there to renew his complaints against his brother, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometer's refusal to evacuate Cyprus according to their decree, declared that there was no longer any amity and alliance between him and the Romans, and ordered their ambassadors to leave the city in five days. Two ambassadors were despatched to Cyrene to acquaint Physcon with the resolution of the Roman senate.

Physcon, at length, having subdued his rebellious subjects, re-established himself in Cyrenaica. But his wicked and vicious conduct soon estranged the minds of the Cyrenians from him to such a degree, that some of them conspired against him, and wounded him in several places, leaving him for dead. This he laid to the charge of his brother Philometer, and as soon as he was recovered, returned to Rome to make his complaints to the senate; he showed them the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them.

Though Philometer was known to be a prince of a mild disposition, and of all men living the most unlikely to countenance so black a crime, yet the senate, being offended at his refusal, so

submit to their decree with reference to Cyprus, hearkened to this false accusation. They carried their prejudice against him, indeed, to such an extent, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent to them to quit Rome immediately. At the same time, they appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, as put him in possession of that island, enjoining all their allies in the adjacent countries to furnish him with forces for that purpose. By these means, *a. c.* 159, Physcon landed in the island of Cyprus. Philometer, however, who had gone there in person to defend his territories, defeated him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, a city in that island, where he was closely besieged, and at length taken and delivered up to Philometer, whom he had so deeply injured. Philometer's gentleness of heart appeared conspicuous upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had devised and executed against him, it was expected that he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. But how lovely was the reverse! He not only freey forgave him, but restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added farther, some amends in lieu of the island of Cyprus. This act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers; and the Romans were ashamed of opposing any longer a prince of such distinguished clemency.

Christian reader, go and do thou likewise. If thy brother trespass against thee, copy the example of this pagan monarch, and forgive him. But thou art taught to perform a nobler action even than this. "But I say unto you," says the blessed Redeemer, "Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your father which is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust," *Matt. v. 44, 45.*

On his return to Alexandria, Philometer appointed Archias governor of Cyprus. This man had formerly served Ptolemy with great fidelity, and even attended him to Rome when he was driven from his kingdom. But as he was of a covetous temper, his fidelity was not proof against gold; he agreed with Demetrius, king of Syria, to betray Cyprus to him for 500 talents. The treachery was discovered before it was carried into effect, and the traitor, to avoid punishment, laid violent hands on himself. Ptolemy, being disgusted with Demetrius for his attempt upon Cyprus, joined Attalus king of Pergamos, and Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, in setting up Alexander Balas as a pretender to his crown, and supporting him with all the strength of his kingdom.

About *a. c.* 150, Alexander, who had become master of the empire of Syria, sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Philometer king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him; and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated.

The same year, Onias, son of Onias III., who had retired into Egypt in consequence of being disappointed of the high-priesthood after the

death of Menelaus his uncle, obtained permission of Philometer to build a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; and, at the same time, he obtained a grant of the high-priesthood to him and his descendants for ever. Philometer was induced to make this grant, by the assurances of Onias that such a favour would bring the whole nation over to his side against Antiochus Epiphanes. His act was therefore one of policy, and readily performed. But Onias had some difficulty to make the Jews accede to this innovation; it being strictly forbidden by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. He overcame their repugnance, however, through the means of a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretells the event in these terms:

"In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt, speak the language of Canaan, And swear to the Lord of hosts. One shall be called, The city of destruction; In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the Land of Egypt, And a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be for a sign and for a witness Unto the Lord of hosts in the land of Egypt, For they shall cry unto the Lord because of the oppressors. And he shall send them a saviour, and a great one, And he shall deliver them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, And the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, And shall do sacrifice and oblation, Yea, they shall vow a vow unto the Lord, and perform it." *Isa. xlii. 18-21.*

The event here predicted by Isaiah is one of the most singular, and, at the same time, the most remote from all probability of ever ensuing to pass. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews than to offer sacrifices to God in any other place but the temple at Jerusalem. How sacrilegious, then, must it have been considered by the Jews to erect a temple elsewhere, especially in a land so polluted with gross idolatry as Egypt was, and among a people who were always at enmity with the people of God! But the word of God had gone forth that such an event should occur; and no

* These "five cities" were probably those in which the Jews chiefly resided. Some think a definite number is used for an indefinite one, while others conceive that four of the cities are those named in *Jer. xlii.* 1 the fifth being that particularly mentioned as "The city of destruction," as it is in the margin, *Here* "The city of the sun."

† There has been much discussion about this clause, arising from the word rendered *destruction*. The Hebrew word, *Arce*, in the change of a single letter, easily mistaken by a transcriber, becomes *Arce*, the sun, which makes the clause read, "The city of the sun," which would refer to Heliopolis. Lowth, Bithmeyer, and others, follow the Vulgate in adopting the last reading. Onias understood the prophecy, that the temple should be built in the district or nome, of Heliopolis where it was accordingly built on the site of a ruined temple of Bubastis. He called the city which contained the temple after his own name, Onion. It was situate about twenty-four miles from Memphis, and remained till the time of Vespasian, who ordered it to be destroyed.

‡ Philo estimated the number of Jews in Egypt at not less than one million. Through the presence of so many, together with the translation of the Old Testament into Greek at the instance of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the Lord must in some degree have been known in Egypt, and the Egyptians have known the Lord. We read, indeed, *Acts ii. 10*, of dwellers in Egypt, "Jews and proselytes," among those who went up to Jerusalem to keep the feast of Pentecost.

power or device could prevent or retard its accomplishment.

In the year *a. c.* 146, Philometer marched with a large army into Palestine, to the aid of his son-in-law against Demetrius, the son of that Demetrius whom they had deposed, and who now sought to regain his father's kingdom. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to orders they received from Alexander. Upon his arrival, however, at Ptolemais, a conspiracy was discovered, which had been formed by Ammonius, the prime minister of Alexander, against the life of Philometer. As Alexander refused to deliver up the traitor, he concluded that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in re-ascending the throne of his father, which he accomplished. He marched against Alexander, routed his army in the neighbourhood of Antioch, and thereby established Demetrius upon the throne. But in this battle he received wounds of which he died some few days after. His death occurred, *a. c.* 143, after a reign of thirty-five years.

Polybius, who was the contemporary of Philometer, gives him this character: "He was an enemy to all kinds of cruelty and oppression, averse from spilling the blood of his subjects, and so much inclined to mercy, that during the period of his long reign, he put none of his nobles, nor even of the citizens of Alexandria to death, though some of them well deserved it. Though his brother," continues the same writer, "had provoked him to the highest degree, and committed such crimes as to others would have seemed unpardonable, yet he not only forgave him, but treated him with the affection of a kind brother." Josephus and Justin agree with Polybius in their estimate of Philometer's character; but the author of the book of Maccabees represents him as an ambitious prince, trampling under foot the most sacred laws of justice and nature, to raise himself on the ruins of his son-in-law, Alexander Balas. Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, and a peripatetic philosopher of great note, is said to have been Ptolemy's preceptor, and to have dedicated to him a comment which he wrote on the five books of Moses.

PTOLEMY PHYSCON.

The succession of Egypt was attended in the first instance with some difficulty. Cleopatra, wife of Philometer, endeavoured to place the crown upon the head of her son. She was supported in her designs by some of the lords of the kingdom; but others, declaring for Physcon, sent ambassadors to desire him to come to Alexandria. This obliging Cleopatra to take measures for her defence, she had recourse to Onias and Demetrius, two Jews, who had the sole management of affairs during the last years of Philometer's reign. These, with an army of their countrymen, hastened to her assistance. Before hostilities commenced, however, matters were compromised by the interposition of Thermus, a Roman ambassador at that time in Alexandria. It was agreed that Physcon should

marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Physcon should possess it during his life. But Physcon had no sooner married the queen, than looking with jealousy on the young prince, whose birth entitled him to the crown, he murdered him in the arms of his mother.

The reader has seen that the surname of *Physcon* given to this prince was properly a nickname. That which he took himself was *Eusegetes*, which signifies a "benefactor." The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Coccegetes*, or, "one who delights in doing harm,"—a name to which he had a just title; for he was the most cruel, wicked, and, at the same time, the most vile and despicable of the Ptolemies who reigned in Egypt. He began his reign with the murder of his nephew, and he continued it to the last with similar cruelty and wickedness. He was no sooner seated on the throne, than he caused all those to be put to death who had lamented the fate of the young prince. Transported with rage against the Jews, also, for having espoused the cause of Cleopatra, he used them more like slaves than subjects. His own people were treated no better by him than the Jews. Every day he put some of them to death, either on groundless suspicions, or for trifling faults, or to gratify his inhuman caprice. Those who had the greatest share in the confidence of his brother Philometer were sacrificed the first, and next to them most of the leading men, who had declared in his own favour against Cleopatra; for as they had by their interest placed him on the throne, so he apprehended they might drive him from it, and therefore, says Justin, he resolved to despatch his own friends, after he had rid himself of his brother's.

In the second year of his reign, queen Cleopatra brought him a son, while he was employed in the performance of certain religious ceremonies, practised, according to the rites of Egypt, by their kings soon after their accession to the throne. Physcon was transported with joy at the birth of a son, whom he designed for a successor, and he called him *Memphitis*, from the ceremonies which he was discharging at the time of his birth in the city of Memphis. He could not, however, forbear his cruel practices, even during the public rejoicings on this festive occasion: he caused some of the lords of Cyrene to be barbarously murdered for having cast some reflections on one of his favourite concubines, named Irene.

On his return to Alexandria, Physcon banished all those who had been brought up with his brother Philometer, and, without provocation, gave his guards, who consisted of Greek and Asiatic mercenaries, free liberty to murder and plunder the inhabitants at pleasure; and the cruelties practised by these inhuman wretches upon this licence are not to be expressed. Justin and Athenus tell us, that not only the private houses, but the streets and the temples streamed daily with the blood of the innocent citizens. The Alexandrians were so terrified, indeed, that many of them fled into other countries, leaving their native city almost desolate. To supply their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring coun-

tries, that whosoever should come and settle there should meet with the greatest encouragement and advantages. Upon this invitation, great numbers flocked thither, to whom he gave the habitations of those who had fled, and whom he admitted to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the former citizens.

As there were among those who quitted Egypt on this occasion, many grammarians, philosophers, physicians, geometricians, and masters of other liberal arts and sciences, by their means learning was revived in Greece, Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago, and in other places where they settled. The wars which had been raging for a long space of time among the successors of Alexander had almost extinguished learning in those parts; and it would have been entirely lost, but for the protection and encouragement given to learned men by the Ptolemies of Egypt. The first of these princes, by founding his museum, or college, for the support of those who devoted their time and talents to the study of the liberal arts, and adding to it an extensive library for their use, drew most of the learned men out of Greece to his metropolis. The second and third following the founder's steps, Alexandria became the principal city in the world, where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost wholly neglected everywhere else. Whence, when the Alexandrians were driven by the cruelty and oppression of this wicked tyrant into foreign countries, as most of them had been bred up in the knowledge of some science or other, they were qualified to gain themselves a maintenance by teaching, in the places where they settled, the particular arts they had studied. They opened schools for this purpose; and being satisfied with a small salary, great numbers of scholars flocked to them. By this means, the several branches of learning were revived in the eastern parts in the same manner as they were in later ages in the western, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

While foreigners were flocking from all parts to Alexandria, (about B. C. 136,) three Roman ambassadors, P. Scipio Africanus the younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, landed at that port. They had been sent by their republic to visit the countries which were subject to Rome, as Greece and Macedon, and those also that were in alliance with her; their commission being to pass through Greece and Macedon, and from thence to the courts of the princes of Egypt, Syria, Pergamus, Bithynia, etc.; to observe the state of affairs in each kingdom, to compose what differences they should discover among their kings, and to settle in all places peace and concord.

Physcon received these ambassadors with great magnificence. During their residence at Alexandria, also, he entertained them in the most hospitable manner. He caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, but they never touched anything but the most simple and common meats, despising the luxuries, as serving only to enervate body and mind: so great, even at this date, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans. They knew that,

"If thou wilt observe it
The rule of not too much, by temperance taught,
In what thou eat'st and drink'st, arising from thence
Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
Till many years over thy head return,
So may'st thou live till the ripe fruit thou drop'st
Into thy mother's lap."
MILTON.

When the ambassadors had examined Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which had brought them thither, they sailed up the Nile to visit Memphis and the other parts of Egypt. In this progress, observing the great number of cities, the vast multitude of inhabitants, the fertility of the soil, etc., they concluded that nothing was wanting to render the kingdom of Egypt one of the most powerful states in the world, but a prince of abilities and application. They were, therefore, pleased to find a prince on the throne destitute of every qualification that was necessary for obtaining such power. Nothing, indeed, was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all his audiences. The deformity of his body, corresponding with that of his mind, disgusted every beholder. But over this it is better to draw a veil.

The ambassadors had no sooner left Egypt, than Physcon began to exercise the same cruelties upon the new inhabitants of Alexandria. No day passed without some single instance of his cruelty and tyranny; such of the citizens as were possessed of large property being daily destroyed under some pretence or other.

It has been before observed that Physcon married Cleopatra, his brother's widow, who was also their sister; he now fell in love with a daughter she had by Philometer, who was also called Cleopatra. He first violated the chastity of this princess, then divorced her mother, and married her. But his race of iniquity was now drawing to a close. These, and many other vile excesses of the like nature, exasperated the Alexandrians to such a degree, that they waited only for an opportunity of taking up arms to rid themselves of the tyrant who ruled over them.

That Physcon kept the crown on his head under so general an aversion of his subjects, was owing to Hierax, his chief minister. This man was a native of Antioch, and had, in the reign of Alexander Balas, in a joint commission with Diodorus, called afterwards Tryphon, governed the city of Antioch. When adverse events happened in that city, he retired into Egypt, and there, entering into the service of Physcon, was raised to the chief command of the army, and charged with the management of the affairs of the kingdom. As he was a man of great valour and wisdom, he took care to gain the affections of his soldiery by paying them punctually, and to balance, so far as lay in his power, by his good and wise administration, the evil conduct of his master. By this means, he kept the kingdom quiet for several years, though ruled, says Diodorus, by the most contemptible, brutal, and cruel tyrant that had ever swayed a sceptre.

But afterwards, about B. C. 130 Hierax being either dead or removed from his station,* the Alexandrians began openly to complain of their oppressions, and to throw out threats against

* Athenæus says that he was slain by order of Physcon, as were his other friends; but he does not mention the time.

their king, unless he changed the tenor of his conduct. Physcon, however, always fruitful in invention of deeds of cruelty, resolved to put it out of their power to attempt anything against him, by destroying all their young men, in whom the strength of the city consisted. Accordingly, when they were one day assembled in the gymnasium, or place of their public exercises, he caused fire to be set to it, while, at the same time, he inverted it by his mercenaries, so that they all perished in the flames, or by the sword. But this exasperated the people to the highest degree; and, guided by their rage and despair, they ran to the king's palace, set fire to it, and reduced it to ashes. Physcon made his escape undiscovered, and retired to the island of Cyprus, with Cleopatra his wife and Memphitis his son. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had placed the government in the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated; and he immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

At this time, A. C. 129, he committed two of the most fearful acts of iniquity that ever stained the annals of crime. He had appointed his son governor of Cyrene, but fearing lest the Alexandrians should place him on the throne of Egypt, he sent for him into Cyprus, and, as soon as he was landed, caused him to be assassinated. This new act of cruelty provoked the people still more against him. They pulled down, and dashed to pieces, all the statues that had been erected to his honour in Alexandria. This led to the second crime. Supposing this to have been executed at the instigation of his divorced queen, to be revenged on her, he slew Memphitis, her son, a prince who was equally admired for his beauty and his virtues. Nor did his revenge stop here. He caused his mangled body to be inclosed in a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and then sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria. The messenger was ordered to wait till the queen's birth-day, which approached, and which was to be celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and then to present it. This order, which emanated from the most refined cruelty, was strictly executed. The box was conveyed to the queen, in the midst of the public rejoicings, and changed the mirth of all present into sadness. But it was not sorrow alone that there was felt. The horror and detestation which the sight of such an object stirred up in every breast, against the author of such a monstrous and unparalleled cruelty, cannot be expressed. The present, also, being exposed to the view of the public, had the same effect on the populace as it had on the nobles at court. They saw what they had to expect from a king who had thus treated his own son; and nothing was thought of but how to prevent the tyrant from reascending the throne. An army was soon raised, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general, enjoining him to take all necessary steps for the defence of his country.

On the other hand, Physcon, having hired a numerous body of mercenaries, sent them, (A. C. 128,) under the command of Hegelochus, against the Alexandrians. The two armies met on the frontiers of Egypt, and a battle ensued, wherein

the Egyptian army was entirely defeated, and their general Marsyas taken prisoner, and sent in chains to Physcon.

Every one expected that the tyrant would have put the fallen general to death, first making him suffer the most exquisite torments. But he acted contrary to his usual course. Finding by experience that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he resolved to try whether he could, by using lenity, regain the affections of the people. He, therefore, pardoned Marsyas, and set him at liberty.

Cleopatra being greatly reduced by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely destroyed, sent to demand aid of Demetrius, king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter by Philometer, promising him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius accepted the proposal, and marched with all his forces into Egypt, and there laid siege to Pelusium. This prince, however, was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon was by the Egyptians. Hence, when they saw him at a distance, and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms against him, which obliged him to hasten back to Syria. Cleopatra, being destitute of the aid she expected, and unable to withstand Physcon, embarked with all her treasures, and set sail for Ptolemais, where her daughter Cleopatra, queen of Syria, then resided.

Upon the flight of Cleopatra, Physcon returned to Alexandria, and reassumed the government, there being no power in Egypt to withstand him. His first thoughts, after being settled anew upon the throne, were, to be revenged on Demetrius for his late invasion. To this end, he set up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina, who drove him from his throne, and shared the kingdom with his wife Cleopatra.

From this time, A. C. 127, Physcon held the kingdom of Egypt undisturbed till the twenty-ninth year of his reign, A. C. 117, and sixty-seventh of his age, when he died at Alexandria. Over his memory the tears of regret fall trickling down. But they are not called forth by respect for his virtues. They drop for the depravity of human nature exhibited in his life. What a monster man may become, when raised to power and left to himself, the actions of Physcon reveal. (Christian reader! be thankful, then, that thou art not placed in such circumstances of temptation, and that thou art restrained by a power from above from doing evil: it is the grace of God alone that maketh thee to differ from another.)

It can hardly be imagined, that a prince who is represented by historians as a monster rather than man, should have deserved the reputation of being the restorer of letters, and the patron of learned men. But this fact is attested by Athenæus, Vitruvius, Epiphanius, and others. Athenæus tells us, that, in the brief intervals between his debaucheries, he applied himself to the study of the polite arts and sciences. According to this author, indeed, he had so extensive a knowledge, and so great an ease in discoursing of all kinds of literature that he acquired the surname of the Philologist. The same author adds, that he wrote a history, in twenty-four books, and a comment on Homer. His history,

as Epiphanius informs us, was in great repute among the ancients, and often quoted. Galen tells us, that he enriched the Alexandrian library with a great number of valuable books, which he purchased at a vast expense, having sent men of learning into all parts of the world for that purpose. He allowed one Panaretus, who had been a disciple of Arcesiana, and who was a man of great learning, an annual pension of twelve talents, or 2,335*l.* sterling. This is a notable instance of the strange contrarieties that can exist in man, and of the insufficiency of literary taste to raise the human character.

"Not lofty intellect the heart keeps clean
From moral taint, nor yet illumines the mind,
By nature dark: grace can alone achieve
This noble work, and make man meet for heaven."

A man may astonish the world by his talents, and yet at the same time grovel in the lowest depths of human degradation. A man may also produce by his talent works, bearing upon each page the stamp of morality, ay, and of Christianity likewise, and yet lead a life of shameless immorality. Head-knowledge affects not the heart: grace alone can make and preserve that holy; and he who has it not, however refined his taste may be, is a sinner in the sight of God. He also must be washed in the blood of the Lamb, or he can have no part in the matter of salvation.

CLEOPATRA, PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, ALEXANDER I.

At his death, Physcon left three sons. The first, named Apion, was a natural son; the other two were legitimate, and the children of his niece, Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The elder of these was named Lathyrus, and the other Alexander.

Physcon left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra in conjunction with one of her sons, whom she should think proper to associate with her. The crown belonged, by right of inheritance, to Lathyrus, the elder of his lawful children; but Cleopatra, looking upon Alexander as the most likely to bend to her will, resolved to choose him. The people of Alexandria, however, took up arms against her for this decision, and obliged her to send for Lathyrus from the island of Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. But before she would suffer him to be inaugurated, according to the custom of the country, at Memphis, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister, Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to marry Selene, his youngest sister, for whom he had little affection.

On his inauguration, Lathyrus took the name of Soter; but he is called by Strabo, Pliny, Josephus, and other ancient writers, Lathyrus; and by Athenæus and Pausanias, Philometer, "a lover of his mother," which was given him, as the latter author observes, by antiphrasis, no one having ever hated his mother more than he did. The generality of historians distinguish him by the name of Lathyrus, which, in the Greek tongue, signifies a kind of pea, from whence, it is supposed, that he had some mark of this description on his face. This is very probable; for the Greek word *Lathyrus* answers to the Latin

Cicer, whence the family of the Cæcæ derived their name; one of their ancestors having an exorcism like a pea on his face.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, disposed of herself in marriage to Antiochus Cysicenus, carrying with her an army, which she raised in Cyprus, for her marriage portion. By this army, Cysicenus was enabled to make head against Antiochus Grypus, his half-brother and competitor. Cysicenus, however, was defeated by Grypus, and his wife Cleopatra dragged from one of the temples of Asioch, where she had taken sanctuary, and put to death by the command of her sister Tryphæna, the wife of Grypus. These latter events occurred from 117 to 113 B.C.

In the meantime, Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, the mother of these two unnatural sisters, did not seem to be affected either with the death of the one, or the crime of the other. Her mind was so influenced by ambition, that the voice of nature was stifled, and all its gentle workings in her breast disregarded: her only aim was the support of her authority in Egypt, and to continue her reign without control during life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her younger son, that she might be assisted against Lathyrus, should he ever dispute her authority.

Lathyrus had not reigned long, before his mother, provoked at some measures adopted against her will, by base artifices gained over the people of Alexandria. The matter is thus related by Justin, Pausanias, Porphyry, and Josephus. While the two competitors for the crown of Syria were wasting their strength against each other, B.C. 110, John Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, undertook the siege of Samaria. The Samaritans had recourse to Cysicenus, who marched to their relief, but had the misfortune to be overthrown in battle by the two sons of Hyrcanus, who had besieged the place. After this victory, B.C. 109, the two brothers returned to the siege, and pursued it with such vigour, that the besieged were obliged to implore aid once more of Cysicenus, who, not having sufficient forces of his own for such an attempt, requested Lathyrus, king of Egypt, to send him a body of troops to be employed against the victorious Jews. Lathyrus complied, and ordered 6,000 men into Syria, contrary to the opinion and inclination of Cleopatra. She carried her resentment of this and some other encroachments so far, that she took his wife Selene from him, and obliged him, B.C. 107, to quit Egypt. As this could not be effected without the consent of the Alexandrians, the unnatural mother stirred up the populace against her son; she caused some of her favourite eunuchs, on whose fidelity she could depend, to be wounded, and then, bringing them covered with blood into the public assembly of the Alexandrians, pretended that they had been thus treated and abused by Lathyrus, for defending her person against his wicked attempts. By this base fiction, she inflamed the minds of the Alexandrians to such a degree, that they rose in a tumult against him, and would have killed him, had he not saved his life by retiring on board a ship, which immediately set sail and carried him out of danger.

Upon the flight of Lathyrus, Cleopatra sent for her younger son, Alexander, on whom she had bestowed the kingdom of Cyprus; and having declared him king of Egypt, in the room of Lathyrus, obliged the latter to be content with Cyprus. This event occurred, according to Porphyry, in the eighth year of Alexander's reign in Cyprus, and eleventh of Cleopatra's in Egypt. It is dated A.C. 107.

Two years after this revolution, Alexander Jannæus, king of the Jews, having settled affairs at home, marched against the inhabitants of Ptolemais, and having vanquished them in battle, obliged them to retire into their city, where he besieged them. In this extremity, they despatched messengers to Cyprus, imploring the aid of Lathyrus, and requesting him to come personally to their relief. The messengers, however, were scarcely gone, when they began to repent of what they had done. They apprehended that Cleopatra, upon their entering into an alliance with Lathyrus, would march against them with all the forces of Egypt, so that they would suffer as much from Lathyrus, as a friend, as from Alexander as an enemy. Upon this consideration, they resolved to defend themselves, and they despatched other messengers to Lathyrus, to acquaint him with their resolution. In the meantime, Lathyrus had increased his army to the number of 30,000 men, and prepared vessels to transport them thither; and, notwithstanding their remonstrances, he landed his forces in Phœnicia, and marched towards Ptolemais, encamping at a small distance from the city. But the inhabitants refusing to admit his ambassador into the town, or to enter into any treaty with him, he was, for some time, greatly perplexed to know what course to pursue.

He was relieved from this perplexity by messengers arriving at his camp from Zoilus, prince of Dora, and from the people of Guza, who desired his assistance against the Jews; for Alexander, having divided his army, besieged Ptolemais with one part of his forces, and had sent the other to lay waste the territories of Zoilus and Gaza. Lathyrus embraced this opportunity of employing his troops, and marched to their assistance. This obliged Alexander to raise the siege of Ptolemais, and lead back his army to watch the motions of Lathyrus. As he was not able to cope with so powerful an enemy, he pretended to court his friendship, and entering into a treaty with him, he engaged to pay him 400 talents of silver, on condition that he would deliver Zoilus into his hands, with the places in his possession. Lathyrus closed with this proposal, and accordingly seized on Zoilus, and all his territories, in order to deliver them up to Alexander.

In the meantime, he was informed that Alexander was negotiating secretly with Cleopatra, in order to bring her against him with all her forces, and drive him out of Palestine, on which Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the injury in his power. Accordingly, the next year, A.C. 104, having divided his army into two bodies, he detached one of them to form the siege of Ptolemais, for not having admitted his ambassadors, while he marched a person with the other against Alexander. He

took Asochis, a city of Galilee, on a sabbath-day and carried away from thence much treasure, and a great number of captives. From thence he advanced to Sepphoris, another city of the same country, which he likewise invested. He was soon, however, obliged to raise the siege of this city; for intelligence arrived informing him that Alexander was advancing to give him battle, at the head of a numerous army.

The two armies met at Asopha, not far from the Jordan, and they engaged with the utmost fury. Victory was, for a long time, doubtful; eight thousand of Alexander's soldiers, who carried brzen bucklers, having fought with great intrepidity and resolution. But at length the Jews were routed, having lost a great number slain, and many prisoners. The success of Lathyrus was chiefly owing to one Philostephanus, who, observing that his soldiers were ready to flee, being warmly charged with the Jewish targeteers, flanked the enemy with fresh troops, put them in confusion, and obliged them to give ground, and save themselves by a precipitate flight.

A most barbarous action is related to have been committed by Lathyrus on this occasion. Having taken up his quarters, in the evening after this victory, in the neighbouring villages, and finding them crowded with women and children, he caused them all to be put to the sword, and their mangled limbs to be put into boiling caldrons, as though he intended to make a repast with them for his army. His design was to make the Jews believe that his troops fed upon human flesh, and thereby strike a greater dread of his army into the neighbouring country. This circumstance is related by Josephus, on the authority of Strabo and Nicolaus Damascenus. For the honour of humanity, we would fain disbelieve this story; but it is certain that Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, ravaged and desolated the whole country, the Jews being utterly unable to oppose his progress.

This victory, and the results that followed, alarmed Cleopatra. She apprehended that if Lathyrus should make himself master of Judea and Phœnicia, he would be enabled to invade Egypt, and recover that kingdom. She, therefore, resolved to put a stop to his further progress. She commanded an army to be raised with all possible expedition, under the command of Chalcias and Ananias, two Jews, in whom she placed great confidence. At the same time, she equipped a powerful fleet, with a great number of transports, and, putting her troops on board, she embarked with them, and set sail for Phœnicia. She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels, which she deposited in the isle of Cos, in case of untoward events. She landed in Phœnicia, A.C. 103.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, and he retired in great haste to Celesyria. Cleopatra despatched Chalcias, with one division of her army, after him, and marched with the other to Ptolemais, expecting the citizens would open the gates to her. But in this she was disappointed, they refused all alliance with her, and she invested the place, with a design to reduce it by force.

In the meantime, Chalcis having lost his life in the pursuit of Lathyrus, that prince, n. c. 102, taking advantage of the disorder occasioned in the army by the loss of their general, marched with all his troops into Egypt, hoping to find it unprovided with forces in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops with her into Phœnicia. But his hopes were ill-founded. The forces which Cleopatra had left for the defence of the country bravely defended it, till others, which she had despatched from Phœnicia upon receiving advice of the invasion, arrived. Lathyrus was, in consequence, obliged to return to Palestine, where he took up his winter quarters at Gaza.

Cleopatra pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at length reduced it. As soon as she entered the city, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend himself to her favour. He was successful in his application; but what conducted most to this was, his hatred for her son Lathyrus, which alone was sufficient to insure him a favourable reception with Cleopatra; thus reversing the order of nature, whose dictates are, love to our offspring. An inspired prophet has asked—“Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb?” Isa. xlix. 15; thereby indicating that such conduct was foreign to human nature. The history of Cleopatra declares that the tender mother may become the bitter persecutor of her offspring, that affection for them may be swallowed up in self-love and vain ambition; and that which is

— “the shade of immortality,
And in itself a shadow.”

can transform the parent into a monster.

Some of Cleopatra's courtiers pointed out to her the fair opportunity she now had of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all the dominions of Alexander, by seizing his person, earnestly pressing her to perform this foul act. The queen was inclined to follow their advice; but Ananias represented to her the infamy of such a deed: that it would be acting contrary to honour and good faith, which are the foundations of society; that such conduct would be prejudicial to her interests; and that it would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. He so effectually prevailed by his arguments and influence with Cleopatra, that she abandoned the design, and renewed her alliance with Alexander, who having, after his return to Jerusalem, recruited his army, took the field anew, and crossing the Jordan, laid siege to Gadara.

Lathyrus having spent the winter at Gaza, and finding that all his efforts against Palestine were of no avail, so long as his mother opposed him, left the country, and returned to Cyprus. Cleopatra then sailed back into Egypt; and thus Palestine, says Josephus, was delivered from all foreign forces, to the great joy of the Jewish nation.

Being informed, upon her return to Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty, at Damascus, with Antiochus Cysicenus, and that, with the aid expected from him, he was

preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; to make a diversion, she gave her daughter Seleus, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, sending him at the same time a considerable supply of troops and money. By this means, Grypus being enabled to renew the war with his brother Cysicenus, the latter was so entirely employed in defending himself, that he could not lend any assistance to Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to forego his intentions, and return to Cyprus.

During these years, Ptolemy Alexander, the younger brother, acted the base part of a slave, under the specious appearance of a sovereign. At length, however, tired out with the indignities he suffered from this warlike fury, and terrified with the cruelty with which Cleopatra persecuted his brother Lathyrus, especially in thus taking from him his wife, and giving her to his enemy; and, moreover, observing that she did not scruple to commit the greatest crimes to gratify her ambition, that prince did not consider himself any longer safe near her, and therefore stole away privately from Alexandria, choosing rather to live in exile with safety, than to reign with so wicked and cruel a mother, in continual danger of his life. His flight alarmed the queen; for she was well aware that the Alexandrians would not suffer her to reign without one of her sons. She therefore used all her art to prevail upon Alexander to return; and, after much solicitation, he was prevailed upon to accede to her request. Not long after, however, n. c. 89, Cleopatra, not being able to bear a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son to share the honours of the throne with her, resolved to put him to death. The prince heard of her resolve, and he prevented its performance by cutting her off first; thus punishing her for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own. Surely, when we read of such dark deeds as these being committed without repugnance under the influence of paganism, we ought to lift up our hearts in praise to the Giver of all good for the privileges we enjoy—and to adore his name that we live in a country where, and at an age when, doctrines are promulgated which inculcate the love of God and man, and which are calculated to bind mankind together in one holy bond of love and concord.

The crime of Alexander (for it was a crime which even his mother's evil designs cannot extenuate) did not remain unpunished. As soon as it was known that the son had caused the mother to be put to death, the enormity of the crime stirred up all his subjects against him. They would not suffer a parricide to reign over them, but drove him out of the country with ignominy, and recalled Lathyrus from Cyprus, and replaced him on the throne.

For some time, Alexander led a rambling life in the island of Cos, while his brother returned in triumph, amidst the acclamations of his people. But the next year, Alexander, having collected some ships, attempted to return into Egypt. He was met at sea by Tyrrhus, Ptolemy's admiral, who defeated him, and obliged him to flee to Myra, in Lycia. From Myra, he steered towards the island of Cyprus, hoping the inhabitants would declare in his favour, and place him on the throne, which his brother had vacated to

return to Egypt. But Chares, another of Ptolemy's admirals, came up with him while he was preparing to land, and killed him in the engagement, after he had borne the title of king for the space of nineteen years.

During the troubles that disturbed Egypt, Apion, the natural son of Physcon, maintained peace and tranquillity in his dominions. At length, after a reign of twenty-one years, he died, devising Cyrenæica to the Romans, in order to secure them from the miseries in which the countries subject to the Egyptian government were involved.

Lathyrus, upon re-ascending the throne of Egypt, began to settle all things upon their ancient footing, and to remedy, as far as possible, the many disorders and abuses which had crept in during the late troubles. But the inhabitants of Thebes refused to submit to his regulations, and even attempted to shake off the yoke, and resume their ancient liberties. Lathyrus marched against the rebels, defeated them, and laid siege to their city, which they defended with incredible obstinacy for three years. At the end of that time, *s.c.* 82, he took it, and, by way of punishment, suffered the enraged soldiers to plunder it, who left everywhere melancholy marks of their avarice and cruelty. Thebes, which, till then, had been one of the greatest and wealthiest cities of Egypt, was reduced so effectually, that it never after made any figure in history.

Towards the latter end of the reign of Lathyrus, Lucullus being sent by Sulla to procure ships from the princes who retained any regard for the Roman name, in order to block up the ports of Piræus and Munychia, landed at Alexandria; where the inhabitants, pursuant to the orders of Lathyrus, received him with those honours which were paid only to the kings of Egypt. The king, however, could not be prevailed upon to part with any of his ships, pretending that he was threatened with a civil war in his own dominions. He therefore dismissed Lucullus, after having presented him with his portrait, cut in an emerald of great value.

Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. The next year, *a.c.* 81, he died, after having reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt, after the death of his mother. He was succeeded by his only legitimate child, whose proper name was Berenice, but who, according to the established custom of that family, was called Cleopatra, under which name her brief history is here introduced.

CLEOPATRA.—ALEXANDER II.

Sulla, at the time of Cleopatra's accession to the throne, was perpetual dictator at Rome; and his power was so great, that he gave or took away crowns at pleasure. Hearing, therefore, that Lathyrus was dead, without male issue, he sent Alexander, the son of that Alexander who had reigned before Lathyrus, and murdered his mother, to succeed his uncle in the kingdom, as the next heir of the male line.

This Alexander had met with many adventures. When Cleopatra, the mother of Alex-

ander and Lathyrus, marched with her away into Phœnicia against the latter, she sent her grandson, Alexander, of whom we are now speaking, into the island of Cos, with a large sum of money, jewels, and other valuable articles, as noticed before. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, the inhabitants delivered into his hands the Egyptian prince, and the treasures which Cleopatra had deposited there with him. The king of Pontus gave him an education suitable to his birth; but he, not thinking himself safe with a prince who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children, fled from the court of Mithridates, and took refuge in the camp of Sulla, who was then at war in Asia. From that time, he had resided in the dictator's family, some say, as a domestic, till news was brought to Rome of the death of Lathyrus. Sulla then sent him to take possession of the crown of Egypt, as the proper heir of the deceased king. But the Alexandrians having placed Cleopatra, the daughter of Lathyrus, on the throne, six months before his arrival in Egypt, some difficulty occurred. To compromise the matter, however, and avoid displeasing Sulla, the Alexandrians prevailed upon Alexander to marry Cleopatra, and reign jointly with her.

The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; but Alexander, either out of dislike to Cleopatra, or wishing to have no associate on the throne, caused her to be assassinated, nineteen days after the marriage.

Porphyrus and Appian tell us, that the Alexandrians, provoked at this murder, and the haughty and imperious airs their new king assumed, rose up in arms, surrounded his palace, and, dragging him into the gymnasium, put him to death, after a reign of nineteen days. Suetonius and Cicero, however, make it manifest that he reigned fifteen years after this tragical act, during which time he made himself odious to his subjects by his cruelty and his vices, till at length they made a general insurrection, and would have sacrificed him to their resentment, had he not withdrawn from Egypt. He fled first to Pompey, who was then in that neighbourhood, carrying on the war with Mithridates, king of Pontus, and he offered him rich presents to espouse his cause, and restore him to the crown. But Pompey refused to meddle with this matter, as being foreign to his commission. Alexander then took refuge in the city of Tyre, whither he had sent before a great part of his treasures. While in this city, Alexander sent ambassadors to the Roman senate, to make an appeal against his rebellious subjects; but, dying before the negotiation was finished, he made over, by his last will, all his rights to the Roman people, declaring them heirs to his kingdom, in order that he might raise a dispute between Rome and his rival, Antioch, whom the Egyptians had placed on the throne, *a.c.* 65.

PTOLEMY AULETES, BERENICE, SELEUCUS, ARCHELAUS.

Ptolemy Auletes was the natural son of Ptolemy Lathyrus. He was surnamed *Auletes*, or "the player upon the flute," because he piqued himself so much upon the skill he displayed on this

instrument, that he disputed the prize for playing on the flute in the public games. Strabo tells us that Antioch surpassed all the kings who reigned before him in the effeminacy of his manners, and was no less infamous for that account than Phrynon was for his wickedness. He took great pleasure in imitating the effeminacies of the Bacchanals, dancing in a female dress, and in the same measures they used during the solemnity of their god Bacchus; hence he is called by some historians, *Dionysius Naxos*, or the New Bacchus.

As Auletes had only a dubious right to the crown, and the Romans pretending that, in virtue of the last will of Alexander, his dominions devolved upon their republic, his first care was to cause himself to be declared an ally of Rome, which was a certain means of being acknowledged lawful king of Egypt. This he obtained of Julius Cæsar, who was the consul at Rome. That ambitious man, who believed all expedients just that conducted to his ends, being greatly in debt, sold him the alliance of Rome for 6,000 talents, that is 1,262,500*l.* sterling; part of which was to be paid to himself, and part to Pompey, whose interest was necessary for obtaining the consent of the people.

Though the yearly revenues of Egypt were twice this sum, Auletes could not raise it immediately without overtaxing his subjects, which occasioned general discontent throughout the kingdom.

At this time, A. C. 58, while the Egyptians were dissatisfied with the conduct of Auletes, and even ready to take up arms against him, an unjust decree was carried at Rome by the tribune Clodius for deposing Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, seizing the kingdom for the republic, and confiscating his effects. When the Alexandrians heard of the intention of the republic, they pressed Auletes to demand that island as an ancient appendage to Egypt; and on refusal, to declare war against Rome. This was opposed by Auletes: upon which the Alexandrians flew to arms, and surrounding the palace, would have sacrificed him to their fury; but having timely notice of the insurrection, he withdrew from Alexandria, crossed Egypt, and embarked for Rhodes, with a design to implore the assistance of his former protectors at Rome.

Having arrived at Rhodes, Auletes was informed that Cato, who after his death was called Cato of Utica, had arrived there some time before, being charged by Clodius to put in execution the unjust decree before mentioned. Auletes, desirous to confer with a man of his prudence and integrity about his affairs, sent immediately to acquaint him with his arrival, expecting that he would without delay come and wait upon him. But he was mistaken. The proud Roman informed the messenger that if the king of Egypt had anything to say to Cato, he might, if he thought proper, come to his house. Auletes, accordingly, waited upon Cato, who did not vouchsafe to rise when the king entered his chamber, and he saluted him only as a private person. Auletes was surprised at this; for the simplicity and modesty of the Roman dress and equipage by no means accorded with so much haughtiness. But he was still more surprised, when Cato, after he had laid the situation of his affairs before him,

blamed him for leaving Egypt, the richest kingdom in the world, in order to expose himself to insults and indignities at Rome, nothing being in request there, at this date, but wealth, power, and grandeur. He did not scruple to tell him, that though he should sell all Egypt, it would not suffice their cupidity. He advised him, therefore, to return to Egypt, and reconcile himself with his subjects; adding, that he was ready to accompany him thither, and employ his mediation and good offices in his behalf. Ptolemy, reflecting on what Cato told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained some thoughts of returning to it; but the friends he had with him, being gained by Pompey to urge him onwards to Rome, dissuaded him from following Cato's wholesome advice, of which he afterwards repented.

On his arrival at Rome, Auletes found, to his great concern, that Julius Cæsar, on whom he chiefly relied, was making war in Gaul. Pompey, however, who was there, gave him an apartment in his house, and omitted nothing that lay in his power to serve him. But notwithstanding Auletes possessed the protection of so powerful a man, he was forced to go from house to house to solicit the suffrages of the senators. At length, after he had spent vast sums in procuring a strong party, he was, by the interest of Pompey, permitted to lay his complaints before the senate. Thus he did with much art; exaggerating the hard usage he had met with from his rebellious subjects, and putting the senators in mind of his alliance with the republic, by the articles of which they were bound to support him against his enemies, both foreign and domestic.

While Auletes was thus making interest at Rome, and courting the republic for her consent to his being restored by force of arms, the Alexandrians, being informed of what passed in Italy, sent an embassy to the senate, consisting of a hundred citizens of distinction, to justify their revolt. Dion, a celebrated academic philosopher, who had many powerful friends at Rome, was at the head of this embassy; but Ptolemy found means to destroy most of them either at Rome or before they arrived, which so intimidated the rest, that they declined acquitting themselves of their commission, or even demanding justice for the murder of their colleagues.

The rumour of these murders raised the indignation of the public, and caused a general alarm. M. Favonius, the Stoic philosopher, was the first who declared in the senate against Ptolemy. Upon his motion it was resolved, that Dion, the chief of the embassy, should be directed to attend, in order to give upon oath an authentic account of the assassination of the ambassadors. Dion, however, was afraid to appear, and he was soon after stabbed by an assassin, whom the king had hired for that purpose. Auletes, knowing he could depend on Pompey's protection, was not ashamed to own himself the chief author of that crime, and he even pretended to justify the treacherous action. A prosecution was instituted against Aetion the assassin; and his own accomplices, who were for the most part the domestics of Lucius, at whose house Dion lodged, attested upon oath that he committed the crime with his own hand; but notwithstanding

his guilt was clearly proved, Aulicus was acquitted. An action was then brought against the judges for selling themselves to Ptolemy and betraying their trust; but Pompey and his faction employed all their interest against the accusers, and the venal judges were justified, and injustice triumphed.

Whether Aulicus thought that he had nothing further to transact at Rome, or apprehended danger if he continued there any longer, is not certain, but he set out from thence some few days after, and retired to the temple of the goddess at Ephesus, (the most venerable asylum in Asia,) there to await the decision of the senate.

Though his evil conduct had made him odious to the generality of the Romans, yet, by the interest of Pompey's faction, a decree was carried in the senate, whereby it was enacted, that the Egyptians should be compelled by force of arms to receive their king. A contest now arose who should be charged with the honour of reconducting him thither. No one had more reason to expect it than P. Lentulus Spinther, the proconsul, he having been appointed governor of Cilicia, and being supported by the interest and eloquence of Cicero. Pompey and many others were desirous of performing this office, well knowing that it would be attended with an accumulation of wealth. After several months' warm debate, however, Lentulus was appointed to the exclusion of Pompey, whose pretence it was pretended was necessary at Rome, he being charged with the care of maintaining plenty there.

The affairs of Aulicus now, B. C. 57, made more noise than ever at Rome. One of the tribunes, C. Portius Cato, an active, enterprising young man and very eloquent, declared himself in frequent harangues against Ptolemy and Lentulus, and was listened to by the people with pleasure and applause.

The next year, as soon as Lentulus had quitted the office of consul, a new device was formed to frustrate his expedition. A Sibylline prophecy was forged, which ran thus: "If a king of Egypt applies to you for aid, you shall not refuse him your amity: but you shall not furnish him with troops, for if you do, you will suffer and hazard much." The law required that these oracles should never be divulged, before an examination by the senate, who suppressed or published them, as they thought proper; but Cato, apprehending that Pompey's faction would pass a resolution for its suppression, immediately presented the priests with whom the Sibylline books were deposited to the people, and obliged them, by the authority which his office of tribune gave him, to lay what they found in them before the people, without demanding the opinion of the senate.

This was an unexpected stroke to Ptolemy and Lentulus. The words of the Sibyl were explicit, and they made all the impression upon the vulgar which their enemies desired, and the decree which empowered Lentulus to carry back Aulicus to his dominions was at their request revoked. This Lentulus had expected, and therefore, not willing to receive the affront publicly, he had, before its revocation, set out for his province in quality of proconsul.

This new incident obliged Aulicus to change

his measures. Seeing that Lentulus had many enemies at Rome, he abandoned the decree by which he had been commissioned with his re-establishment, and demanded by Ammonius, his ambassador, whom he had left at Rome, that Pompey should be appointed to execute the same commission. His letter being read before the multitude by Aulus Plautius, tribune of the people, his colleague Caninius was of opinion, that Pompey, attended only by two lictors, (for no violence could be used without disobeying the oracle,) should go into Egypt, and, by his authority alone, bring the king into favour with his rebellious subjects. But the tribune was opposed by the senate, and Pompey, notwithstanding his great interest, was obliged to relinquish the pursuit of an honour he ardently desired.

Pompey, being thus excluded, the senators were greatly divided in their sentiments. Bibulus and the consul Marcellinus were of opinion that the king should be restored by three ambassadors, and that those only should be chosen who had no employment in the state. Their view in this proposition was to exclude Lentulus, who was then governor of Cilicia and Cyprus. Crassus agreed to the sentiments of these two tribunes, as to the re-establishing the king on his throne without an army, but opposed the exclusion of such as had employments. Cicero never quitted the interest of Lentulus his friend, who, during his consulship, had greatly contributed to his recall from exile. He was, indeed, so desirous that his friend should have the honour of re-establishing Aulicus on the throne of Egypt, and enjoy the advantages which would accrue to him from thence, that, after Lentulus was gone into Cilicia, he wrote to him, advising him to advance, without any further orders from the senate, with all his sea and land forces to Alexandria, and oblige the inhabitants by force of arms to receive their king. "You are," says he in his letter, "the best judge of what you can undertake and perform. If you can reduce Alexandria and the other cities of Egypt, it is, without doubt, both for your own honour, and that of the republic, that you advance thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at Ptolemais, or some adjacent place, till you have subdued the rebels, and left strong garrisons, where necessary, in order to secure peace, so that he may return without danger. In this manner, you will re-instate him without troops, which our senators pretend is the meaning of the Sibyl." The Romans were prohibited by the oracle to re-conduct the king of Egypt with an army; and Cicero was of opinion, that if Lentulus had first reduced Egypt by force of arms, and then carried back the king without an army, he would not have acted contrary to the prohibition of the Sibyl, since it would still be true that the king had returned in peace. One would scarcely believe that such a grave senator as Cicero could be capable of thinking to elude the oracle by such an evasion; but he looked upon it only as a political contrivance, (as it in reality was,) to disappoint the expectations of Pompey's faction. But Lentulus, aware of the numerous difficulties which would attend this enterprise, followed the advice which Cicero gave him at the conclusion of his letter, namely, that he should by no means undertake

so great an enterprise, unless he could promise himself certain success.

On his exclusion from the honour of restoring Auletes, Pompey wrote to that prince, advising him to recur to Gabinus, who commanded in Syria on proconsul; which advice he followed. This Gabinus was a man of infamous character, ready to undertake anything for money, without the least regard to law, justice, or religion. He had ruined, by his robberies and oppressions, the unhappy province of Syria, whither he had been sent after his consulship; and finding that the Syrians could no longer gratify his avarice, he had resolved to make war on the Arabians, in hopes of enriching himself with their spoils. In the meantime, however, Mithridates, who had been driven out of Parthia by his brother Orophanes, fleeing for refuge to Gabinus, prevailed on him, by promising him large sums, to turn his arms against Parthia, and assist him in the recovery of his crown. He had already begun his march, and passed the Euphrates, with a design to replace Mithridates on his throne, when Auletes overtook him, and delivered into his hands letters from Pompey, their common patron, wherein he was desired to restore the banished king, upon such terms as he should think fit to require, and the king to grant.

It was contrary to an express Roman law for any governor to go out of the limits of his province, or to make war, upon any pretence whatever, without orders from the senate and people of Rome. But the authority of Pompey, and the expectation of reward, induced the proconsul to despise this law, and undertake the re-establishing Auletes, contrary to the opinion of all the army, except Marc Antony, who supported the interest of Auletes with great ardour. The more dangerous the enterprise was, the more Gabinus thought he had a right to expect for the undertaking; and therefore he did not blush to ask of the king 10,000 talents, about 1,937,500*l.* sterling; one-half of which was to be paid immediately, and the other as soon as he should be settled on the throne. Auletes, who was glad to be restored upon any terms, agreed to pay this sum; but Gabinus would not take any measures till the first payment was made, which obliged the king to borrow it of Caius Rabirius Posthumus, a Roman knight, Pompey interposing his credit and authority for the payment of both capital and interest.

When Auletes fled from Egypt, the Alexandrians placed Berenice his daughter on the throne, and sent an embassy into Syria to Antiochus Asiaticus, who by his mother Seleene, the daughter of Phryson, was the next male heir of the family, inviting him into Egypt, in order that he might marry Berenice and reign jointly with her. But this prince died before the embassy arrived, and the ambassadors were then directed to make the same proposal to Seleucus his brother, who willingly accepted the offer. Strabo describes this prince as a monster of iniquity. His inclinations were mean and sordid, and his only aim was the accumulation of riches. The Egyptians soon discovered his real character, and gave him the nickname of Cybiosactes, that is, "the scoundrel;" for his conduct answered

to that description. He was scarcely seated on the throne, when he gave a signal instance of his sordid and avaricious temper. Ptolemy Lagus had caused the body of Alexander the Great to be interred in a coffin of massy gold; this Cybiosactes seized, substituting for it a coffin of glass. This provoked Berenice (who, in common with the Egyptians, was already grown weary of him,) to such a degree, that, breaking through the most sacred ties, she caused him to be strangled. He was the last prince of the Seleucidae. Berenice afterwards espoused Archelaus, high priest of Comarras, in Pontus, who called himself the son of the great Mithridates, though he was in reality the son of that king's chief general. These were the rulers in Egypt, when Gabinus undertook to reinstate Auletes on the throne.

Gabinus, having received the stipulated sum, repassed the Euphrates, and, having Mithridates to shift for himself, began his march towards Egypt. As he drew near the borders of that country, he detached Antony with a body of horse to seize the passes, and open the way for the rest of the army. As this young Roman was the chief promoter of the expedition, so he acted in it with great vigour and resolution. He not only possessed himself of the passes of a sandy desert, and found a way through the fens of Serbonis, which the Egyptians call the exhalations of Tryphon, but took the city of Pelusium, which Pintarch calls the key of Egypt on that side, with the whole of the garrison, thereby making a way for the rest of the army. Auletes had no sooner entered Pelusium than, urged by his hatred and resentment, he proposed the destruction of its inhabitants by the sword. But Antony opposed this barbarous proposition, remonstrating that it would draw both upon him and the Romans the general hatred of the nation, and thereby retard, if not prevent, his restoration.

As soon as Gabinus received advice of Antony's good success, he entered the heart of Egypt. It was in winter, when the waters of the Nile were diminished, that this occurrence took place. Archelaus, who was brave and experienced, did all that could be done in defence of the country, and disputed his ground with much resolution. After he quitted the city, in order to march against the Romans, when it was necessary to encamp and break the ground for entrenchments, the Egyptians, accustomed to live an idle and voluptuous life, raised an outcry that Archelaus should employ the mercenaries in such work, at the expense of the public. This indicated their unfitness for battle. Archelaus, however, led them against Gabinus, but it was only to experience an overthrow: the Egyptian troops were cut in pieces, and himself taken prisoner.

By this victory, the proconsul might have put an end to the war; but his avarice prompted him to prolong it: he gave Archelaus his liberty upon his paying a considerable ransom, and then, pretending he had made his escape, demanded fresh sums of Auletes to pursue the war. Rabirius, who followed the king in this expedition, lent him what money he required at a very high interest. Such were the despicable

artifices made use of by the Romans at this date to enrich themselves.

Archelaus, when again at liberty, would have long disputed the crown with his rival, had his troops seconded his valour; but, the Egyptians having, in several encounters, turned their backs, at the very first onset, he was at length obliged to shut himself up in Alexandria, which Gabinus closely besieged, both with his sea and land forces. Archelaus defended the place with great bravery, till he was reduced to the last extremity; then, urged onward by despair, he marched out to hazard another battle, in which, being abandoned by his effeminate troops, he lost both his crown and his life. Marc Antony, who, on a former occasion, had been his particular friend and guest, hearing that he was slain, commanded search to be made for his body, wept over it when it was found, and took upon himself to inter it with all the honours due to a person of his rank.

Auletes, being now master of Alexandria, easily reduced the rest of Egypt to his authority, and was thereby re-established upon his throne. In order to strengthen him in it, Gabinus left some Roman troops to guard his person. But these soldiers soon exchanged their Roman manners for the luxury and effeminacy of those among whom they lived, so that they placed very little restraint upon the Alexandrians.

Seeing himself in quiet possession of the throne, Auletes began to vent his rage on all those who had been concerned in the rebellion. His own daughter, Herennia, was the first sacrifice to his resentment. The crime he laid to her charge was, her having accepted the vacant throne when the Alexandrians offered it to her. Afterwards, he sacrificed must of the wealthy citizens, under pretence that they had been concerned in the rebellion. Their estates were confiscated, in order to raise the vast sums which he had still to pay to Gabinus, or to return to Rabirius. To be rich, was a crime for which many were condemned; the king filling his dominions, as Dion Cassius expresses it, with blood and slaughter, that he might fill his coffers with the treasures of his unhappy subjects.

These oppressions the effeminate Egyptians suffered with great patience for a short time, being kept in awe by the Roman garrison which Gabinus had left in Alexandria. But neither the fear of the Romans, nor the authority of Ptolemy, could make them endure a far less affront. A Roman soldier, having accidentally killed a cat, which animal was worshipped by the Egyptians, the supposed sacrilege was no sooner known, than the Alexandrians made a general insurrection; and, gathering together in crowds, dragged the soldier out of his house, and tore him in pieces. Diodorus Siculus, who relates this insurrection, was an eyewitness of it.

C. Rabirius Posthumus had lent Auletes immense sums to defray the expenses of his expedition against his rebellious subjects. When Auletes was established on his throne, he sent to him requesting payment; and, finding that the king was very backward, he resolved to leave Rome, and seek re-payment in person. When he arrived at Alexandria, he dressed the king to

perform his engagements. Auletes, however, showed little regard to his remonstrances, excusing himself on account of the low state of his finances since the revolution. He gave him, indeed, to understand that he despaired of satisfying him, unless he would consent to take upon him the care of his revenues, by which means he might reimburse himself by occasional small sums with his own hands. The unfortunate creditor accepted the offer, for fear of losing the amount for which he was himself indebted to others; but the wicked Auletes soon after, upon some frivolous pretence, ordered him and his servants to be imprisoned. This shameful treatment exasperated Pompey as much as Rabirius; the former having been, in some measure, security for the debt, inasmuch as the money was lent at his request, and the whole business transacted by him at a country house of his own near Alba. But Rabirius found means to escape from prison; and, as he had reason to fear the worst from so cruel and faithless a prince, he was well pleased to be able to flee from Egypt without further molestation. To complete his disgrace, he was prosecuted as soon as he returned to Rome, for having aided Auletes in corrupting the senate, by his gold; for having dishonoured the character of a Roman knight, by farming the revenues, and becoming the servant of a foreign prince; and for having been an accomplice with Gabinus, and sharing with him the ten thousand talents which the proconsul had received for his Egyptian expedition. Rabirius appears to have been acquitted; and the eloquent oration of Cicero in his defence, which is still extant, will be a lasting monument of the treachery and ingratitude of Auletes.

Notwithstanding the unheard-of tyranny with which Auletes harassed his subjects, he died, *n. c. 51*, in the peaceable possession of his kingdom, about four years after his re-establishment, and thirty after he had ascended the throne. He left two sons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to his eldest son and daughter, ordering them to be joined in marriage, according to the vile and scandalous custom of their family, and to govern with equal power. These being both under age, (the daughter, who was the elder, was seventeen years old only,) he left them under the tuition of the Roman people, whom he conjured by all his idol gods, and his allegiance with Rome, to take care that his will was duly executed. Eutropius tells us, that a copy of his will being transmitted to Rome, Pompey was appointed the guardian of the young prince. Both the sons were called Ptolemy; the daughters' names were Cleopatra and Arsinoe. This was the Cleopatra whose history is so conspicuous, or rather so infamous, in the ancient records, and which is related in the succeeding pages.

PTOLEMY, CLEOPATRA.

Little is known of the beginning of the reign of Cleopatra and her brother. The first act recorded of her is, that, two of the sons of Bibulus, who had been consular with Julius Cæsar, and was at this time, *n. c. 48*, proconsul of Syria, being killed in Alexandria by the

Roman soldiers, whom Gabinus had left to guard Auletes, Cleopatra sent the murderers to Bibulus that he might punish them as he thought fit; but the proconsul sent them back with this message, that their punishment belonged not to him, but to the senate of Rome.

As Ptolemy was a minor, under the tuition of Pothinus, a eunuch, and Achilles, general of his army, these two ministers, to engross the whole power to themselves, deprived Cleopatra of the share in the sovereignty left her by the will of Auletes. Cleopatra, thus injured, retired into Syria, and raised in that country, and in Palestine, a very considerable army, in order to assert her rights by force of arms. On the other hand, Ptolemy, having drawn together all the forces he could, took the field, and marched against his sister. Both armies encamped between Pelusium and Mount Casius, observing the motions of each other, neither of them being inclined to venture an engagement.

It was at this juncture that Pompey, after having lost the battle of Pharsalia, fled to Egypt, conceiving that he should find there an asylum in his misfortunes. He had been, as narrated, the protector of Auletes, the father of the reigning king; and it was solely to Pompey's influence that he was indebted for his re-establishment; and therefore it might have been expected that gratitude would have taught the king to receive him with open arms. But gratitude was a virtue unknown to most princes and ministers at this date, as Pompey found by experience. The unfortunate Roman, observing from the sea a great army encamped on the shore, concluded from thence, that the king was at war with his sister, and that, in such a conjuncture, he should find the young prince the most ready to protect him, since he might stand in need of his assistance; he therefore sent some of his friends to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to demand permission to land and enter his kingdom.

Ptolemy himself returned no answer to Pompey's request; but Pothinus and Achilles, the two reigning ministers, with Theodotus the rhetorician, the young king's preceptor, and some others, consulted together what answer to return. This council differed in opinion; some were for receiving him, others for sending him word to seek a retreat elsewhere. Theodotus opposed both these propositions, and, displaying all his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate that there was no other choice to be made, than that of ridding themselves of him. His reasons were, because, if they protected him, Cæsar would not fail to be revenged on them for abetting his enemy; and, if they refused to receive him, and affairs should take a turn in his favour, he would, without doubt, make them pay dear for their refusal; and therefore, the only safe way to guard against both these evils, was to put him to death, which, said he, will gain us the friendship of Cæsar, and prevent the other from doing us mischief; for, according to the ancient proverb, "Dead men do not bite."

Some writers tell us, that Theodotus maintained this cruel paradox only to display his eloquence and talents. Be this as it may, it had a fatal effect. The advice prevailed, as being in their opinion the wisest and safest

course to pursue; and Achilles Septimius, a Roman officer in the service of the king of Egypt, and some others, were charged with putting it into execution. They went to take Pompey on board a shallop, under the pretext that large vessels could not approach the shore without difficulty. The troops were drawn up at the seaside, as with design to do honour to Pompey, Ptolemy being at their head. The perfidious Septimius tendered his hand to Pompey in the name of his master, and bade him come to a king, his friend, whom he ought to regard as his ward and son. Pompey then embraced his wife Cornelia, who wept over him as one lost to her; and after having repeated some lines of Sophocles, to the effect that "every man who enters the court of a tyrant becomes his slave, though free before," he went into the shallop. The tragedy soon followed. When they saw themselves near the shore, they stabbed Pompey before the king's eyes, cut off his head, and threw his body upon the strand, where it had no other funeral than one of his freed-men could give it, with the assistance of an old Roman, who was accidentally passing that way. They raised him a wretched funeral pile, and for that purpose made use of some fragments of an old wreck that had been driven ashore. Lucan, in his Pharsalia, relates, that the freedman, whom he immortalizes under the name of Cordus, erected a stone over the spot where he buried his ashes, with this inscription,

"BENEATH THIS STONE, THE ONCE GREAT
POMPEY LIES;"

than which nothing can be more emphatic, or better show the vanity of human greatness. The name of Pompey had filled the world with alarms; but beneath that stone he lay silently. A Christian poet thus moralizes on his fall:

"The dust of heroes cast abroad,
And kick'd and trampled in the road,
The relics of a lofty mind
That lately wars and crowns design'd,
Toss'd for a jest from wind to wind,
But ne'er be humble, and forbear
Till monument of old fame to rear—
They are but castles in the air,
The towering heights and frightful falls,
The ruin'd heaps and idle
Of smoking kingdoms and their kings,
Tell me a thousand mournful things
In melancholy silence

He,
That living could not bear to see
An equal, now lies torn and dead—
Here his pale trunk, and there his head,
Great Pompey! while I meditate,
With solemn horror, thine sad fate,
Thy carcass scatter'd on the shore
Will out a name, instructs me more
Than my whole library before."—*Ed. Watts.*

Cornelia witnessed the death of Pompey; and it is easier to imagine the condition of a woman, in the height of her grief from so tragical an occurrence, than to describe it. Those who were in the gallery with her, and in two other ships in company with it, made the coast resound with the cries they raised, and weighing anchor immediately, set sail, and prevented the Egyptians, who were preparing to chase them from pursuing this design.

In the meantime, Julius Caesar, being informed that Pompey had steered his course towards Egypt, pursued him thither; and he arrived at Alexandria just as the news of his death was brought to that city. Theodorus, or, as others say, Achilles, believing he should do him a pleasure, presented him the head of that illustrious fugitive. But Caesar, though the enemy of Pompey, was more merciful, and exhibited far more humanity than those who ought to have befriended him. He wept at the sight, and, turning away his eyes with abhorrence, ordered the head to be buried with the usual solemnities.

For the greater expedition, Caesar had pursued Pompey with few forces, having with him, when he arrived at Alexandria, only 800 horse, and 3,000 foot. The rest of his army he had left behind him in Greece and Asia Minor, under the command of his lieutenants, with orders to pursue the advantages of his victory, and secure his interests in those parts. He was very nigh paying dear for this clemency. The few forces he had with him not being sufficient to defend him against the populace of Alexandria, who were all in an uproar on account of Pompey's death, he, with much difficulty, gained an entrance into the king's palace, and there shut himself up with part of his men, the rest having been driven back to their ships by the enraged multitude.

As it was not in Caesar's power to leave Alexandria, by reason of the Etesian winds, which, in that country, blow without cessation during the dog-days, (in the beginning of which Caesar had entered that port,) and prevent any ships from sailing out, he sent orders to the legions he had left in Asia to join him with all possible expedition. The tumult, however, was appeased before the arrival of his troops; and he ventured out of the palace, and gained the affections of the common people by his affable behaviour. He spent his time in visiting the curiosities of that great and stately metropolis, and took pleasure in assisting at the public speeches and harangues made by the Alexandrian orators and rhetoricians. But, that he might not spend his whole time in diversions, he began to solicit the payment of the money due to him from Auletes, and to take cognizance of the difference between Ptolemy and Cleopatra.

The reader has been informed, that, during Caesar's first consulship, Auletes had bribed him by the promise of 5,000 talents, by which he had gained his interest, and finally the friendship and alliance of Rome, with the crown of Egypt. The king had only paid him part of this sum, and had given him a bond for the remainder. Caesar now demanded what was unpaid; and, as he needed it for the subsistence of his troops, he urged his claims with rigour. Pothinus, the king's treasurer, made this rigour appear more severe than it really was; for he plundered their temples of all the gold and silver utensils, and persuaded the king and all the chief men of the kingdom, to eat out of earthen or wooden vessels. His motive for this was to stir up the people against Caesar; for he insinuated to them that he had seized all their gold and silver plate. This had the desired effect; for it effectually estranged the minds of the Alexandrians from Caesar. But

what most provoked their indignation, and at length drove them to take up arms against Caesar, was the haughtiness with which he acted, as judge between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. He not only cited them to appear before him for the decision of their difference, but issued a peremptory order, commanding them to disband their armies, and appear and plead their cause before him, to receive such sentence as he should please to pronounce.

This was looked upon in Egypt as a violation of the royal dignity, and an open encroachment on the prerogative of their sovereign, who, being independent, acknowledged no superior, and therefore could not be judged by any tribunal. To complaints made to this effect, Caesar replied, that he did not take upon him to decide the matter as a superior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of Auletes; who having placed his children under the tuition of the Roman people, and all their power being now vested in him as their dictator, it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controversy, as guardian of Ptolemy and Cleopatra by virtue of this will: he added, that he claimed no other prerogative than to settle peace between the king and his sister. This explanation allayed the animosity of the Egyptians for a short time; and the cause was brought to Caesar's tribunal, and advocates were appointed on both sides to plead before him.

Cleopatra, thinking that Caesar would regard such of her sex as had youth and beauty on their side, resolved to employ her own blandishments to attach him to her person and her cause. Accordingly, she sent a private messenger to Caesar, complaining that her cause was betrayed by those she employed, and demanding his permission to appear before him in person. Plutarch says, it was Caesar himself who pressed her to come and plead her own cause. Be this as it may, she no sooner knew that Caesar was inclined to see her, than, taking with her Apollodorus, the Sicilian, she embarked in a small vessel, and, in the dusk of the evening, arrived under the walls of Alexandria. She was afraid of being discovered by her brother, or those of his party who were masters of the city, as they would not have failed to prevent her going to Caesar's house. In order, therefore, to get thither without being discovered, she caused herself to be tied up in a mattress, and was thus carried by Apollodorus on his back, through the streets, to Caesar's apartment. Her blandishments prevailed. The next morning Caesar sent for Ptolemy, and pressed him to receive his sister again upon her own terms. By this proposal, Ptolemy found that Caesar was become his sister's advocate and his adversary; and, having learned that Cleopatra was then in Caesar's own apartment, he retired in the utmost fury, and, returning into the streets, took the diadem from his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, complaining that he was betrayed, and relating the circumstances to the multitude who assembled around him. In a moment, the whole city was in an uproar. The king himself, at the head of the populace, led them tumultuously to charge Caesar, with all the fury of madness. The Roman soldiers, however, who guarded Caesar, by their prowess prevented their entrance into

the palace. They even secured the person of Ptolemy, and delivered him up to Caesar. Nevertheless, as the rest of his forces were dispersed in the several quarters of the city, and knew nothing of what was passing, Caesar would inevitably have been overpowered and torn to pieces by the enraged multitude, had he not had the presence of mind to show himself from a balcony, which was out of their reach, and from thence assure them that he was ready to do whatever they should think fit to suggest to him. This specious promise allayed the tumult for the moment.

The next day, having summoned a general assembly of the people, he brought out to them Ptolemy and Cleopatra; and then, causing the will of Auletes to be read, he decreed, as guardian and arbitrator, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra should reign jointly in Egypt, agreeably to the will; and that Ptolemy, the younger son, and Arsinoë, the younger daughter, should reign in Cyprus. This last article was added to appease the people; for it was an absolute gift that he made them, as the Romans were in actual possession of the island.

Every one was satisfied with this decree, except Pothinas. As this minister had occasioned the breach between Cleopatra and her brother, and the expulsion of that princess from the throne, he had reason to apprehend that the consequences of this decree would prove fatal to him. To prevent the effect of it, therefore, he inspired the people with new jealousies and discontent. He gave out that the Roman dictator had, through fear alone, made this just decree, and that his true design was to place Cleopatra alone on the throne. When he had, by such reports as these, stirred up the populace anew against Caesar, he directed Achillas to advance at the head of the army from Pelusium, in order to drive Caesar out of Alexandria.

Achillas approached Alexandria (a. c. 47) with 20,000 well disciplined troops; and confusion again prevailed throughout the city. Caesar, whose forces were few, persuaded the king to send out ambassadors to Achillas, ordering him to forbear using any violence, since he was well pleased with what Caesar had decreed. Dioscorides and Serapion, who had been ambassadors at Rome, and had great authority at court, were employed on this occasion. But Achillas was so far from complying with the king's orders, that he commanded the ambassadors to be seized and put to death; and accordingly, one was slain, and the other carried off for dead.

Finding that Achillas would listen to no proposals, Caesar resolved to keep within the walls of the town, not being able to oppose his enemy in the field. He therefore posted his men so judiciously in the streets and avenues of that quarter of the town of which he had taken possession, that he defied the force of the Egyptian army.

Achillas, finding that his efforts were ineffectual in this quarter, changed his measures, and marched towards the port, with a design to make himself master of the fleet; to cut off Caesar's communication with the sea; and to prevent him, in consequence, from receiving suc-

ours and convoys on that side. But Caesar again frustrated his designs, by causing the Egyptian fleet to be set on fire, and by possessing himself of the tower of Pharos, which he garrisoned. By this means, he preserved his communication with the sea, without which he must have been eventually ruined. Some of the ships, when on fire, driving to the shore, communicated their flames to the adjoining houses, which spreading into the quarter of the city called Bruchium, consumed the noble library, which the several Ptolemies had erected and enlarged, and which contained 400,000 volumes. This was a loss to literature that has never been repaired.

In the meantime, Caesar, that he might not be compelled to meet the numerous troops of the enemy till his succours arrived, strengthened that quarter of the city where he lived with walls, towers, and other fortifications; including within them the palace, a theatre adjoining to it, and a passage to the harbour. From the beginning of the tumult, Caesar had taken care to keep the king in his power, that this war might seem to be undertaken only by a few malcontents, and not by his authority, or approbation. While Ptolemy was thus detained, Pothinas, who attended him as his governor and minister, carried on a secret correspondence with Achillas, giving him advice of all that passed, and encouraging him to prosecute the siege with vigour. One of his letters was at length intercepted; and his treason being thereby discovered, Caesar ordered him to be put to death.

Ganymedes, another eunuch, who was charged with the education of Arsinoë, the younger of the king's sisters, was a party in this treason; and, fearing the same punishment, he fled secretly, carrying with him the young princess. He presented her to the Egyptian army, who, wanting one of the royal family to head them, were overjoyed at her arrival, and proclaimed her queen. After this, Ganymedes, who entertained thoughts of supplanting Achillas, caused an accusation to be formed against him, charging him with giving up the fleet which had been burned in the harbour to Caesar. By this device, he obtained the condemnation and execution of Achillas, whereupon he took on himself the command of the army, and the administration of all the affairs of that party. Ganymedes did not want capacity for the office of a prime minister, probity only excepted; for he contrived a thousand artful stratagems to distress Caesar during the course of this war, showing himself at the same time a discerning statesman and a crafty general.

One of his devices is thus recorded. The Alexandrians possessed no fresh water but that of the Nile; to preserve which, the whole city was vaulted underneath the houses.* Once a year, on the great ebb of the Nile, the water of that river came into the city by a canal, and by sluices was turned into the vaults, where it gradually became clear. The principal families

* Thucydotes says, that the same kind of caves exist to this day at Alexandria, and that they are filled once a year, so in ancient times. More modern travellers also confirm, that the system for keeping the Nile water as still as a great measure preserved. See the article *Alexandria*.

of the city drank of this water; but the poor were forced to drink the common water, which was muddy and unwholesome. These vaults were so constructed, that they all had communication with each other. The provision of water they contained after the supply from the Nile, served for the whole year. Every house had an opening, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was drawn in buckets or pitchers. Ganymedes caused the communications with the quarters where Caesar lived to be stopped up, and then found means to turn the sea-water into the latter, and thereby spoiled all the fresh water. This raised a general uproar among Caesar's soldiers; and he would have been obliged to abandon his quarters, much to his disadvantage, had he not thought of ordering wells to be sunk, where springs of water were found, which made amends for that which was spoiled.

After this, Caesar, receiving advice that a legion which Calpurnius, his lieutenant in Asia, had sent him by sea, was arrived on the neighbouring coasts of Libya, but was detained there by contrary winds, advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it safely to Alexandria. Ganymedes was apprised of this; and he immediately collected all the Egyptian ships that could be found, in order to attack him upon his return. A battle ensued between the two fleets, wherein Caesar gained a considerable advantage, and would have destroyed the Egyptian fleet, had he not been obliged, by the approaching night, to retire with his ships and legion into the harbour.

To repair this loss, which was very considerable, Ganymedes drew together all the ships that were in the mouth of the Nile and the private arsenals, and, having formed with them another fleet, entered the port of Alexandria. This produced another fight at sea, in which Caesar gained a second victory, which is chiefly to be ascribed to the valour of the Rhodians, and their skill in naval tactics. It is said that the Alexandrians climbed in throngs to the tops of the houses next the port, to be spectators of the fight, and awaited the result with fear and trembling, lifting up their hands to heaven to implore the assistance of the gods.

To make the best of his advantage, Caesar endeavoured to capture the isle of Pharos, and so possess himself of the mole, called the *Heptastadion*, by which it was joined to the continent; but, after he had landed his troops, he was repulsed, with the loss of above 800 of his forces. Caesar himself was very near perishing in his retreat; for, finding the ship in which he endeavoured to escape ready to sink, by reason of the numbers of those who crowded into it, he threw himself into the sea, and with great difficulty swam to the next ship. Dion Cassius, Plutarch, Suetonius, and Orosius tell us, that Caesar, while he thus made his escape, carried his Commentaries, which he had then with him, in one hand, holding up the papers the whole time, lest the water should reach them, and swam with the other. When he reached the other ship, he saw, to his great concern, the vessel which he had left sink, with all those on board.

The Alexandrians, finding that the Romans were rather encouraged than disheartened by

their late loss, and were making active preparations to repair it, sent ambassadors to Caesar, demanding their king, and assuring him that his compliance with their request would allay all animosity, and put an end to the war. Caesar, though well acquainted with the subtle and deceitful character of the Alexandrians, readily complied with their request, knowing that he hazarded nothing in giving them up the person of their king; and that, if they failed in their promises, the continuation of the war, and its accompanying evils, would be laid to their charge. Before he dismissed the young prince, he exhorted him to take this opportunity of inspiring his subjects with sentiments of peace; to redress the evils which a war, very imprudently undertaken, had wrought upon his dominions; to approve himself worthy of the confidence he reposed in him by granting him his liberty; and to show himself grateful for the services he had rendered his father. Ptolemy, early instructed in the art of dissimulation and deceit, begged Caesar, with tears in his eyes, that he would not oblige him to depart, assuring him, that he had rather live with him as a private person than reign without him. The sequel showed how little sincerity there was in his tears and professions of amity. He was no sooner placed at the head of his troops, than he renewed hostilities with more vigour than ever. The first thing Ptolemy, who was entirely governed by Ganymedes, attempted, was to intercept Caesar's provisions. This gave rise to another sea-fight near Canopus, in which Caesar was again victorious. In this engagement, Euphanor, the Rhodian admiral, lost his life and his ship, after having greatly signalized himself.

When this battle was fought, Mithridates of Pergamus was upon the point of arriving with the army which he was bringing to the aid of Caesar. Mithridates had been sent into Syria and Cilicia, to assemble all the troops he could obtain, and to march them into Egypt. He acquitted himself of his commission with such diligence, that he had soon formed a considerable army. Antipater, the Idumean, contributed very much towards it. He had not only joined him with 3,000 Jews, but engaged several neighbouring princes of Arabia and Cælo-Syria, and the free cities of Phœnicia and Syria also, to send him troops. With these troops, Mithridates, attended by Antipater in person, marched into Egypt; and, on his arrival at Pelusium, took that important place by storm. This advantage was chiefly owing to Antipater; for he was the first that mounted the breach, and thereby opened the way for those who followed him, to carry the town.

From Pelusium, Mithridates advanced towards Alexandria; but as they approached the borders of the province of Onion, they found all the passes seized by the Jews, who inhabited that part of Egypt, so that it was impossible for them to proceed any farther. This obstruction would have rendered their design abortive, had not Antipater, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of Hyrcanus, (who was then at the head of the Jewish nation, and from whom he brought letters to the Jews,) prevailed upon them to espouse the cause of Caesar. Their example was

followed by the Jews of Memphis; and Mithridates was plentifully supplied by both with provisions for his army.

As Mithridates drew near the Delta, Ptolemy detached a considerable body of troops to dispute with them the passage of the Nile. This led to a battle. Mithridates put himself at the head of a part of his army, and Antipater commanded the other part. The wing which Mithridates commanded was soon obliged to give way, being attacked by the Egyptians with great fury; but, Antipater, who had defeated the enemy on his side, hastening to his relief, the battle was renewed, and the Egyptians were totally routed. The two victorious generals pursued the advantage, drove the enemy out of the field with great slaughter, and, having taken their camp, obliged those who escaped the carnage to repossess the Nile. Mithridates immediately acquainted Caesar with this victory, ascribing with great ingenuously, according to Josephus, the whole glory of it to Antipater.

Ptolemy, upon advice that the troops he had sent were defeated, advanced with his whole army against Mithridates and Antipater. At the same time, Caesar, leaving the city under the cover of the night, marched with all possible expedition to join Mithridates, before the Egyptians could fall upon him. Accordingly, he was the first who brought him intelligence of the king's design. The Egyptian army appeared soon after, and a decisive battle ensued, in which Caesar gained a complete victory. Ptolemy himself was drowned in the Nile, as he was attempting to make his escape in a boat. His body was afterwards thrown on the shore; it was known by the gold cuirass, which Julius Capitolinus informs us, the Ptolemies of Egypt used to wear. He had reigned from the death of his father Auletes, three years and eight months. It is recorded, that 20,000 Egyptians were slain in this battle, and 12,000 taken prisoners. On Caesar's side, 500 only were killed, and about 1,000 wounded. Among the latter was Antipater, who fought with great bravery, and had a great share in the victory.

In confidence of this victory, Caesar returned to Alexandria, and, entering that city without opposition, bestowed the crown of Egypt on Cleopatra, in conjunction with Ptolemy, her younger brother. This was in effect giving it to Cleopatra alone, the young prince being then but eleven years of age.

The passion which Caesar had conceived for Cleopatra was the sole motive that prompted him to embark in this dangerous and infamous war; and therefore, the enterprise having been attended with success, it is no wonder that he should take care that she should reap the advantages of his victory. Caesar was, indeed, so captivated by the charms of Cleopatra, that he remained longer in Egypt than his affairs could well admit, and very nearly to their ruin. Appian relates, that, though he had settled all matters there in January, yet he did not leave that country till the latter end of April, and that he passed his time in revels and banquets with Cleopatra and her court. He took great pleasure in diverting himself with her on the Nile, in a large galley, called *Thalamegon*, being

attended by a fleet of 400 sail. Suetonius says, that he designed to sail with her as far as Ethiopia, but that his troops refused to follow him. He meditated the design of carrying her with him to Rome, and there marrying her, after having caused a law to be passed in the comitia, by which the Roman citizens should be allowed to marry foreigners, and as many as they pleased. Helvius Cinna, the tribune of the people, declared, after the death of Caesar, that he had prepared an harangue in order to propose that law to the people, he being unable to refuse the assistance required of him by the dictator.

Before Caesar left Alexandria, in acknowledgment of the assistance he had received from the Jews, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed in that city, and commanded a column to be erected, on which all those privileges were engraved, with the decree confirming them.

The cause of Caesar's quitting Egypt and Cleopatra (by whom he had a son called Cæsarian) was, the war with Pharnaces, king of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and son of Mithridates, the last king of Pontus. The success that attended that prince in the recovery of his father's dominions, roused Caesar out of the lethargy into which Cleopatra's charms had lulled him, and called his warlike powers again into action. He left part of his forces in Egypt, to protect Cleopatra, and with the rest marched into Syria. He fought a great battle with Pharnaces, near the city of Zela, in Cappadocia, defeated his whole army, and drove him out of the kingdom of Pontus. To denote the rapidity of his conquest, in writing to one of his friends, he made use of those three well-known words, *Veni, vici, vici*: "I came, I saw, I conquered."

In the war which Caesar waged in Egypt, he had taken Arsinoë prisoner. On his return to Rome, he carried her with him, and there caused her to walk before his chariot, bound with chains of gold. After this vain display, he gave her liberty, but would not allow her to return into Egypt, lest her presence should occasion new troubles in that kingdom. The banished princess took up her residence in Asia, at least, it was there that Antony found her after the battle of Philippi, and where, at the request of Cleopatra, her sister, he caused her to be put to death.

After Caesar had departed from Egypt, B.C. 47, Cleopatra enjoyed the crown without molestation, having all the power in her own hands during the minority of her brother. But this young prince no sooner attained the fourteenth year of his age, B.C. 43, when, according to the laws of his country, he was to share the royal authority,—than she poisoned him, and remained sole queen of Egypt. Not long after, Julius Caesar being killed at Rome by conspirators, at the head of whom were Brutus and Cassius, and the celebrated triumvirate formed between Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius (Caesar), Cleopatra declared for the triumvirs, and sent to Albius the consul Dolabella's lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of the armies of Pompey and Cassius, and part of the troops which Caesar had left with her to guard Egypt. Cassius made himself master of these four legions, B.C. 42, and frequently solicited aid from Cleopatra, which she uniformly refused.

Cassius marched his army towards the frontiers of Egypt, with a design to invade that kingdom; but, Brutus requiring his aid, he desisted from the enterprise. Cleopatra, being then delivered from all fear of an invasion, sailed with a numerous fleet to join Antony and Octavius; but a violent storm occasioned the loss of many of her ships, and she, falling sick, was obliged to return into Egypt.

After the battle of Philippi, B.C. 41, Antony, having passed over into Asia, in order to establish the authority of the triumvirate there, was informed that the governors of Phœnicia, which was dependent upon the kingdom of Egypt, had sent Cassius aid against Dolabella. Upon this, he summoned the queen of Egypt to appear before him at Tarsus in Cilicia, whither he was going to assemble the states of that province. This step was fatal in its consequences to Antony. Cleopatra, assured of her charms, by the allurements she had already so successfully employed on Julius Cæsar, hoped to captivate Antony also. For this purpose, she provided herself with rich presents, large sums of money, and magnificent habits and ornaments. Thus prepared, she embarked in a stately galley, and set sail for Cilicia. Having crossed the sea of Pamphylia, she entered the Cydnus, and, sailing up that river, landed at Tarsus, where Antony waited for her.

There had never been seen in these parts a more splendid equipage than this of Cleopatra's. The stern of her ship glittered with gold, the sails were purple, and the oars inlaid with silver. A pavilion of cloth of gold was raised upon the deck, under which appeared the queen, dressed like Venus, and surrounded by many comely youths, fanning her like Cupids, and beautiful damsels, representing some the Nereids and others the Graces. The hills and dales echoed, as she sailed up the river, with the melody of various instruments; and the oars, keeping time, rendered the harmony more agreeable. The great quantity of perfumes that were burned on the deck, filled the air with the most agreeable odours to a great distance on each side of the river.

As soon as the arrival of Cleopatra was known, the citizens of all ranks went out to meet her: so that Antony, who was distributing justice, and hearing causes in the forum, saw his tribunal deserted, not a single person remaining with him but his licitors and domestics. A rumour was spread that it was the goddess Venus coming to pay a visit to Bacchus about the good of Asia; alluding to a meeting between those two deities, as described in the fanciful pages of the mythological poets.

Cleopatra was no sooner landed, than Antony sent to invite her to supper. She answered his deputies that she should be glad to regale him herself, and that she would expect him in the tents she had caused to be pitched upon the banks of the river. Antony complied with her invitation; and, in return, he invited her to an entertainment the next day, when he endeavoured, but in vain, to rival the magnificence of Cleopatra's feast.

The more Antony conversed with Cleopatra, the more he was charmed with her conversation,

still at length he was so captivated by her, that he could refuse her nothing, however repugnant to the laws of justice, humanity, or religion. She gained, indeed, such an absolute ascendancy over him, that, at her entreaty, he despatched assassins to Miletus, or, as Josephus writes, to Ephesus, with orders to murder Arminæ, her sister. This deed was executed in the temple of Diana, where she had taken refuge. So true it is, that one crime ever leads to another, and that the indulgence in vicious passions hardens the human heart. It is probable that Antony, had he been told, previously to his connexion with the wicked Cleopatra, that he would be guilty of this dark deed, would have exclaimed with Hazael of old, "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" And yet now, hardened by a giddy round of pleasures, and panting for future enjoyments of the like sinful nature, he commissions assassins to work the work of darkness without compunction. It was the voice of experience that said of the strange woman,

"Her house inclineth unto death,
And her paths unto the dead.
None that go unto her return again,
Neither take they hold of the paths of life."

Psalm. lxxv. 10.

In the meantime, Antony and Cleopatra were indulging in riot and excess. To attach him more to her person and interest, Cleopatra made daily entertainments during her stay at Tarsus, inviting him and his officers to partake of them, and spending on each occasion immense sums of money. In one of these banquets, Antony expressing surprise at the number of gold cups enriched with jewels which were displayed on every hand, Cleopatra told him, that, since he admired such trifles, he was welcome to them, and immediately ordered her servants to carry them all to his house. The next day, she invited him again, and desired him to bring with him all his officers of rank and distinction. Antony complied; and, when the banquet was over, and the company ready to depart, Cleopatra presented them with all the vessels of gold and silver used at the entertainment.*

Antony being obliged by his affairs to leave Tarsus, Cleopatra accompanied him as far as Tyre, and there, taking her leave of him, returned into Egypt; but he was so enslaved by her charms, that he could not now live without her. Having, therefore, appointed Plancus to be his lieutenant in Asia Minor, and Sextus in Syria, he hastened after her to Alexandria, where they passed their time in sports and voluptuousness, treating each other every day at a ruinous expense, forgetting that

"The house of laughter makes a house of woe."—YOUNG.
Cleopatra's whole study was to amuse Antony,

* In one of these feasts happened what Pliny, and after him Macrobius, relates of Cleopatra's profusion. The queen had two of the largest pearls in her ears that had ever been found; each of them being valued at 52,500*l.* sterling. One of these she caused to be dissolved with vinegar, and then swallowed it, in order to show how lightly she thought of such toys, and how much she could spend in one feast. She was preparing to melt the other, when Plancus, who was present, prevented her, and saved the pearl. This was afterwards carried to Rome by Augustus, and, being by his orders severed in two, served for pendants to the Venus of the Julian family.

and make him pass his hours agreeably. She never left him day or night, but was continually contriving new diversions, that he might not have leisure for reflection on his enervating mode of living, and its consequences."

Whilst Antony was thus diverted, (A. C. 39,) the news he received of the conquests of Labienus, at the head of the Parthian army, awakened him from his lethargy, and obliged him to march against these enemies. But, as he was on his way, he altered his measures, and sailed into Italy, with 200 ships, against young Octavius, with whom he was soon after reconciled, and whose sister Octavia he married. Octavia was a woman of extraordinary merit; and it was believed that Antony's alliance with her would make him forget Cleopatra. But when he resumed his march against the Parthians, his passion for the Egyptian queen displayed itself with more violence than ever. He hastened back to Alexandria, where he gave himself up to the dissolute mode of living which he had followed before while in Egypt.

On the removal of Antony from Alexandria into Syria, A. C. 38, to pursue the war against the Parthians, he left her in Egypt. Before he set out, however, he sent for Cleopatra into Syria, against the advice of all his friends. On her arrival, she influenced him to commit such flagrant acts of cruelty and injustice as rendered his name and government odious to the whole nation. Many Syrian lords were, on false pretences, put to death, that she might possess their forfeited estates.

The stay which Antony made with Cleopatra before he marched against the Parthians, and the haste he made to return to her, were the occasion of the numerous misfortunes that befel him in that unhappy expedition. On his return into Syria, A. C. 35, having with difficulty reached the borders of Armenia, instead of putting his army there into winter quarters, as his officers advised, he pursued his march over the mountainous country, then covered with snow, which, with previous hardships, so harassed his troops, that, on his arrival in Syria, he found that 60,000 had perished. He rested there in expectation of Cleopatra's arrival, and, having once more met, he passed his time in feasting and revelling, without showing any concern for the loss of his army. The queen brought with her clothes for the poor remains of his shattered troops; and a large donative, in money, was distributed in Cleopatra's name; and having thus quieted the soldiery, he returned with the queen into Egypt, where he spent the remainder of the winter in the same excess of riot as before.

Early in the spring, A. C. 34, Antony set out for Syria, designing to march from thence into Parthia. Cleopatra attended him to the banks of the Euphrates. Before he commenced his march, he bestowed on her all Cyrene, Cyprus, Caelo-Syria, Iaria, Phoenicia, with great part of Cilicia and Crete. But these provinces and kingdoms were not sufficient to satisfy her boundless ambition. She earnestly solicited him to put Herod king of Judaea, and Malchus king of Arabia Petraea, to death, that she might possess their kingdoms likewise. This Antony had the moral courage to refuse—or, rather, it is probable that

he feared the result; but to appease her, he gave her that part of the kingdom of Malchus which bordered upon Egypt, and the territory of Jericho, belonging to Herod, with the balsam gardens. These grants gave great offence to the Roman people, and estranged their minds from Antony, from which time his ruin was determined.

In the meantime, A. C. 33, Antony, having, in defiance of the most sacred oaths and solemn promises, taken Ariabanes, king of Armenia, prisoner, and reduced all that country, was preparing to return into Egypt. Before he left Armenia, he concerted a union between Alexander, one of his sons by Cleopatra, and a daughter of the king of Media; and then, putting his army into winter quarters in Armenia and the neighbouring countries, he hastened back to Alexandria. He entered this city in a triumphal chariot, causing the booty he had seized, and the king, his wife, and children, with other persons of distinction, to be carried before him, in the same manner as in the triumphs at Rome. Cleopatra waited for Antony in the forum, being seated on a golden throne, which was placed on a scaffold overlaid with silver, and surrounded by the chief men in the kingdom. The captives were presented to her in golden chains, and they were directed to kneel before her; but not one submitted to such a degrading obedience. When the news of this triumph was brought to Rome, the citizens, who looked upon the ceremony as peculiarly of Roman origin, conceived an implacable hatred to Antony for carrying it into Egypt to gratify a woman of such infamous character.

A few days after, Antony, having entertained at an immense charge all the people of Alexandria, summoned them to meet in the gymnasium; and there, being seated on a throne of gold, and Cleopatra by him on another, he made an oration, wherein he proclaimed Caesarion, the son of Cleopatra and Julius Cæsar, king of Egypt and Cyprus, in conjunction with his mother. As he himself had three children by the same Cleopatra; namely, Alexander, Ptolemy, whom he surnamed Philadelphus, and Cleopatra, at the same time he gave to Alexander, Armenia, Media, Parthia, and the eastern countries, from the Euphrates to India, when they should be subdued; to Cleopatra, the twin sister of Alexander, Libya and Cyrene; and to Philadelphus, Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, and all the countries of Asia Minor, from the Euphrates to the Hellespont, conferring on each of them the title of "king of kings." Antony also obliged Cleopatra to take the name of Isis, assuming to himself that of Osiris; the former being the chief goddess, and the latter the chief god, of the Egyptians. From thenceforward, says Dion Cassius, they both affected to appear in public in the habit peculiar to those deities. But these follies lessened the character of Antony in the sight of all the right-thinking men, and daily alienated more and more the affections of the Romans from his person and cause, which Octavius Cæsar made use of to hasten his ruin.

As soon as the season allowed him to take the field, Antony marched into Armenia, in order

to act against the Parthians. He had advanced as far as the banks of the Araxes, when the news was brought him, that Cæsar had stirred up the people of Rome against him, and was making preparations, as though he designed to come to an open rupture with him. Upon this news, he abandoned the Parthian expedition, and sent Canidius, one of his lieutenants, with sixteen legions, to the coast of the Ionian sea, and he himself soon after followed, and joined them at Ephesus.

In this journey, he carried Cleopatra with him; which proved his ruin. His friends advised him to send her back to Alexandria, till the event of the war should be known. But the queen used all her arts to prevent such an occurrence. She was fearful that, in her absence, Antony would listen to an accommodation with Octavius Cæsar, and that he would again receive Octavia. She therefore gained Canidius, by presents, to speak in her favour to Antony, and to represent to him, that it was neither just to remove her from the war, who had contributed so largely towards the defraying of its expenses, nor useful to himself; because her departure would discourage the Egyptians, of whom the greatest part of his maritime forces consisted. It was represented, besides, that Antony might with great safety depend upon and follow Cleopatra's advice in the most important and difficult affairs. Antony was easily persuaded that Cleopatra's presence was necessary, and therefore repaired with her from Ephesus to Samos, spending his life in luxury, pomp, and voluptuousness.

As Antony was well acquainted with the treacherous character of Cleopatra, about this time he entertained suspicions, notwithstanding the passion she professed for him, that she had thoughts of poisoning him; and therefore he would not touch any dish at their banquets, till it had been tasted by others. The queen, being apprised of his fears, in order to convince him that they were ill-founded, and at the same time to convince him that if she harboured designs of that nature, no precaution could guard him against them, caused the flowers of which the garlands, used in public feasts according to ancient custom, were composed, to be dipped in poison. When Antony began to be heated with wine, Cleopatra proposed drinking the flowers of their garlands, and Antony, falling in with the idea, threw some of them into the cup, and was upon the point of drinking it, when the queen, seizing his arm, told him that the flowers were poisoned, and that she, against whom he took such mighty precautions, had prepared the poison. She added, that if she could live without him, she could easily get rid of him. Then calling for a criminal condemned to die, she caused him to drink the liquor, upon which he died immediately; so lightly could this wicked woman play with the instruments of death.

Antony now removed from Samos to Athens. While here, being informed that Octavius Cæsar was still stirring up the people of Rome against him, he called together his chief officers, by whose advice he declared war against his adversary, and, at the same time, sent a bill of divorce to Octavia, with messengers to drive her

by force out of his house at Rome. His preparations for war were so far advanced, that, if he had attacked his rival without loss of time, the advantage would, doubtless, have been on his own side, Octavius Cæsar not being then in a condition to make head against him, either by sea or land. But Antony, to gratify his luxury, deferred taking the field to the next year, and continued to banquet and revel with Cleopatra at Athens, as in times of peace. He never appeared in public without her. Even when he administered justice on his tribunal in the forum, Cleopatra was placed on a throne by him; and he often followed her on foot among the eunuchs, while she was drawn in a stately chariot. The ascendancy she had gained over him, inspired her with hopes of becoming one day queen of Rome; for it is said that her usual oath was, "As I hope to give law in the capitol."

The deputies sent by Antony to Rome to declare his divorce from Octavia, fulfilled their commission. That virtuous woman, though sensible of the indignity heaped upon her, stifled her resentment, and answered the deputies only with her tears; and, unjust as his orders were, she obeyed them, and removed with her children. She even strove to appease the people, whom so base an action had incensed against him, and endeavoured to soften the rage of Octavius Cæsar. She represented to them, that it was beneath the dignity of the Roman people to enter into such petty differences; that it was only a quarrel between women; that she should be very wretched if she were the occasion of a new war; and that she had consented to her marriage with Antony, solely from the hope that it would prove the pledge of a union between him and Octavius Cæsar. Her remonstrances had the reverse effect from her intentions; the people still more commiserated her, and detested Antony more than before.

Nothing enraged them so much as the will which Antony made and deposited in the hands of the vestal virgins. This secret was revealed by two persons of consular dignity, who, not being able to endure the pride of Cleopatra and the abandoned voluptuousness of Antony, had retired to Octavius Cæsar; as they had witnessed this will, they revealed the secret to him. The vestals made great difficulty in giving up an instrument confided to their care, alleging as their excuse, the faith of trusts, which they were obliged to observe. The will, however, on the authority of the comitia, was brought into the forum, and these three articles were read in it: I. That Antony acknowledged Cæsarion as lawful son of Julius Cæsar. II. That he appointed his sons by Cleopatra to be his heirs, with the title of "king of kings." III. That he decreed, in case he should die at Rome, that his body, after having been carried in pomp through the city, should be laid the same evening in a bed of state, and sent to Cleopatra, to whom he left the care of his interment. Some authors believe this will to have been forged by his rival, to render Antony more odious in the sight of the people.

When Octavius Cæsar had prepared his forces, he also declared war; but he caused it to be decreed only against Cleopatra, to avoid offending

the friends of Antony, who were still numerous and powerful at Rome.

Antony now returned to Samos, where his fleet was assembled. This consisted of 500 ships of war of large dimensions, having several decks one above another, with high towers upon the head and stern. So numerous were the crews required for managing these ponderous vessels, that Antony was obliged to take husbandmen, artificers, muleteers, etc., who were ill-adapted to do him service. On board, it is said, there were 200,000 foot, and 12,000 horse. The kings of Libya, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Comagena, and Thrace, were there in person; and those of Pontus, Judea, Lycæmia, Galatia, and Media, had sent their troops. A more splendid sight, says the ancient historian, could not be seen than this fleet when it had unfurled its sails to the wind. Cleopatra's galley was magnificent. It glittered with gold; its sails were of purple; and its flags and streamers floated in the breeze, whilst trumpets and other instruments of war made the air resound with their martial music. That queen,

"while yet elate
With wine, breathed ruin to the Roman state
Surrounded by a tainted train
Of men, effeminate and vain,
She raved of empire—nothing less—
Vast in her hopes, and giddy with success."
HORACE.

But her career was now drawing to a close. Her race of iniquity was nearly run; and she was about to prove to mankind, through successive generations, that vice sooner or later is always attended with misery, that ambition must mingle with the dust. She had been an instrument of destruction to many, not excepting those of her own kindred; and, by a righteous retribution, she was now to fall by her own hands.

Antony and Octavius Cæsar, as soon as the season would permit, A.C. 31, took the field, both by sea and land. The two fleets entered the Ambracian Gulf in Epirus. That belonging to Cæsar was less imposing than Antony's. It contained only 250 ships, and 80,000 foot, with 12,000 horse. But all his troops were chosen men, and on board his fleet were none but good seamen. The most experienced officers under Antony advised him not to hazard a battle by sea; to send back Cleopatra, and to hasten into Thrace or Macedonia, in order to carry on the war by land. They argued, that his army was composed of good troops, and much superior in numbers; and that a fleet so ill-manned as his, how numerous soever it might be, could not be relied upon. But Antony was deaf to this advice, and acted only to please Cleopatra. That queen, who judged solely from appearances, believed her fleet invincible, and that Octavius Cæsar's ships could not approach it without being destroyed. She perceived, also, that, in case of misfortune, it would be easier for her to escape by sea than land.

This memorable battle was fought upon the second of September, at the mouth of the Gulf of Ambracia, near the city of Actium, in sight of both of the land armies, the one being stationed

on the north, and the other on the south side of the straits, awaiting the issue of the battle. The contest was for some time doubtful. At length, Cleopatra, frightened with the noise of the battle, which appeared very dreadful to her, betook herself to flight, and drew after her the whole Egyptian squadron, consisting of sixty ships. Antony, seeing her fly, regardless of himself, followed her precipitately, and yielded the victory to his rival. The particulars of this battle belong to the history of Rome; it is sufficient here to touch only upon such circumstances as concern Egypt.

The next day, Octavius Cæsar, seeing his victory complete, detached a squadron in pursuit; but they could not overtake the fugitives. The Egyptian fleet steered their course towards the Peloponnesus, and it arrived safely at Tænarus, in Laconia. Antony had been, by Cleopatra's orders, taken on board her ship, but had not seen her during the voyage. On his first entering it, he sat down in the prow; and there, leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, he remained in that posture, reflecting with profound melancholy upon his ill-conduct and his consequent misfortunes. When they arrived at Tænarus, however, he was recoiled to Cleopatra, and lived with her as usual. He was so bewitched, says Plutarch, by this woman, that his affection for her continued unabated even to this time, when he had all the reason in the world to abhor and detest her, she having been the cause of his ruin.

From Tænarus, Cleopatra took the route of Alexandria, and Antony that of Libya, where he had left a considerable army to guard the frontiers of that country. Upon his landing, he was informed that Scarpus, who commanded this army, had declared for Octavius Cæsar, as well as that under the command of Canidius, who had witnessed his defeat at the Gulf of Ambracia. He was so astounded at this news, that, had he not been prevented by his friends, he would have destroyed himself. The only resolution, therefore, he could now take, was to follow Cleopatra to Alexandria, where she had now arrived.

When that wicked princess gained the port of Alexandria, she was afraid, if her misfortune should be known, that she should be refused entrance. To avoid this disaster, she had recourse to craft. She entered the harbour with crowns on the prows of her ships, to give an idea that she had obtained some signal victory. By this means, she was admitted into the city; and she had no sooner landed, than she caused many who had influence and were adverse to her, to be put to death, lest they should excite seditions against her when informed of her defeat.

Soon after, A.C. 30, she formed another extraordinary design. To avoid falling into the hands of Octavius Cæsar, who she foresaw would follow her into Egypt, she designed to have her ships in the Mediterranean carried over the isthmus, a distance of seventy miles, into the Red Sea. In these ships she placed all her treasures, intending to go in quest of some other place to settle, out of the reach of the enemy. But the Arabians, who inhabited that coast, having, at the instigation of Q. Didius, who had

ained Syria for Octavius Cæsar, burned all the ships she had there, she was compelled to abandon the enterprise.

Cleopatra now changed her resolution and her plans. And in this change we behold the depths of human depravity. She looked upon Octavius Cæsar now as her conqueror; and, in order to save herself, and to satisfy her ambition, she resolved to sacrifice Antony at this unhallowed shrine. His misfortunes had also rendered him odious to her; so true it is, that prosperity is no just criterion, but adversity is the true test, of friendship. Cleopatra did not, however, openly profess her wicked designs. She concealed her sentiments from him, and persuaded him to send ambassadors to Cæsar, to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. She even joined her ambassadors with Antony's; but she gave them private instructions to treat separately for herself, and sent to Cæsar, a sceptre, a crown, and a chair of gold; resigning, as it were, all her power and authority to him. Cæsar accepted Cleopatra's presents, and returned her ambassadors answer, that, if the queen would lay down her arms, and resign her kingdom, he should then consider whether she ought to be treated with rigour or mercy; but privately he promised her impunity, and even the kingdom, if she would sacrifice Antony. As for the ambassadors of Antony, he would not so much as see them, though they delivered up to him, as a present from their master, Q. Turullius, a senator, one of the murderers of Cæsar, and Antony's intimate friend.

Antony, after his return from Libya, had retired into a country house, which he had caused to be erected on the banks of the Nile, in order to enjoy the conversation of two of his friends, who claved to him in his adversity. It might have been expected, that he would have banished from his thoughts the cause of all his misfortunes while in this retreat; but his passion for Cleopatra, which they had only suspended, soon resumed its former empire. He returned to Alexandria, and abandoned himself to her charms as heretofore; and, with the design to please her, he sent deputies again to Octavius Cæsar, to demand life of him, upon the ignoble condition of passing it at Athens as a private person, if Cæsar would assure Egypt to Cleopatra and her children.

This second deputation met with the same reception as the former; and Antony now endeavoured to extinguish the sense of present misfortunes, and the apprehension of the future, by abandoning himself to feasting and voluptuousness. Cleopatra and himself now regaled each other alternately, and strove with emulation to exceed each other in the magnificence of their banquets. They saw destruction staring them in the face, and drowned the idea of it in sinful pleasures.

Antony sent a third embassy to Octavius Cæsar, accompanied by his own son, with a large present of money for the conqueror. Cæsar took the present; but he sent him back his son without any answer, though Antony had, among other propositions, offered to destroy himself, if Cæsar would engage that the kingdom of Egypt should be given to Cleopatra's children.

As Octavius Cæsar was desirous of possessing Cleopatra's person and treasures, the former for the adornment of his triumph, and the latter for the discharge of his debts contracted in the war, he sent her several messages, promising to treat her with kindness, if she would destroy Antony. This she refused to do; but she promised to deliver him and her kingdom into his hands.

In the meantime, foreseeing what must eventually happen, Cleopatra collected all kinds of poison, to prove which of them occasioned death with the least pain. The experiment was made upon criminals condemned to death. Having observed that the strongest poisons caused death the soonest, but with great torment, and that those of less power brought on a lingering death, she tried the biting of venomous creatures, and caused various kinds of serpents to be applied to different persons. She discovered, at length, that the asp was the only one that caused neither torture nor convulsions; merely throwing the person bitten by it into an immediate stupefaction, attended with a slight perspiration, and a numbness of the organs of sense, so that those in that condition were angry when any one disturbed them, like people oppressed by sleep. This was the death this wicked woman calmly fixed upon, to end her troubled life: showing herself, thereby, fearful of a little pain of body, while, at the same time, she was regardless of everlasting punishment and woe.

To dispel the suspicions of Antony, Cleopatra applied herself with more than ordinary solicitude in pleasing him. Though she celebrated her own birthday with little solemnity, she kept that of Antony with unusual magnificence,—so that many of the guests who came poor to the feast, went away rich.

Octavius Cæsar, knowing the importance of completing his victory, marched in the beginning of the spring, *n.c.* 30, into Syria, and from thence he hastened to Pelusium. He summoned the governor to open the gates to him; and Seleucus, who commanded there, having received secret orders from Cleopatra, surrendered the city without sustaining a siege. The rumour of this treason soon spread in the city; but Cleopatra, to clear herself of the accusation, placed the wife and children of Seleucus in Antony's hands, in order that he might revenge his treachery by putting them to death.

Reader! such conduct as this makes one blush for the honour of human nature. In this one woman, the most odious vices were united. An avowed disregard of modesty, breach of faith, injustice, cruelty, and the false exterior of a deceitful friendship, which covers a fixed design of delivering up to his enemy the person she affects to love. Such are the effects of ambition, her predominant vice. At that unhallowed shrine, she sacrificed all that adorns and makes the human, and especially the female, character lovely. Well has the poet said of this destructive vice,

"Ambition! powerful source of good and ill!
Thy strength in man, like length of wing in birds,
When disengag'd from earth, with greater ease
And swifter flight, transports us to the skies.
By joys entangled, or in guilt benighted,
At turns a curse; it is our chain, and scourge,

In this dark dungeon, where confined we lie,
 Chase granted by the scold's bare of sense;
 All prospect of eternity shut out;
 And, but for execution, we're not free."—YOUNG.

Adjoining to the temple of Isis, Cleopatra had caused tombs and halls to be erected, of great size, and magnificent in construction. There she ordered her most precious effects and movables to be deposited—her gold, silver, jewels, ebony, ivory, and a large quantity of perfumes and aromatic wood; as though she intended to raise a funeral pile, upon which she would consume herself with her treasures. Octavius Caesar, apprehending this would be the result, despatched messengers to her every day, in order to give her hopes of generous treatment. At the same time, he advanced towards the city by forced marches.

On his arrival, Octavius Caesar encamped near the Hippodrome; hoping to make himself master of the city, not so much by the aid of his forces, as by the secret intelligence which he held with Cleopatra. Antony, not mistrusting the queen, prepared for a vigorous defence. He sallied out upon the enemy's horse while yet they were wearied with their march, and, having entirely defeated them, returned victorious into the city. This was the last effort of expiring valour; for, after this exploit, his fortitude forsook him. He made, indeed, another sally; but he was repulsed with great loss,—the Egyptians having, by Cleopatra's private orders, abandoned him in the heat of the engagement. His friends at this time assured him that Cleopatra was betraying him, and maintaining a secret correspondence with the enemy; but this excited his anger against them; and he replied, that if those who affected to be his friends proved as faithful to him as Cleopatra, he could put a speedy end to the war.

Antony was soon undeceived. The next morning, he went down to the harbour, resolving to attack Octavius Caesar by sea and land. But the signal was no sooner given for the engagement, than Cleopatra's admiral, followed by all the Egyptian fleet, by her orders, went over to Caesar. Upon this, he hastened back to his land army, which he had drawn up on some eminence within the city, and he found that they had all, both horse and foot, deserted to the enemy. His eyes were now opened. In this extremity, not knowing whom to confide in, and having no forces to oppose the enemy, he sent to challenge Caesar to a single combat; but this only drew down upon him the scorn and derision of the conqueror. He was answered that, if he was weary of life, there were other ways of putting a period to it. Antony now flew, full of rage and despair, to the palace, with a design of slaying the perfidious queen. In this, also, he was thwarted. The artful woman, foreseeing what would happen, retired into the quarter where the tombs of the kings of Egypt were erected, and which was strongly fortified. There, with two of her maids, and one of her eunuchs, she shut herself up, and caused it to be reported that she had killed herself, to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy. The credulous Antony believed the report, and, passing from an excess

of rage to the most violent transports of grief, thought only of following her to the grave.

Having taken this desperate resolution, the thought of which makes humanity shudder, he shot himself up in his apartment with a faithful slave called Eros; and, having caused his armour to be taken off, he commanded him to run him through with his own sword. But the slave, full of affection, respect, and fidelity for his master, stabbed himself with it, and fell dead at his feet. Antony, encouraged by his example, fell upon his own sword, and gave himself the wound of which he afterwards died. At that moment, an officer of the queen's guards came to inform him that she was alive. The name of Cleopatra was no sooner pronounced, than he opened his eyes; and, being informed that she was still living, he suffered his wounds to be dressed, and afterwards caused himself to be carried to the tower, whither she had retired. Cleopatra would not suffer the gates to be opened for fear of a surprise; but she ordered her servants below to fasten him to the ropes which hung from the top of the fort, and were made use of to pull up stones, that part not being finished. By this means Antony reached the apartment of Cleopatra. As soon as she had taken him in, she laid him on a bed; and, after having expressed her grief and concern in the most tender and affecting terms, she cut off his hair, according to the superstitious notion of the pagans, who imagined that it gave relief to those who died a violent death.

Antony, recovering his senses, and seeing Cleopatra's affliction, told her, that he considered himself happy, since he died in her arms; and as to his defeat, he was not ashamed of it, since it was no dishonour to a Roman to be conquered by a Roman. He then advised her to consult her own interest; to save her life and kingdom, if she could do it with honour; and to trust none of the friends of Octavius Caesar, except Proculeius. With these words, he expired. The lesson his life holds out to us, is, not to listen to the siren voice of pleasure, lest it should beguile us from the paths of moral rectitude, and lead us to destruction. Antony, had he been deaf to its enchantments, at the time of his death might have been master of all Rome, and the world as known to the Romans; but madly following an enervating course of life, his power grew daily weaker and weaker, till at length he was hunted by his foes like a partridge on the mountains, unable to defend himself from his pursuers. And how many are there lost to all eternity, who have been ruined by the sinful pleasures of earth! Well has it been said, that the pleasures which this earth affords are as voices which sing around us, but whose strains allure to ruin; that they are a banquet spread where poison is in every dish; and a couch which invites us to repose, but to sleep on it is death.

"Pleasures are fled, and fewer we enjoy,
 Pleasure, like quicksilver, is bright and gay;
 We strive to grasp it with our utmost skill;
 Still it eludes us, and it glitters still;
 If seized at last, complete your mighty gains;
 What is it but rank poison in your veins."—YOUNG

Reader! it has been wisely remarked, that the pleasures of sense will surfeit, and not satisfy; but the pleasures of religion will satisfy, and not

sacred. Make these your portion on earth, and they will be continued to you in heaven.

As soon as Antony had expired, Proculeius arrived from Octavius Cæsar. This noble Roman could not refrain from tears at the relation of what had passed, and at the sight of the sword still reeking with the blood of Antony. The queen remained in the fort, and refused to surrender herself to him, unless he would promise her, in Cæsar's name, both the kingdom of Egypt and her liberty. These were terms which he could not grant; for Octavius Cæsar, having a desire to carry her in triumph to Rome, had warned him not to promise her anything that could prevent him from treating her as a captive. They held a long conference, Cleopatra standing within, and Proculeius without. But, Proculeius exhorting her only in general terms to confide in Cæsar, she broke off the conference abruptly, and retired.

After having considered the place well, Proculeius went to make his report to Octavius Cæsar; and Gallus was immediately sent to confer with her again. In the meanwhile, Proculeius brought a ladder to the wall, and entered the fort by the same window through which Antony was drawn up, and, followed by two officers, went down to the gate where Cleopatra was conferring with Gallus. When she saw him unexpectedly appear, she drew a dagger, with a design to kill herself; but Proculeius, hastening to her, forced it out of her hands before she could carry her intention into effect. He afterwards searched her robes, lest she should have any weapon or poison concealed in them; and, having exhorted her to be of good cheer, and to confide in Cæsar's clemency, he sent to acquaint him that the queen of Egypt was his prisoner. Overjoyed at the news, he sent Epaphroditus, one of his freed men, to guard her carefully, and prevent her from making any attempt upon her own life; enjoining him at the same time to treat her with complacency and respect.

In the meantime, Octavius Cæsar, leaving his camp, drew near to Alexandria, and, finding the gates opened, entered it conversing with Arius, a philosopher, and a native of the city, who had been his preceptor. Having arrived at the palace, he ascended a tribunal, which he had caused to be erected there; and, seeing the people prostrate upon the ground, he first commanded them to rise, and then, in an elegant harangue, he told them that he pardoned them for three reasons: 1. Upon the account of Alexander, the founder of their city; 2. For the beauty of their city; and 3. For the sake of Arius, for whose merit and learning he had great esteem.

Octavius Cæsar, being now in possession of Alexandria, sent Proculeius to comfort the queen, and to ask her in his name whether she had any request to make to him? Cleopatra, returning many thanks to Cæsar, replied, that she had but one favour to beg of him, which was, that he would give her leave to bury Antony. This was granted; and permission was given her to perform the funeral obsequies with all possible splendour, and to spend what sums she pleased. She availed herself of this permission; for she spared no cost to render his interment magnificent, according to the custom of

Egypt. She caused his body to be embalmed with the most exquisite odours of the east, and placed it in the tombs of the kings of Egypt.

As this ceremony renewed her grief, she was seized with a fever, which she gladly embraced as a pretence to abstain from food, and thereby end her life. She imparted her design to her physician, who approved of it; but Cæsar, being informed of her indisposition, sent physicians to her, whom he could confide in, and, by threats against her children, prevailed upon her to follow their prescriptions.

When Cleopatra was in some measure restored to health, he sent Proculeius to acquaint her that he should be glad to wait upon her, if she would permit him. Though greatly disfigured by illness and grief, yet she did not despair of inspiring the young conqueror with sentiments of tenderness and love, as she had formerly done Julius Cæsar and Antony. She was therefore pleased to find that he intended to pay her a visit; and, as soon as he entered her room, she threw herself at his feet, and afterwards, in laying before him the state of her affairs, exerted all her charms in the hope of conquering her conqueror. But, whether her charms had no longer the same power, or that ambition was his ruling passion, her beauty and her conversation were lost upon him. He kept his eyes steadfastly fixed on the ground; and, when she had ceased speaking, he returned her this laconic answer: "Woman, be of good cheer; you shall have no harm done you."

Cleopatra was not insensible of this coldness, and she presaged no good from it; but, dissembling her concern, and changing her discourse, she thanked him for the compliments Proculeius had made her in his name, and which he had confirmed in person; adding, that, in token of her gratitude, she intended to deliver up to him all the treasures of the kings of Egypt. Accordingly, she put an inventory into his hands, purporting to be an account of all her revenues. Seleucus, one of her treasurers then present, accused her of having concealed part of her most valuable effects; upon which, she flew upon him with great violence, striking him several blows in the face. Then, turning towards Cæsar, "Is it not very hard," says she, "that, while you have condescended to visit me in my present condition, one of my own servants should thus insult me in your presence? It is true, I have reserved some jewels, but they are not to adorn my own person: they are reserved for your sister Octavia, and your wife Livia, that by their intercession you may treat an unfortunate princess with favour and kindness."

Octavius Cæsar was pleased to hear her talk in this strain, imagining that the love of life inspired her with such language. He told her she might dispose of the jewels she preserved as she pleased; and, after having assured her that he would treat her with more generosity and magnificence than she could venture to hope, he withdrew, convinced in his own mind that she was deceived.

Octavius Cæsar, however, was himself deceived. Not doubting that she was intended to grace the conqueror's triumph when he returned to Rome, she had no other thoughts than to avoid that ignominy by self-murder. She knew

that she was observed by the guards that attended her, and that her time in Egypt was short, the conqueror being about to return to Rome. She sent, therefore, to desire that she might go to pay her last duty at the tomb of Antony, and take her leave of him. Caesar granted her request; and she went thither, and bathed his tomb with her tears. There, it is said, addressing the lifeless corpse, she declared that she would soon give Antony a more certain proof of her affection.

After that fatal protestation, which she accompanied with sighs and tears, she covered the tomb with flowers, and returned to her chamber. She then went into a bath; and from the bath she went to the table, having directed it to be served in a sumptuous manner. In the height of the mirth, she rose from table; and, having written a letter to Caesar, she gave it to Epaphroditus, begging he would deliver it himself, since it contained matters of the utmost consequence. But this was only a pretence to send Epaphroditus, who kept a watchful eye over her, out of the way. When he was gone, she withdrew to her room, attended by two of her women; and, having there dressed herself in her robes, she sat down upon a couch, and asked for a basket of figs, which one of her servants had brought her in the disguise of a peasant.

Among these figs was concealed an asp, which venomous creature Cleopatra applied to her left arm, and, quickly falling as it were asleep, expired; and thus awfully hastened her approach to judgment.

The subject of the letter to Caesar was, to request him that he would suffer her to be buried in the same tomb with Antony. From this he guessed her designs, and immediately despatched some of his friends to see what had happened, and to prevent her, if still alive, from making any attempts on her own life. The messengers found the guards standing at the gates, mistrusting nothing; but, when they entered her apartment they found her dead. Horace represents her as being too haughty to suffer herself to be led in triumph at the wheels of the victor's chariot. He says:

"With fearless hands she dared to grasp
The writhings of the watchful asp,
And sork the poison through her veins,
Resolved on death, and sweet from its pains,
Then, scornful to be led, the boat
Of mighty Caesar's naval host,
And arm'd with more than mortal spleen,
Defrauds a triumph, and expires a queen."

This may have been Cleopatra's motive for this appalling deed; but we must look upon her end as the just retribution of Divine Providence for her wicked conduct through life. The reader cannot, indeed, fail to have observed, in the perusal of the latter portion of this history, that punishment ever awaited the evil-doer. The kings and queens of Egypt trampled upon justice, and sported with the lives of their subjects, for many a long year; but the mischief they designed for others, in the end returned upon their own heads. Surely these facts are a lively comment upon the Divine Providence as noted by the psalmist, "Verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth." *Ps. lvi. 11.* He had marked the iniquities of this infamous woman—infamous,

indeed, beyond the vilest of her race—and a signal fall was hence designed to be her portion, that generations unborn might fear to provoke his displeasure; for such is one grand design in the judgments inflicted upon individuals for their sins; and that, not only where He is loved and feared, but among the nations that call not upon his holy name.

Cleopatra died at thirty-nine years of age, of which she had reigned twenty-two from the death of her father. After her death, Egypt was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, and governed by a prefect, sent thither from Rome. The reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, if its commencement is dated from the death of Alexander the Great, had continued 293 years; from *B.C.* 323, to *A.D.* 30, when it was finally subverted.

In laying down this history, one great truth must be impressed upon the mind of the reader—that of the mutability of all earthly things. He has seen a great nation arise from our small family, and that great nation perish, after many changes, almost entirely from under the sun. He has seen monarch succeed monarch, and either from violence or natural causes lay each his head low in the dust. He has seen pyramids, and temples, and palaces, and cities, erected by the art and labour of man, as though they would emulate the height of the blue vault of heaven, and defy the utmost shock of time; and then moulder away, as though they had not been. He has seen generation succeed to generation—one race of rulers succeed to another race of rulers, until all have blended with their mother earth. He has seen the mighty striving for the mastery with the mighty, and then has beheld them forgetting the deadly strife, and lying down in the cold tomb. He has seen the oppressor and the oppressed bow their heads alike to the stroke of the one common tyrant of the whole human race—Death! Yes, reader,

"All has its date below: the fatal hour
Was register'd in heaven ere time began.
We turn to dust, and all our mightiest works
But to the deep foundations that we lay,
Time ploughs them up, and not a trace remains.
We build with what we deem eternal rock:
A distant age asks where the fabric stood,
And in the dust, sifted and search'd in vain,
The undiscoverable secret sleeps."—*COWPER.*

Happy are they whose hopes are fixed on Christ; "for other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." *1 Cor. iii. 11.* Let the world change as it may, and vary itself, as it ever doth, in storms and calms; their rest is pitched aloft, far, far above the sphere of changeable and perishing mortality!

These truths are also impressed upon our minds by the subsequent history of Egypt: at the same time, it affords a lively comment upon the prediction which declares, that Egypt should become the "basest of kingdoms." It was oppressed, irritated, and depopulated, under the dominion of the Romans, till the Mohammedan conquest, *A.D.* 638. At that date, under the caliphate of Omar Egypt was invaded by Amer

Ebnel As, who took Pelusium and Babylon of Egypt, a strong Roman station, after a siege of seven months. From thence he advanced to Memphis, which John Meccakes, governor for the Byzantine emperor, treacherously surrendered, and the Copts agreed to pay tribute, or a capitation tax, to the caliph. Alexandria also was captured, and the whole country as far as Syene reduced to a province of the caliphate. In the year 868, Ahmed ebn é Tooloon, governor of Egypt for the Abbaside caliph, usurped the dominion of the country, which lasted till 906, when the caliph retook Egypt. In 912, Adayd Allah el Mahdee invaded Egypt, which he retained till 934, when he was defeated by the forces of the caliph. Two years after, El Akhsheh Mohammed ebn Tugb, a Turkish chief, in the service of the caliph, usurped the government of Egypt, and began a new dynasty, which lasted till 970, when the Fatimeh, who ruled in Africa, took possession of the country. These Fatemite caliphs ruled over Egypt till the period of the crusades, A.D. 1171, when the Kurd Salah é deen Yoosef ebn Eyoob founded the dynasty of the Eyoobites, which existed till 1250. At this period, El Moez, a Turkoman memlook, or slave, after murdering Touran Shah, usurped the throne, and founded the dynasty of the Baharite sultans. Baybars, a memlook, also assassinated his master in 1261, or 1262, and made himself sultan of Egypt. His descendants ruled under the title of Baharite Memlook Meleka, or sultans, till 1382, when Dowlet el Memeleek el Borgéeh, a Circassian slave, founded the dynasty of the Borgéeh, or Circassian memlooks, which lasted till 1517, when Selim I., the Ottoman sultan, defeated the memlooks at Heliopolis, and caused Toman Bey, the last of their rulers, to be hanged at Cairo. The memlooks, however, still retained power in Egypt. Selim, indeed, made conditions with the memlooks, by a treaty, in which he acknowledged Egypt as a republic,

governed by twenty-four beys, tributary to him and his successors, who appointed a pacha, or governor, to reside at Cairo. The beys were to elect from among themselves a sheikh of Belad, to be their head, who was looked upon by the Porte as the chief of the republic, or the memlook aristocracy. This latter body was to enjoy absolute power over the inhabitants of Egypt. They were permitted by this treaty, which was signed A.D. 1517, to levy taxes, keep a military force, raise money, and exercise all the rights of sovereignty.

Egypt remained under this form of government till the French invasion, 1798, when Napoleon, under the pretence of delivering the country from the power of the memlooks, took possession of it. He was expelled from thence in 1801; and the pacha appointed by the sultan, was restored to his government. The memlooks and the pacha, however, could not agree; and, at length, Mohammed Ali collected most of the beys, with their principal officers, within the citadel of Cairo, where he caused them all to be massacred. This occurred A.D. 1811. A few escaped into Upper Egypt, from whence they were driven into Nubia; and finally, the few who survived, took refuge in Darfur. This was the end of the memlook power, which had ruled over Egypt for more than 400 years, and under whose power the country had suffered more than during any other period of its history.

Such are the vicissitudes to which Egypt has been subjected, such the manner in which it has been scourged. Other changes futurity will develop; and He only who has pronounced a woe upon the land, knows what those changes will be. Reader! ponder upon these things, and, in the spirit of fear and love,

"Adoring stand before His throne,
And his dread power and justice own."

THE
DYNASTIES
OF
EGYPTIAN MONARCHS,
ACCORDING TO MANETHO

THE AUTHORITY OF AFRICANUS AND EUSEBIUS.

FIRST BOOK OF MANETHO.

I. DYNASTY

Of eight kings, either Thinites, or Thebaus.

	Yes
1. Menes the Thinite.....	62
2. Aahotbis, his son, built the palace at Memphis, and wrote the anatomical books, being a physician.....	57
3. Cencenes (Aenkerres) his son.....	51
4. Venephes (Enephos, or Venephores,) his son, raised pyramids near the town of Cochohe. A great plague in Egypt during his reign.....	23
5. Usaphaedus (Naphiadus, or Usaphas,) his son.....	20
6. Miebidas (Niebis, or Niebats,) his son.....	26
7. Semempes (Semempes, or Menepes,) his son. A pestilence raged in Egypt.....	15
8. Bisenaches (Uhenthes or Bilethas) his son.....	26

The sum is 263.*

Total 263

II. DYNASTY

Of nine Thinite kings.

	Yes
1. Boethus 1. (or Boehus) In his reign, the earth is said to have opened at Bubastis.....	34
2. Caeschos, (Chous or Cechous,) under whom the bulls Apis in Memphis, and Mnevis in Heliopolis, and the Mendesian goat, were appointed to be gods.....	59
3. Biethris, (or Biophas,) under whom it was enacted that females might govern a nation.....	47
4. Tias.....	17
5. Bethene.....	41
6. Chertis.....	17
7. Nephherches. Fabulists reported the Nile to have flowed with honey during eleven days.....	25

8. Sesachris.....	Yes 48
9. Cheneres (or Keneres) Name omitted by Eusebius.....	30
Lucianus gives 297 years. Total 302	

III. DYNASTY

Of nine Memphis kings

	Yes
1. Nechotophes, (Pcherophes or Necherokis) In his reign the Libyans revolted from the Egyptians.....	28
2. Tosarthus, (or Sesarthus) He introduced the mode of building with hewn stone, and patronised literature.....	20
3. Tyrus.....	7
4. Meschris.....	17
5. Sophis, (Sophus or Zophis).....	16
6. Tovertasus.....	19
7. Aches.....	42
8. Sephorus.....	30
9. Cerphorus.....	26

Eusebius gives 197 years.

Total 214

IV. DYNASTY

Of eight Memphis kings of a different branch.

	Yes
1. Boris.....	49
2. Sophis. Built the largest pyramid, ascribed by Herodotus to Cheops.....	63
3. Nuphis 11.....	68
4. Mencheres.....	63
5. Rhathoesus.....	25
6. Bieheres.....	23
7. Sabbercheres.....	7
8. Thamphis.....	9

Eusebius gives 418 years.

Total 284

* It will be observed, that there are some discrepancies in the number of years which some of the dynasties are said to have existed, and the sum total, when correctly cast. Where these occur, the proper sum is given in connexion with the original numbers.

V. DYNASTY

Of nine Elephantine kings.

	Yrs.
1. Userchebs Eusebius reck-	26
2. Sephtes onas 31 Elephan-	12
3. Nephtherches (or Nephtheres) tine kings, but	20
4. Hestres (or Hestichis) omits all their	7
5. Theres (or Echeres) names, and in-	20
6. Rastures (or Kathuris) troduces Othius	44
7. Mencheres (or Merchetes) and Phiops into	9
8. Tacheres (or Tachetes) this dynasty	44
9. Obnus Unus, (or Onnus) 33	

The sum is 215.

Total 245

VI. DYNASTY

Of six Memphite kings.

	Yrs.
1. Othoes, (Othius, or Thoes,) killed by his guards....	30
2. Phiops 53	
3. Methusaphis 7	
4. Phiops (or Aphops,) who began to reign at the age of six years 94	
5. Menthusaphis 1	
6. Nitocris. Built the third pyramid 12	

The sum is 197.

Total 203

VII. DYNASTY

Of 70 Memphite kings, who reigned 70 days; or, according to Eusebius, five kings, who reigned 70 days or years.

VIII. DYNASTY

Of 20 Memphite kings, who reigned 156 years. Eusebius gives five kings, and 106 years.

IX. DYNASTY

Of 10 Heliopolite kings, who reigned 400 years; or, according to Eusebius, four, who ruled 100 years.

The first was Achthos, (Achthos Ochthosis, or Ochthos.) He was more cruel than his predecessors, and having perpetrated many crimes, he was seized with madness, and afterwards killed by a crocodile.

X. DYNASTY

Of 19 Heliopolite kings, who reigned 165 years.

XI. DYNASTY

*Of 16 Diospolite kings, who reigned 45 years.**Of these Ammenemes reigned 16 years.*

The whole of the above-mentioned kings is 192, and they reigned, according to these statements, during the space of 2,300 years and 70 days. This terminates Manetho's first book.

SECOND BOOK OF MANETHO.

XII. DYNASTY

Of seven Diospolite kings.

	Yrs.
1. Sesonchosis, (Geson-Goses, or Sesonchoris,) son of Ammenemes 40	
2. Ammenemes, (or Ammanemes) he was slain by his eunuchs 38	
3. Sesotris 48	
4. Lachares, (Laharis, Lamaris, or Lambaris.) He built, it is said, the labyrinth in the Arainoite nome as a tomb for himself 8	
5. Ammieres (or Amerris) { Eusebius omits the names of these three, 8	
6. Ammenemes { and says the succe-	
7. Sermophris (Sermis) { ssor of Lacharis reigned 42 years. 4	

According to Eusebius, 245 years.

Total 160

XIII. DYNASTY

Of 60 Diospolite kings, who reigned 453 years.

XIV. DYNASTY

Of 76 Xolite kings, who reigned 131 years. Eusebius says 101, and another reading gives 161.

XV. DYNASTY

Of the Shepherds. According to Eusebius, of Diospolitans, who reigned 250 years.

These were six foreign Phœnician kings, who took Memphis —

	Yrs.
1. The first was Saites, from whom the Saite name is said to have borrowed its name 19	
2. Buon, (Buon, Anon, or Hyon) 41	
3. Pechman, or Apachnas 61	
4. Ntann 50	
5. Archies, (or Archies) 49	
6. Apophis, (or Aphobis) 61	

Eusebius gives 250 years.

Total 254

XVI. DYNASTY

Of 32 Hellenic Shepherd kings, who reigned 518 years. Eusebius gives five Thibian kings, who reigned 190 years.

XVII. DYNASTY

Of 45 Shepherd kings, and 45 Thibian Diospolites. Eusebius introduces the Fifteenth Dynasty of Africanus, whom he calls Phœnician Shepherds.

AFRICANUS.	Yrs.	EUSEBIUS.	Yrs.
The contemporary reigns of the Shepherds and Thibians lasted 150		1. Saites 19	
		2. Buon, (or Anon) 40	
		3. Archies (Aphobis) 50	
		4. Apophis (Archies) 14	

Total 103

Their names are omitted. Differing from the total of the Fifteenth Dynasty of Africanus.

XVIII. DYNASTY

Of Theopile kings, according to

AFRICANS.	Yrs.	ASIANICS.	Yrs.
1. Amos, in whose time Moses went out of Egypt.		1. Amoses, (Amosis)	25
2. Chebron.....	13	2. Chebron	13
3. Amenophthos	24	3. Amophia (Amenophis) ..	21
4. Amosis (Amenosis) ..	22		
5. Mithphis (Miphria) ..	13	4. Miphria (Men phres, Mephres)	12
6. Mithphraemathos, (Mithphragmuthosis) in whose time hap- pened the deluge of Deucalion	26	5. Mithphraemathos, (Mithphragmuthosis, or Mithphragmuthos) ..	2
7. Tuthmosis	9	6. Tuthmosis	9
8. Amenophis, supposed to be Memnon	31	7. Amenophis (Amphio) supposed to be Mem- non	31
9. Horus.....	37	8. Orus	27
10. Acherches	32	9. Acherches, or Achu- chares	12
11. Rathos.....	6	10. Rathos	7
12. Chebron	12	11. Chebron	18
13. Acherches.....	12	12. Acherches	8
14. Armeses	5	13. Armeses, who was also called Bontus	10
15. Rameses, (Ameses or Armeses)	1	14. Armeses, who was also called Bontus	10
16. Amenophthos, or Amenoph	19	15. Rameses (Amiseses or Rameses)	18
		16. Amenophthos, or Me- nophis (16. Menos- phos)	30
Total 263		Total 18	
The sum is 262.		or 349, 369, 378, 451 or 547	

XIX. DYNASTY

Of Domylic kings,

AFRICANS.	Yrs.	ASIANICS.	Yrs.
1. Sethos	61	1. Sethos	5
2. Rapses	29	2. Rapses (or Rapses) ..	6
3. Amenophthos	29	3. Amenophthos (or Amenophthos)	20
4. Rameses	60	4. Ammunes	20
5. Ammonemnes	5	5. Thoris, the Polybus	
6. Thoris, in whose reign Troy was taken ..	7	of Hant	7
Total 209		Total 194	
The sum is 201.		The sum is 180.	

In this second book of Manetho are 96 kings, who ruled
2,121 years.

THIRD BOOK OF MANETHO.

XX. DYNASTY

*Of 12 Theopile kings, whose reigns) is years, or, according
to Eusebius, 118 years. Their names are omitted.*

XXI. DYNASTY

Of seven Theopile kings, according to

AFRICANS.	Yrs.	ASIANICS.	Yrs.
1. Sennosis, (Sennosis, or Sennosis)	26	1. Sennosis, (or Amen- sis)	26
2. Psennosis, (Psennosis, or Psennosis)	16	2. Psennosis	41
3. Nephthosis	4	3. Nephthosis, (or Ne- phthosis)	4
4. Amenophthos, (or Ame- nis)	9	4. Amenophthos	9
5. Oschosis, (Oschosis) ..	1	5. Oschosis	6
6. Psennosis, (Psennosis, or Psennosis)	9	6. Psennosis	9
7. Psennosis, (Psennosis, or Psennosis)	10	7. Psennosis	35
Total 101		Total 130	

XXII. DYNASTY

Of four Theopile kings, according to

AFRICANS.	Yrs.	ASIANICS.	Yrs.
1. Sennosis, (Sennosis, or Sennosis)	21	1. Sennosis, (or Se- nnosis)	21
2. Oschosis, (Oschosis) ..	1	2. Oschosis (Oschosis) ..	13
3. { Psennosis, (Psennosis, or Psennosis)	25		
4. { Psennosis, (Psennosis, or Psennosis)	25		
5. { Psennosis, (Psennosis, or Psennosis)	25		
6. Tacchosis, (Tacchosis, or Tacchosis)	13	3. Tacchosis, (Tacchosis, or Tacchosis)	13
7. { Tacchosis, (Tacchosis, or Tacchosis)	12		
8. { Tacchosis, (Tacchosis, or Tacchosis)	12		
9. { Tacchosis, (Tacchosis, or Tacchosis)	12		
Total 129		Total 49	
The sum is 116.			

XXIII. DYNASTY

Of three Theopile kings, according to

AFRICANS.	Yrs.	ASIANICS.	Yrs.
1. Psennosis, (Psennosis, or Psennosis)	19	1. Psennosis	25
2. Oschosis, (Oschosis) ..	1	2. Oschosis	9
3. Psennosis, (Psennosis, or Psennosis)	19	3. Psennosis	16
4. Zet	1		
Total 39		Total 49	

XXIV. DYNASTY

*Consisted of Buerchis, the Sate, alone. No mention is
made of his father, Tacphorus.*

XXV. DYNASTY

*Of three Ethiopian kings, according to
AFRICANUS. EUSEBIUS.*

	Yes.		Yes.
1. Bahsen (Sahaccon)	6	1. Sahbaccon	12
2. Sebechus (Sebachus or bevechus) his son	14	2. Sebechus	12
3. Tarcus	18	3. Tarcus	20
Total 40		Total 44	

XXVI. DYNASTY

*Of nine Saitic kings, according to
AFRICANUS. EUSEBIUS.*

	Yes.		Yes.
1. Stephinates	7	1. Ammetes the Ethio- pian	12
2. Nectanebo (Nerepsos)	6	2. Nectanebo	7
3. Necho I (Necho)	9	3. Necho I	8
4. Psammethicus	34	5. Psammethicus	45
5. Necho II	6	6. Necho II	6
6. Psammathus	6	7. Psammathus	17
7. Vaphres	19	8. Vaphres	23
8. Amosis	46	9. Amosis	42
9. Psammeterites reigned 6 months	—		—
Total 140		Total 118	
6 months			

XXVII. DYNASTY

Of eight Persian kings, according to

AFRICANUS.	Yes.	EUSEBIUS.	Yes.
1. Cambyses	6	1. Cambyses	3
2. Darius, son of Hystaspes	6	2. The Magi, 7 months	—
3. Xerxes the Great	21	3. Darius	36
4. Artabanus, 7 months	—	4. Xerxes I	21
5. Artaxerxes	41	5. Artaxerxes (Longi- monus)	40
6. Xerxes II 2 months	6	6. Xerxes II 2 months	—
7. Sogdianus, 7 months	—	7. Sogdianus 7 months	—
8. Darius, the son of Xerxes	19	8. Darius, the son of Xerxes	19
Total 121		Total 120	
4 months.		4 months.	

XXVIII. DYNASTY

*Consisted of Amyrtaeus of Sais alone, who reigned six
years*

XXIX. DYNASTY

Of Mendesian kings, according to

AFRICANUS.	Yes.	EUSEBIUS.	Yes.
1. Nephertites	6	1. Nephertites	6
2. Achoris	13	2. Achoris	13
3. Psammuthis	1	3. Psammuthis	1
4. Nephertites, 4 months	—	4. Muthis	1
		6. Nephertites, 4 months	—
Total 20		Total 21	
4 months		4 months.	

XXX. DYNASTY

Of three Sebennytic kings, according to,

AFRICANUS.	Yes.	EUSEBIUS.	Yes.
1. Nectanebus	18	1. Nectanebus	10
2. Teos	2	2. Teos	2
3. Nectanebus II	18	3. Nectanebus II	8
Total 38		Total 20	

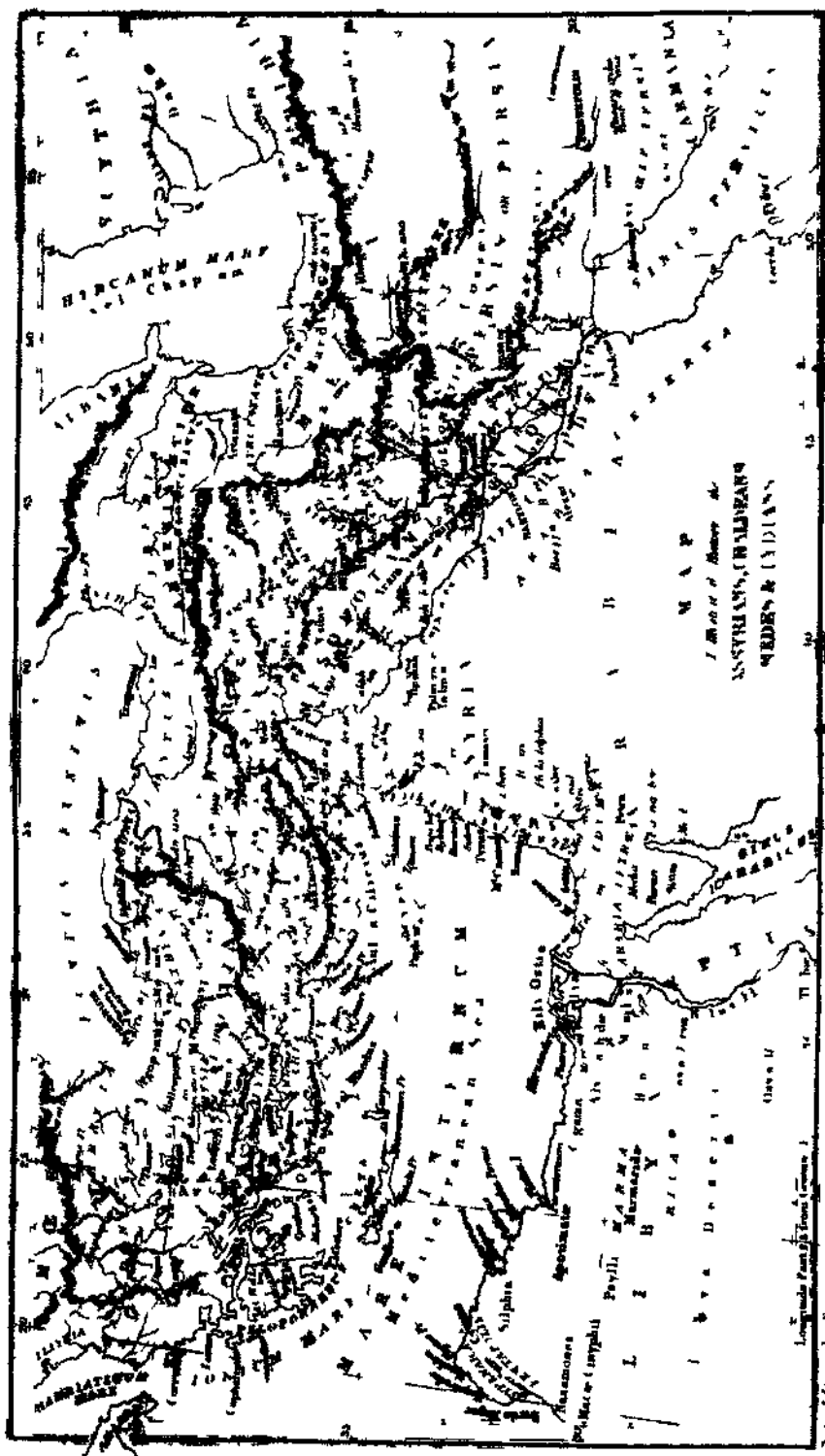
XXXI. DYNASTY

Of Persians, according to

AFRICANUS.	Yes.	EUSEBIUS.	Yes.
1. Ochus (Artaxerxes III) ruled Persia 20 years and Egypt	2	1. Ochus in his 20th year obtained possession of Egypt, and reigned	6
2. Arses	1	2. Arses, son of Ochus	4
3. Darius	4	3. Darius, conquered by Alexander	6
Total 9		Total 16	

The whole number of years in the third book of Manetho is 1640

Such is the list of the kings of Egypt, given by the copyists of Manetho. It is not offered to the readers' notice as free from errors, or as worthy of his credence, but as probably supplying some of the names of the monarchs of whom nothing is recorded in the pages of ancient historians. Many of the Dynasties, however, are very questionable, which the reader will observe by a collation of them with the foregoing pages, and by comparing the sum total of the years they reigned with the dates introduced in this history. Moreover, it seems clear, that many of the Dynasties were contemporary; for, in the earlier periods of Egyptian history, the country was not consolidated into one empire, but certain kings ruled in certain districts. This remark especially refers to the first seventeen Dynasties in the above list. With the eighteenth Dynasty, the flourishing period of Egypt commenced; for then it was, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, that the different states unto which it had been divided, became united into one empire.



I. MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, &c.
 BY EDWARD J. HARRIS
 1871

Longitude East of Greenwich
 10° 20' 30' 40' 50' 60' 70' 80' 90' 100' 110' 120' 130' 140' 150' 160' 170' 180°

ANCIENT HISTORY,

HISTORY

OF THE

ASSYRIANS AND CHALDEANS,
MEDES AND LYDIANS.

FROM

ROLLIN AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN

WITH A MAP.

LONDON:

THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY;

Instituted 1799

SOLD AT THE DEPOSITORY, 56, PATERNOSTER ROW, AND 65, ST PAUL'S CHURCHYARD;
AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS

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THE ASSYRIANS AND CHALDEANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF ASSYRIA.

THE country of Assyria derived its name from Asshur, the son of Shem, by whom it was first peopled, Gen. x. 11. Its boundaries varied with the limits of the empire, but the geographical limits of Assyria Proper, which formed the nucleus of that empire, nearly corresponded with those of the present Koordistan, being bounded by Armenia on the north, Babylonia and Lusiana on the south, part of Media and the mountains called Zagros on the east, and the Tigris on the west. In its most extensive signification, both in sacred and profane history, it comprehended not only this tract of country, but Aram, or Syria, eastward and westward of the Euphrates.

In Scripture, Assyria Proper was called Kir, 2 Kings xvi. 9; Amos i. 5; ix. 7; which name may be still traced in that country. Thus the Karduchian or Koordistan mountains, Kiare, the name of the loftiest ridge; and the large town of Kerhoof, evidently retain the original word Kir, with some slight variation. This was a rich and fertile, though mountainous region, whence it was called by the Greeks *Adiabene*, "impassable," finely watered by the springs of the Tigris, the greater and lesser Zab, the Diale, and the Mendell.

Aram, or Syria, eastward of the Euphrates, was divided into two districts, the northern and the southern. The northern district is denominated, in the sacred writings, Aram Naharaim, "Aram between the two rivers;" and by the Greeks, Mesopotamia, a term bearing the same signification, Gen. xxiv. 10; xxxi. 20; Numb. xxiii. 7; Deut. xxxiii. 4. This district extended from Mount Masius to the wall of Media southwards, including all the fertile tract between the two rivers. The lower part of this division was called Padan-aram, or "the champaign Aram," Gen. xxv. 20.

The southern district, called "the land of Shinar," or Babylon, Gen. x. 10; xi. 2; "the land of Nimrod," Mic. v. 6; and Babylonia, by the Greek and Latin writers,—reached from the

wall of Media, or contracted the space between the two rivers, about 300 miles down to the Persian Gulf, never exceeding four-score miles in breadth.

Aram, or Syria, westward of the Euphrates, is divided in Scripture into Aram Zobah, which reached from the Euphrates to the north and east of Damascus, 1 Sam. xiv. 47; 2 Sam. viii. 3; and Aram of Damascus, which lay to the south and west of the former, 2 Sam. viii. 5. These corresponded to the Upper Syria, north of Mount Libanus, including *Carle-Syria*, or *Hollow Syria*, so called from its situation between the two great ridges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, and Syria Palestina, which included the Holy Land, and that maritime border on its north-western side which the Greeks called Phenicia.

A late writer on the physical features of Assyria says, that the country, including Taurus, is distinguished by its mountains, plains, and vegetation.

MOUNTAINS.

This feature of Assyria comprises the country of mountains and hills called Taurus, and which is composed of many different chains. The Taurian range encircles the whole of the interior; presenting a bold precipitous front round the whole coast of this peninsula, and so lofty as to be visible at one-third of the whole breadth of the Mediterranean, or upwards of 130 miles. Strabo described Taurus as beginning to rise from Pamphylia, and, in advancing to the east, to send off two branches; on one side Amanus, and on the other Anti-Taurus; but he says that its elevation is not great till it reaches Lycia. The chief summits mentioned by him are Mount Duedala, on the western extremity; Anti-Cragus and Cragus, which latter is a steep range fronting the sea, having eight promontories or lofty capes; Olympus; the mountain and valley of Chimera; Solyma; and, finally, Climax, between which mountain and the shore Alexander marched with his army.

Concerning the mountain Chimera, which is celebrated in poetic mythology, its existence till

lately was doubted; but this doubt arose solely from our ignorance of the coast. It is now called Taktala, and is in the vicinity of Deliktash, about five miles from the shore. A recent traveller examined the whole of this coast, and ascended its summit, which he states to be elevated 7,800 feet above the sea. The mountain emits a constant and brilliant flame during the night, which consists of ignited hydrogen gas. The flame is most brilliant during the time of heavy rains, or previous to their approach—a phenomenon resembling the *Pietra Mala* of the Apennines.

This flaming mountain (as physical phenomena were generally in former times ascribed to preternatural causes) has been converted by the ancient poets, Homer, Hesiod, Lucretius, and Virgil, into a monster with the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and the tail of a serpent, which was vanquished by the famous Bellerophon and his steed Pegasus. Thus Homer, describing the more than mortal feats required to be performed by him, by his host the king of Lycia, says:

"First, dire Chimæra's conquest was enjoined,
A mingled monster of no mortal kind;
Behind a dragon's fiery tail was spread;
A goat's rough body bore a lion's head;
Her piteous nostrils flaky flames exhaled;
Her gaping throat emits infernal fire."

Bochart imagines this triple monster to represent the three deities worshipped by the Solymi, the ancient inhabitants of Lycia. Others say, that it signified the kind of enemies with whom Bellerophon had to contend: the Solymi, Amazons, and the Lycians, adumbrated by the lion, the goat, and the serpent. But this is contradicted by the poet in the lines immediately following the description. They read thus:

"This pest he slaughter'd (for he rend the skies,
And trusted heaven's informing prodigies);
Then met in arms the Solymean crew,
(Pierced of men,) and thence the warrior slew
Next the bold Amazons' whole force he tried,
And conquer'd still; for heaven was on his side
Nor ended here his toils: his Lycian foes
At his return a breath'ning ambush rose,
With level'd spears, along the winding shore;
There fell they breathless, and return'd no more."

This indicates that the conquest of these nations succeeded that of the triple-formed monster, Chimæra. There are others, finally, who conceive that the poetical picture represents the state of the mountain when Bellerophon visited Lycia; namely, that its base was infested with serpents; its middle afforded pasture for goats; and that its summit was inhabited by lions. These they imagine Bellerophon slew, rendering the mountain habitable; whence he was said to destroy the triple monster.

That part of Taurus which is above the plain of Tarsus and Adanah, commonly known as the Ramadan Oghlu mountains, is continued by the Dardun Dagh to the Amanus; but the direction of the two chains is different, as is also their structure and geognostic relations. The southern prolongation of Amanus is Rhossus, which terminates in the Jebel Kasserik, above Rhas Khanair; and Jebel Musah, above Seleucia.

The mountain of Taurus, stretching east on Commagene, separates Sophena from Osroene, and then divides itself into three portions. The most northerly and highest are the Niphates, in

Acilicene. The central chain comprises the Amrah Dagh, and mountain country round the mines, called Maden Gomash, or Kapan, and Maden Kapur. The most southerly is the antique Masius, and includes the Karadjia Daghi, the Jebel Tur, and Baarem hills, extending to the Jezirah. To the south of these are the Babel and Sinjar ranges of hills, united by the isolated hill of Kuka to the hills of Abdel Hassiz.

These various hills are composed of granite, gneiss, mica schist, limestones, diorites, diallage rocks, serpentines, actynolite rock, stea schists, sandstones, feldspatho-pyroxenic rocks, limestones with nummulites, limestones with pectinides and ostracra, fossils, indurated chalk, quartz schist, granular chalk, clay-slate, chlorite-plate, hornblende rock, hornblende schist, gypsum, siliceous limestones, conide limestones, etc.

The elevation of the crest of Taurus, viewed as the mean between the height of the culminating points and that of the passes, is, at Maden Gomash, 5,053 feet; at Dawa Boini, 4,453 feet; at Kuhl, 3,379 feet; at the Gul Dagh, 4,808 feet; Ayeli mountain, 5,650 feet; Selikhi, 4,250 feet; the crest of the Kara Bel, 5,790 feet; that of the Chamlu Bel, 5,260 feet; and the Akko Dagh, 2,900 feet.

At the foot of these mountains are valleys or plains variously characterized. Some are composed of the feldspatho-pyroxenic rocks, some of chalk, some of limestone, sandstone marls, mica schist, and gypsum, and some are very fertile.

PLAINS.

The second district includes all the territory which extends from 37° north lat. to 34°, and comprises the plains of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the country east of the Tigris to the Kurdish mountains. The whole of this country consists of cretaceous and super-cretaceous deposits, occasionally interrupted by plutonic rocks of the feldspatho-pyroxenic family. The character of these plains varies with the altitude and latitude, as well as with the quality of the soil, and the presence or absence of dewy moisture.

The structure of the plains consists of indurated, compact, granular chalks, flints, siliceous sandstone, limestones, gypsum, calcareous gypsum, sands, and sandstones, bitumen, naphtha, sulphur, limestone breccia, red saliferous and gypsiferous sands, cerithia, fresh-water limestones, marls, fossiliferous marls, clays, pebbles, ironstones, soil, etc.

The upland of feldspatho-pyroxenic rocks, extending from Jezirah to Tel Sakhan, near Nisibin, is a stony wilderness, amidst which there is very little cultivation. Numerous flocks of sheep and cattle, however, obtain a scanty support here during a large portion of the year, and wolves are very numerous. This plain has a mean elevation of 1,550 feet.

The plains of northern Syria, the plains of northern Mesopotamia, from Urfa to Kakkab, and from Nisibin to El Hathir, and the Chaldean plain east of Ninereh, that of Erdi and of Altum Kupri, possess a soil with good agricultural qualities, but barren from want of irrigation. The elevation of these plains averages 1,300 feet.

The remaining differences are the comparative fertility of some places, which are exposed to

temporary inundations, at the heads of rivers or rivulets. These besides the permanent abode of agricultural tribes, the seat of cultivation and prosperity, and the resort of the Nomadic Arab and Turkoman, where at certain seasons they lead their flocks. Thus the Shamar Arab tribes frequently pitch their tents, in winter, in the plains of Seleucia, and in the summer overturn the fertile district of El Hathi.

VEGETATION.

Concerning the natural productions of ancient Assyria very little is known; but as it lay between 33° and 39° N. lat., it must in its happy times have been a land of plenty. We learn this, indeed, from the vaunting speech of Rabshakeh to the Hebrews, when he besieged Jerusalem: "Make an agreement with me by a present, and come out to me; and eat ye every one of his vine, and every one of his fig tree, and drink ye every one the waters of his own cistern; until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and wine, a land of bread and vineyards," Isa. xxxvi. 16, 17. See also 2 Kings xviii. 31, 32.

In his narrative of the expedition of Julian to Ctesiphon, Gibbon says, that nature had denied to Assyria the vine, the olive, and the fig tree, the choicest of her gifts. This is not correct; these choicest gifts of nature's bounty are at the present time to be found, both in Assyria and Babylonia, fallen as these countries now are from their pristine glory. Kinner says, they may be seen almost in every garden.

That the Assyrians possessed luxuries in ancient times, may be gathered from the statements of Xenophon. Speaking of the provision villages, he says, "Here we found wine made of the fruit of the palm tree, and also vinegar drawn by boiling from the same fruit. Some of these they dried for sweetmeats. The wine that was made of this fruit was sweet to the taste, but apt to give the headache; here also the soldiers eat for the first time the *pith* of the palm tree, and many admired both the *figuer* and peculiar sweetness of it. This also occasioned violent headaches." Ammianus and Herodotus bear the same testimony; and that palm wine was very abundant, we may conclude, from the fact that the boats which descended the Tigris from Armenia, some of which were large, had, in the latter historian's days, palm wine for their chief article of commerce.

Palm wine is now no longer made in that country, as when the date trees abounded; but Burckhardt, in his travels in Nubia, describes it as made in that country, which may give the reader an idea of what it was, as made in Assyria and Babylonia. He says: "In all the larger villages of Nubia, the use of palm wine is very common, and at Derr a vast deal of spirits is consumed. The wine does not taste amias; but it is too rich and too thick to be drank with pleasure. When the date fruit has arrived at its full maturity, it is thrown into large earthen boilers, and left to boil without interruption for three or four days. It is then strained, and the clear juice put into earthen jars, which are well shut up, and then buried in the ground, where it ferments. It is left for ten or twelve days under

ground; at the expiration of which time it is fit to drink. It keeps a twelvemonth, and then turns sour. The *aguride*, made from dates, is of very good quality, and keeps for years. The upper classes of people at Derr are every evening intoxicated, either with date wine or spirits, of which large quantities are consumed. They are sold openly. From Siout southward, all through Upper Egypt, date spirits are made, and probably sold; the Pasha receiving a tax on it from the innkeepers. There is also made from the dates a kind of jelly or honey, which serves the rich people for a sweetmeat."

The features of the vegetation of Assyria may be divided into two sections:—1. That of the mountains; and, 2. That of the plains.

The most remarkable feature in the vegetation of Taurus is the abundance of trees, shrubs, and plants in the northern, and their comparative fewness in the southern districts. The Masius is woody in parts; such, for instance, are a few districts in the Baaran, and the Jebel Tur, near Nisibin, from whence some have supposed Trajan collected the wood for the construction of his fleet. From the summit of Ayeli, pine and fir forests are first visible in the distance, and they ultimately cover the Kara Bel and the Chamlu Bel, as the latter name indicates. On the contrary, around the Arzunah, Maden, Kirchin, and Gul Dagh hills, no trees are to be seen.

The forest trees consist of several variations of the oak; of pine, chestnut, ash, alder tree, hazel, maple trees, etc. Among the useful and cultivated plants of Taurus, are the vine, fig, almond, and olive trees; pears, apples, and apricots also are abundant; and several kinds of wheat are cultivated there.

On the flanks of forests, or isolated, are found the carob, medlar, and plum trees; by the banks of streams, the tamarack, etc.; and in shrubberies and low woodlands, the box, juniper, myrtle, scarlet oak, buckthorn, cypress trees, etc. Heath is rarely met with; the *Erica arborea*, however, flourishes near Sin, and the *Erica scoparia*, in the valley of Antioch.

Among the plants which distinguish the plains are the following: wheat, barley, vetches of different kinds, spurge, cucumbers of various kinds, hawwort, marsh mallow, etc. The plains also produce trees of various kinds: among which may be mentioned, the plane tree, which grows near springs and tombs, and attains an enormous size. One at Bir, says Ainsworth, measured thirty-six feet in circumference; and one at Daphne, near Antioch, forty-two feet in girth, and is supposed to have existed upwards of a thousand years.

Among the fruits of the plains are the fig, mulberry, nut, pomegranate, pine, plum, pear trees, etc. Among cultivated plants, *Sesamum*, of which an oil is made; the cotton tree, etc. And among the useful vegetables furnished by the field, the herb mallows, sorrel, mustard, and asparagus.

For two months in the year, October and November, vegetation ceases in Assyria, every thing being parched up. After this period, clouds from the Lebanon, in Syria, and reverses in the mountain temperatures to the north and east over Mesopotamia and Adiabene, bring down refresh-

ing rains, and came the grass to grow, and, notwithstanding subsequent frosts and storms, some composite to bud. The succession of vegetation is preserved by those plants which have succulent roots, nodes or bulbs, which preserve sufficient moisture to ensure life amidst the most arid soil. They seem to sleep during the summer drought, and awake to life again by the first rains, and prematurely put forth their buds in October. Among these are a species of tulip, crocus, and iris, an herb called by some chameleion. These are soon, however, enveloped in snow, or blasted by the wintry winds, till early in spring they again make their appearance, with all that vivid beauty of colour, and those variety of forms, which are so glowingly depicted on the canvases, or described in the pages, of eastern painters and poets.

CLIMATE.

The climate of Assyria is various. That of Taurus presents us with cold winters, with much snow, and hot summers. In some of the villages, the natives complain of excessive summer heats, especially at Amasiyah and Kapan. Amworth says, that in crossing the Marsh hills in February, the snow was from two to three feet deep, and so hard as to bear a horse; and yet in occasional bare spots crocuses were in flower, and spiders were running about. At the same time of the year, in sheltered valleys, various coloured anemones bloom; and in March, the almond tree, pear, medlar, and laburnum, are in bloom.

The climate of the plains is characterized by great dryness, combined with great variations in the temperature of the air. From the Mediterranean to the Tigris, there is an increase of cold in the same parallel, from west to east; but this is not the case in the plains east of the Tigris, which, sheltered by the Kurdish mountains, possess a more temperate winter. The influence of the Taurus, clad for so many months with snow, is supposed to reduce the rigour of the winter's cold, and to cause the vegetation on the plains of North Syria and Mesopotamia to be less southern than that of Sicily and Aulalusia. On the other hand, the heat of the summer sun, increased by radiation and equality of level, is almost without an extenuating influence, there being scarcely any evaporation. Hence, when the winter temperature is low, the summer heats are fervid; from which cause, there are few annual and tender plants found in Assyria.

Those divisions of the Assyrian empire which demand particular notice in this section, inasmuch as they were at different periods the seat of government, are Assyria Proper, and Babylonia.

ASSYRIA PROPER.

The country within the limits of Assyria Proper, is called by Pliny, Adiabene; and by Strabo, after the barbarians, Aturia or Atyria, which, as Dion Cassius observes, is a mere dialectic variety of pronunciation, instead of Assyria. Ptolemy divides Assyria Proper into five provinces or districts, thus:

1. *Adiabene*.—This was the chief province of Assyria. It was so called, according to Ammianus, from the two rivers, Diaba and Adiab.

Adiabene had the Tigris to the west, the province of Apolloniatis to the east, Calachene to the north, and Sittacene to the south. It answers in modern times to that tract of land which extends from the river of Zaco, or the Khabour, to the south-east of the little Zab. From Strabo's expression, *Adiabene vocantur etiam Saccopodra*, we learn that Adiabene lay in the north west quarter, as the appellation of Saccopodes is now recognised in the region and district of Zaco, seventy-seven miles north-west of Mosul.

2. *Arrapachitis*.—This province, according to Ptolemy, was the most northern, its country being watered by the Gyndes. It corresponds exactly to the modern Matiene, or, more properly, Mardiene, where the Gyndes, according to Herodotus, has its source, the mountainous region to the north-west of Ecbatana, or Hamadan, and enters the Tigris half way between Koote and Korna. Both the Little Zab and the Gyndes originated in this district; the former running west and south-west to the Tigris, the latter south and south-east to the same stream.

3. *Calachur*.—This province lay north of Adiabene, and corresponds to the modern district of Julameric, or the Ha Kiare Koords.

4. *Chalantia*.—According to Strabo, Chalantia was a mountainous region, about the ascent of Mount Zagros, answering to the Kelone of Diodorus and the pass of the modern Ghilane, leading to Kermanshah. It probably contained the tract between the Hamerine hills, to the pass of Ghilane, on the road to Kermanshah, or the tract between the Hamerine hills and Mount Zagros, now called the Aingha Dagh.

5. *Sittacene*.—Sittacene lay south-east of Chalantia, between the Silla and the Gyndes. Strabo says, Sittacene and Apolloniatis are names of the same province, the latter being the name imposed by the Greeks after the Macedonian conquest. It was so called from Apollonia, a new city founded by the Greeks. Both Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium agree in placing Apollonia in the road from Babylon to Susa, and the latter makes it the twentieth town in that road. If, therefore, Sittacene and Apolloniatis be the same province, and the road from Babylon to Susa lay through that district, then it must have been the most south-eastern subdivision of Assyria, and must have extended from the Decallah, or ancient Gorgoa, to the Gyndes, or Hud.

These five districts were again subdivided into minor districts. Thus, in Adiabene were Aturia and Arbelitis; and in the province of Calachene was the district of Marde, now Amadia.

RIVERS.

The whole country of Assyria Proper is naturally divided into three parts, by two rivers which rise in the Zagros mountains, and, after traversing Koordistan, fall into the Tigris. The first of these is the

Lyrus.—This river is the Zabates of Xenophon, and the modern Greater Zab. It is a stream equal in volume to half the Tigris at the confluence. Sometimes it is called the river of Julameric, from the Ha Kiare Su, its great north-western branch, which, in its course to the Zab, passes by a town of that name, and capital of the district of the Kiare Koords. The river rises in

the mountains of Persian Koordistan, and pursues a north-westerly direction, and, traversing the breadth of Turkish Koordistan, empties itself with rapidity into the Tigris, about forty-five miles below Mosul, and imparts its own turbid character to the subsequent course of that river. Its breadth, where it enters the Tigris, does not exceed sixty feet; but at the low water horse ford, on the road to Mosul, it is two hundred feet wide, at the least. In the line of road from Mosul to Arbels, now Irbil, considerably to the east of the Tigris, it is deep and unfordable, especially when swelled by the melted snows of Mount Choatra, whose hoary summits are discovered at a great distance on the right hand of the road from Bagdad to Mosul. The second river, the

Caprus, also named *Zabas*, or *Anzabus*, by the latter Greek and Roman writers, is probably the present Lesser Zab. The Little Zab is a narrow but deep river, which rises in the nearer declivity of the Koordistan mountains, and pursues nearly a direct south-south-west course of 130 miles to the Tigris, which it enters in lat. $35^{\circ} 10'$. At this point, the width of the Little Zab is only twenty-five feet, although in its upper course, after it has received the *Altun Su* (golden water) at *Altun Kupri*, (golden bridge,) its breadth is nearly three times as great. It, however, discharges an immense body of water into the Tigris, which immediately after forms a fearful rapid and fall, which greatly endangers the rafts that navigate the river between Mosul and Bagdad.

These two rivers, according to Bochart, are the *Diaba* and *Adiaba*, or the *Diava* and *Adjava*. *Diava*, he observes, is *lupus*, or *lupinus*, "wolf," or "wolfish;" *diava* being the Chaldee for "a wolf;" hence he derives the Greek *Lycus*, which bears the same signification. Ptolemy calls it the *Lukos*, or "White River," an appellation which corresponds with the colour of its waters, which is most probably the proper term, *Lycus* being *Lukos* latinized. This appellation is very common in many countries; as in America, where we read of the White, Red, Yellow, and Black rivers. The larger branch of the Nile is also called the *Abiad*, or White River, from its mudiness; as the other is called *Azrek*, or Blue, from its clearness.

Adiaba, the name of the second river, is derived by the same learned writer from an Arabic word signifying "swift;" but this point is by no means clear. The modern name, *Zab*, he says, is corrupted from *Diaba*, or derived from the Hebrew *Zeeb*, which differ but in dialect. Thevenot, in his "Travels to the Levant," speaks of one river only, calls it *Zarb*, and says he saw it fall into the Tigris. By the natives these rivers are called *Zarpi*. The *Zarb* is spoken of by Thevenot as a large river, half as broad as the Tigris; and he observes that it is very rapid, and that its waters are whitish and very cold; whence he conceives that it is merely snow-water falling from the mountains of Koordistan. This agrees with Bochart's conjecture of the *Adiaba*; namely, that it derives its name from the swiftness of its course.

Among the rivers of Assyria, may be justly reckoned the Tigris, not only because it bathed

all the western skirts of this country, but also because all the other rivers flowed into it, and because the great cities of this kingdom, as Nineveh, Ctesiphon, and others, were situated thereon.

Tigris.—The Tigris is said by some to have borrowed its name from the number of tigers on its banks, as *Lycus* did from the wolves that haunted the margin of that river. Others derive it from a Persian word signifying an arrow; both terms importing it to be rapid and violent in its course. Some travellers, however, contradict this; stating that it is a slower stream than the Euphrates, and that this is caused by the meanders with which it abounds, as well as its numerous islands and large banks of stone. Ainsworth, who accompanied the Euphrates expedition in 1839, states that the Tigris has a moderate current below Bagdad, but passing over several ledges of rock in its course from Mosul to that city, it forms rapids of greater or lesser importance.

The Scripture name of this river is *Hiddekel*, Gen. ii. 14; Dan. x. 4; and Bochart derives its present name from that Hebrew word. Ruuswolf says, that the natives of that part of the world call it *Hiddekel* to this day. It is locally and usually distinguished by the term *Digul*, or *Diglah*; and if we deprive the Scripture name of the prefixed aspiration, the remainder, *Dekele*, has considerable analogy with it.

The passage in the book of Genesis speaks of the Tigris as one of the rivers that watered the garden of Eden. "And the name of the third river is *Hiddekel*: that is in which goeth toward the east of Assyria;" that is, towards, or before, Assyria. Rennell, in his Geography of Herodotus, describes the source of the Tigris thus: "The Euphrates and Tigris spring from opposite sides of Mount Taurus, in Armenia; the former, from its upper level, northward; the latter, from its southern declivity; and certain of the sources of the two rivers are only separated by the summits of Taurus. And yet, notwithstanding this vicinity, the sources of the Tigris, by being in a southern exposure, where the snow melts much earlier than at the back of the mountain, and in a more elevated situation, occasion the periodical swelling of the river to happen many weeks earlier than the swellings of the Euphrates. Of the two, the Tigris seems to be the largest body of water." Pliny represents the Tigris as rising in the region of Armenia Major, from a spring in a remarkable plain, called *Elongosine*. It runs, he says, through the lake *Arethusa*, and meeting with Mount Taurus, buries itself underground, and rises again on the other side of the mountain. This account of Pliny has been adopted by Milton, in the fine description he gives of the garden of Eden. Describing the rise and course of the river which watered the garden, issuing from the country of Eden, he says:

"Southward through Eden, went a river large,
Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill,
Fast'd underneath, ingulph'd, for God had thrown
That mountain, as his garden mould, high raised
Upon the rapid current, which through veins
Of porous earth, with kind y' thrust upwore,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
Water'd the garden; thence united, fell
Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
Which from his darksome passage now appears;

And now divided into four main streams,
Runs diverse, winding away a famous realm
And country."—*iv.* 222—225.

That by "the river large" the poet meant the Tigris, appears evident from the parallel passage, wherein he describes Satan as obtaining admission into the garden through the subterranean course, which lay remotest from the cherubic watch at the entrance.

" ————— There was a place,
Now not, (though sin, not time, first wrought the
change.)

Where Tigris, at the foot of Paradise,
Into a gulf shot underground, till part
Rose up a fountain, by the tree of life.
In with the river sank, and with it came
Satan, involved in rising mist, then sought
Where to lie hid." — *ix.* 69—76.

The whole course of the Tigris to the sea is 854 British miles; thus:—From the remotest source to Korna, is 734 miles, and from thence to the sea, 120 miles; in all, 854, exclusive of the windings. From the source to Diyarbekr, 65; from Diyarbekr to Mosul, 230; from Mosul to Bagdad, 224; from Bagdad to the mouth of the Decallah, 15; to the Syunc, or river of Mendali, 70; from the Mendali Su, to the Hind, or ancient Gyndes, 100; from thence to the mouth of the Kera, or Kara Su, 60; and from Kara Su to the sea, 90: total, 854.

From our imperfect knowledge of Asiatic geography, it is impossible to fix precisely the remotest source of the Tigris. It appears to have two sources; one from the southern route of the Taurus, and the other from the northern front of the same range: the intervening space being either a collection of small valleys, or a large valley, watered by different streams, which fall into one or the other of the branches. The western branch runs north-east along the foot of another ridge of Taurus, by which it is divided from the small lake of Gurgick, the Colchis of the ancients. It then runs east to Maaden, or the mine town, about four hours' journey, or eighteen miles west from Agana, where, when the water is low, it is not above twenty feet wide. At Agana, it enters the great valley of Diyarbekr, fifty-two miles north-west of that city, through the gorge formed by the junction of the Niphates and Masius, which here form the western limits of the valley. This branch is joined a few miles above Diyarbekr, or Amila, by the northern branch coming from the southern slope of the Niphates, or the Nimrod Dagh. This branch rises sixty-five miles to the north-west of Diyarbekr, and is probably the largest and most distant branch of the two. A little above this junction, the Tigris receives a branch from the south. At Diyarbekr, the Tigris is fordable at all times, except when swollen by the rains or melted snows, when it rises to a great height, and is very rapid. Below this city it receives several other streams from Mount Masius; and fifty miles below Diyarbekr it receives the Batmun Su, a larger stream than itself, which rises in Mount Niphates, and runs from the north-east to the south-west.

In its further progress through the large oval valley of Diyarbekr, the Tigris receives a multitude of streams on the right and left from the Karadgia Dagier and the Nimrod Dagh. These

parallel ridges gradually approximate; the one from the north-west, and the other from the south-west, till they form a stupendous narrow gorge, through which the Tigris rushes onwards. The mountains on either side run so close to the river bank, and rise so abruptly from their basis, as to render it difficult for man or beast to penetrate the lofty defile.

Eleven geographical miles below this rocky barrier, the Tigris forms a low sandy island, three miles in circumference, called Jazeerat-ul-Omar, or Jazeerat-Beni-Omar, signifying the island of the sons of Omar. Of the two branches forming the island, the northern is the larger, being 360 feet wide, very deep and rapid.

From Mosul to Bagdad, the Tigris varies greatly in depth and breadth. Between the Great and Little Zab it is broad and shallow, interspersed with islands spreading from half a mile to a mile in breadth. Below the Little Zab, it is from 600 yards to half a mile, and sometimes a mile wide, occasionally opening into a vast aqueous expanse, composed of islands and channels. At Tekrit, it is very wide; and at Samarra, once the royal seat of Abbasside khalfis, it is a mile broad, with high banks, but shallow stream.

Below the mouth of the Kufri Su, the Tigris is reduced to a width of 300 yards, across which is stationed a bridge of boats. Soon after, it expands to half a mile in breadth. At Bagdad, it is about 870 feet wide from bank to bank. Below the confluence of the Decallah, the Tigris, augmented by the accession of this large stream, assumes a magnificent appearance, extending at intervals to a mile and a half, and even two miles wide, with high and steep banks elevated from fifteen to twenty feet above the surface of the river. At Koot-al-Hamara, about midway between Bagdad and Busserah, it is a mile broad; and at this place the Tigris discharges a large branch equal to the Thames at London Bridge, called the Shat-ul-Hye.

Seven miles below Koot-al-Hamara, the piers of an ancient stone bridge are to be seen; but by whom, and at what date they were erected, is unknown.

In the lower part of its course the Tigris runs on a higher level than the country adjoining its banks; hence the inundations are great on both sides during the periodical swellings.

At Korna, the Tigris combines with the Euphrates, and becomes an immense stream, and so deep, that a large frigate may anchor close to the angle of land formed by the junction. Fifty miles below Korna is Bassora, where the tide rises and falls nine feet; and seventy miles below this city it falls into the Persian Gulf.

Like the Nile, at certain seasons of the year, the Tigris overflows its banks. According to Parsons, who spent most of a summer and autumn at Bagdad, and whose account appears to demand greater credence than any other, the commencement of this periodical inundation, or rise, begins in the latter end of October, and continues to June 7, or a space of nearly eight months. For about a week, the river continued stationary; and the first symptom of decrease took place on the 14th of the same month. At this date, it fell an inch and a half, and continued gradually to fall till September 30, when the

river was at the lowest. The amount of decrease, from June 14 to September 30, was thirty-one feet ten inches, which, added to fourteen feet six inches, its depth at the latter date when at its lowest, makes the total depth of the Tigris, at the maximum of its height, forty-six feet four inches. The depth was taken by Parsons in the centre of the stream, opposite the middle of the bridge of boats. The breadth of the river he states to be, at this point, 871 feet, from bank to bank. The hydrographic basin of the Tigris may be considered as enclosing an area of 36,000 geographical miles.

There is an allusion to the overflowing of the Tigris in the book of Nahum. That prophet, denouncing the destruction of Nineveh, says:

"The gates of the rivers shall be opened,
And the palace shall be dissolved."—*Nah. ii. 6*

And again:

"But with an overrunning flood
He will make an utter end of the place thereof
And darkness shall pursue his enemies."—*Nah. i. 8*

Both these passages mark distinctly the agency of an inundation in opening the way to the besiegers (the Medes) of Nineveh. Diodorus says, that the king of Assyria was greatly encouraged by an ancient prophecy, *That Nineveh should never be taken until the river became its enemy*; and that when the Tigris overflowed its banks, and swept away about twenty furlongs of its wall, he was filled with such consternation and despair, that, recalling to memory the words of the prophecy, he gave all up for lost.

This historian does not specify the time of year in which this inundation of the Tigris occurred; hence it is not certain by which of the causes (which still periodically operate in swelling its streams, and which sometimes occasion it to overflow its banks to an alarming extent) it was produced. In autumn it is swollen by rains, and in the spring by the melting of the snows in the mountains of Armenia. The latter cause replenishes the river more than the former, and more frequently causes inundations; hence, it is supposed, it was by this the proud walls of Nineveh were cast down. A circumstance, remarkably illustrative of this event, occurred A.D. 1831, to the great city Bagdad, that now exists on the same river. While the inhabitants were anticipating a siege, the river overflowed its banks, producing one of the most extensive and destructive river inundations recorded in history. In one night, a great part of the city wall, with a great number of the houses, were overthrown by the irruption of the waters, and thousands of the sleeping inhabitants perished.

BABYLONIA, OR CHALDEA.

This portion of the Assyrian empire was a part of that territory called in Scripture, "the land of Shinar." Gen. xi. 2; a name it retained till the days of the prophet Daniel, Dan. i. 2. The name of Babylonia is generally supposed to have been borrowed from the town of Babel, and the name of Chaldea from the Chaldeans, or Chasdim. Sometimes these two names extend to the whole country, being taken indifferently

for each other, and sometimes they are limited to certain districts; by Babylonia, being meant the country in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon; and by Chaldea, that which extends southward to the Persian Gulf. Chaldea is used by sacred writers for the whole country, and Babylonia by profane writers. The limits of Babylonia have been already defined; hence it need only be observed here, that it nearly corresponds to the present Irak Arabi.

The plain of Babylon, properly so called, extends from Pylae on the Euphrates, to the district of Arcad, or Sittacene. It is bounded on the south by the marshes of Lendun, and on the north by the Median wall, which, according to Xenophon, was fifty-eight miles in length.

This plain, (so celebrated as the spot to which the descendants of Noah attached themselves, and as involving the fall of empires, and the destruction of cities,) in ancient times, and even as late as the days of Xenophon, was a highly cultivated and fertile country. This did not arise from the fertilizing influence of the atmosphere, nor from the inundations of the river Euphrates, but from artificial means. Herodotus says, that the inhabitants either watered the country by the hand, or dug trenches, or canals, for its refreshment and fecundation. Hence it was, combined with the richness of its soil and an excellent climate, that it was aptly compared by this author to Egypt.

ANCIENT CANALS.

The antiquity of the canals of Babylonia dates from the remotest period of the Chaldeo-Babylonian monarchy. The great empire of Babylonia arose upon this alluvial plain, amid a system of irrigation and draining, which spread like net-work over the land. It was crossed by innumerable canals in all directions, the largest of them being navigable, and feeding others; diminishing in importance as they receded from the trunk. These, as well as the parent river, were bordered with vast numbers of hydraulic machines, by which the water was raised and distributed into the fields and gardens. The exact number of these canals it is now impossible to determine, as the ancients are not only confused, but often contradict each other in their descriptions of them. Their number would, indeed, depend much upon the political state of the country. Doubtless, they were most numerous, and kept in the best repair, during the flourishing period of the Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties. When Nineveh was destroyed, however, and Babylon ceased to be the capital of an empire; when the seat of royalty was transferred to Susa and Persepolis; and the navigation of the Euphrates from the sea was stopped by the Persians; and the cities on the Euphrates and Tigris were mouldering away; the prosperous state of the canals would be interrupted, and some of them would probably go to ruin. But when the seat of power, during the Parthian and Sassanian dynasties, was once more transferred to the Tigris, the canals would be repaired and new ones excavated, as new cities arose in the vicinity. Hence, in the days of Julian, Ammianus Marcellinus describes the country of Babylonia, called Assyria by him, as being full of populous cities, date-gardens, and canals.

But a change once more took place under the baneful influence of Mohammedanism; and although during the khalifate of Bagdad, a temporary prosperity was experienced, yet that was soon overthrown by the ravages of the Turks and Tartars, and a country which was once as the garden of Eden, lovely in appearance, became remarkable for sterility, poverty, and neglect.

On the map of Rennell, there are eight of these communicating canals, exclusive of smaller ones, the traces of several of which are still visible, but many more have been destroyed. In the days of the khalifate, four canals of communication are recorded by Abulfeda to have existed; but at present, and for several ages back, one only has remained open, and even that one runs only during the period of the floods of the Euphrates. This is called the

Nahar Isa, or the canal of Isa. This was the first and most northerly of these ancient canals, and it was derived from the Euphrates, at a place called Dehuma, near Anbar, the Macepracta of Julian. In the time of Abulfeda, it lost itself in the Tigris, in the heart of western Bagdad. By Ammianus Marcellinus it was called Barax, or Bara Malchi; its modern name was derived from Isa Ibn Abdallah Ibn Abbas.

Nahar Sarsar.—No traces of the Sarsar canal, which existed under the khalifa, are now visible. It seems to have been a very ancient canal, as it is one of those mentioned by Xenophon, which joined the Tigris immediately below Sittace, and which seems to have been the shortest of all the canals between the two rivers. It derived its sources below the Isa, and flowed into the Tigris above Madayn, which corresponds to the modern Zimberaniyah. Ammianus notices a canal between Macepracta and Perisabor, on the Nahar Malcha, which is identified with the Sarsar. He denominates it Maoganalecha, and mentions a city of that name in connexion with it.

Nahar Malcha.—The bed of the Nahar Malcha, or Royal Canal, is still traceable, and must have occupied the same position in Macedonian and Roman times, as in those of the khalifate. Tradition attributes its excavation to Nimrod, and by Tabari it is described as the work of Cush, king of Babel; from which we may conclude that its origin is coeval with the earliest period of the Babylonian monarchy.* The Nahar Malcha extended from Macepracta, on the Euphrates, to Seleucia, on the Tigris, and it was the canal by which Trajan and Julian transported their respective armies to Ctesiphon. Herodotus says it was of sufficient breadth and depth to be navigable for merchant vessels; hence it is, that some theological writers have considered it as the ancient bed of the Euphrates.

Kutha Canal.—According to Abulfeda, this canal was derived from the Euphrates, a little below the Nahar Malcha, and it watered the territory of Irak. It is mentioned by Ahmed Ibn Yusuf, and is the same as the Kawa of Rennell. It derived its name from Kutha, near Babel, in

the province of Irak, where the text of the Talmud, in Bava Yathra, says, that the patriarch Abraham was imprisoned three years.

Besides these canals, which are termed the canals of Xenophon, there were many others, the names of which are unknown. Thus below Samarra, once the regal seat of several Abbasside khalifa, there was a large canal drawn to a considerable distance to the west of the Tigris, and which extended from thence as far south as the canals of communication, three of which were intersected by this large branch, and the third of which reconveyed its waters at the place now called Imaum Musa, three miles above the bridge of Bagdad, and at the termination of the Median wall. The space included by this large canal between Samarra and Imaum Musa was denominated by both Greek and Roman geographers, Mesene, or the "island," and Apamia Mesene, from the city of Apamia, below Samarra. This was a beautiful, fertile, and populous tract, being also intersected with other canals, drawn from the large canal to the Tigris. It was navigable, and from its size was called Didjel, or "Little Tigris." From the Euphrates, two other canals were drawn to the Didjel. The first of these commenced about thirty geographical miles from the Pass of Pylar; the second, seen by Balbi, commenced four geographical miles below this. Two other canals are mentioned by Xenophon, as occurring in the space of three parasangs, or about eight miles from this.

Canals of Babylon.—In the time of Abulfeda, when the Nahar Malcha ceased to carry off a main part of the waters of the Euphrates, this river is described as dividing, after passing the Nahar Kulbah by six parasangs, or about fifteen miles, into two streams, previous to which, it parted with more canals, which belonged to the city of Babylon Proper. The quarter of Babylon called Bospippa, or Bursif, had its canal; and Abulfeda describes the main stream of the Euphrates as flowing to the city of Nil, that quarter in which Babylon was situated, and giving off the canal of Nil, after which it is called Nahar Sirat. The mounds of Babel, and the Mujelibe, or "overturned," are nearly surrounded by two canals which bear that name at the present date. The Euphrates, moreover, in all probability, flowed between the Kasr, or palace, and the Amran, which is identified with the western palace of Diodorus. On the authority of Abulfeda, the Euphrates, after passing the Nahar Kulbah by the distance before mentioned, and giving off the Nil, was divided into two streams, the southernmost of which passed into Kufah, and going beyond it, was lost in the marshes of the Rumlyah. Anterior to the days of this geographer, it flowed by Ur, or Orchoe, being joined in the parallel of Duwamyeh by the Pallacopas of Alexander, and ultimately emptied itself into the sea in the neighbourhood of Teredon. The same authority describes the prolongation of the larger branch of the Euphrates, beyond the Kasr Ibn Hobiersh, by the name of Nahar Sares. This name means "fetid river," and it appears to have been given to that portion of the Euphrates which lay below the Royal Canal, at a time when that derivative carried away a large part of the waters of the Great River. The remainder, flowing singly

* Abydenus attributes it to Nebuchadnezzar, who excavated it, he says, to convey the waters of the Euphrates, when it overflowed, into the Tigris, before they reached Babylon.

onward, by Babel and Susa, to lose itself in the marshes of Babylon, became impure from stagnation, and hence it obtained its name.

MODERN CANALS.

Among the canals of more recent date, according to Al Brisi, was that of the Rehoboth of Scripture, Gen. x. 11; and, upon the same authority, and that of most oriental geographers, the canal Al Kadder, or Alcatar. Two other canals are mentioned, under the names of the Kerbelah, and the Nesjiff canal. The Kerbelah canal derived its name from Kerbelah, a populous town in the time of Abdul Khurrim. This canal was re-opened by Hassan Pasha, of Bagdad, at an expense of 20,000*l.* sterling, after the Persians had retreated to the tomb of their prophet, from the oppressions of Nadir Shah. The Nesjiff canal was constructed by the Nadir Shah; and, according to Abdul Khurrim, it is sixteen parasangs, or about forty miles, from Kerbelah, and one from Kufali. Of the present appearance of Babylonia, Ainsworth says—"The great extent of the plain of Babylonia is every where altered by artificial works: mounds rise upon the otherwise uniform level; walls, and mud ramparts, and dykes, intersect each other: elevated masses of friable soil and pottery are succeeded by low plains, inundated during great part of the year; and the antique beds of canals are visible in every direction. There is still some cultivation, and some irrigation. Flocks pasture in meadows of the coarse grasses, (*sedges* and *cyperaceae*;) the Arabs' dusky encampments are met with here and there; but, except on Euphrates' banks, there are few remains of the date groves, the vineyards, and the gardens, which adorned the same land in the days of Artaxerxes; and still less of the population and labour, which must have made a garden of such a soil, in the times of Nebuchadnezzar."

This leads to a notice of

THE EUFRATES.

The original Hebrew name of this river was Phrat, by which name it is locally distinguished to the present day, the elements of which still remain in that we have adopted from the Greek.

In Scripture, the Euphrates is frequently mentioned as "the great river," to which distinction it is fully entitled. The stream of the Euphrates rises in two widely separated sources, one in the elevated regions of Armenia, near Erzeroum, and the other near the town of Bayazid, on the Persian frontier. The junction of these streams takes place in the recesses of the Taurus, near the town of Kebhan. After having pierced the mountains, the river continues its south-western course towards the Mediterranean; but being repelled by the mountains near Samosata, it inclines a little to the south-east, and afterwards takes more decidedly that direction, which it pursues, until it ultimately joins the Tigris at Korna, in Irak Arabi. The united stream then takes the name of Shint ul Arab, or River of the Arabs, and finally enters the Persian Gulf, above seventy miles below the city of Bassora.

The total course of the Euphrates is estimated at 1,735 British miles. Its breadth from Bir to its junction with the Tigris, varies from 300 to 450 yards, though it is occasionally little more than half that breadth. At times, where islan is occur in the middle of the stream, it widens to 800 yards, and in some instances to three-quarters of a mile in breadth. Concerning the breadth of rivers, lakes, and inlets of the sea, however, the guesses of ordinary travellers are generally vague. The comparative size of the basin of the Euphrates, including that of the Tigris, is forty-two times larger than that of the Thames, and its annual average discharge 108,000 cubical feet per second, or sixty times that of the Thames. Of itself, the basin of the Euphrates may be considered as enclosing an area of 108,000 geographical miles.

The stream of the Euphrates flows at the rate of five miles an hour, in the season of the flood; but at other times it does not exceed three miles an hour in the greater part of its course. Rich, however, says, that at Hillah, the maximum velocity of the Euphrates is seven miles an hour; and Ainsworth reports, that the rapidity of the stream varies in different places. He says, in the depressions of the alluvial plain, it is often not a mile an hour, but over the high ground, as at Kalat Gerah, it runs nearly three miles an hour, that at Hillah, where the stream is confined, it flows four knots through the bridge, and that the Upper Euphrates averages from three to four miles.

The Euphrates flowing, in the lower portion of its course, through a vast plain between low banks, the periodical increase of its waters causes it to overflow, like the Nile, sometimes inundating the country to a great extent, and leaving extensive lakes and marshes in its neighbourhood, after the river has retired to its channel. The rise of the Euphrates begins in March, and continues till the commencement of June, at which time there is nowhere less than from twelve to sixteen feet depth of water. In the low season, it is generally from six to ten feet; but in some places, even at this season, it is eighteen feet. In describing the average depth, the natives are accustomed to say, that it is equal to the height of two men. The water is lowest in November and the three succeeding months; but sometimes there is a slight increase in January.

Ainsworth, in describing the alluvial soil, which the Euphrates, like the Nile, brings down in its course, says:—"The period at which the waters of Euphrates are most loaded with mud, are in the first floods of January; the gradual melting of the snows in early summer, which preserve the high level of the waters, do not, at the same time, contribute much sedimentary matter. From numerous experiments made at Bir, in December and January, 1836, I found the maximum of sediment mechanically suspended in the waters, to be equal to 1-80th part of the bulk of fluid, or every cubic inch of water contained 1-80th part of its bulk of suspended matters; and from similar experiments, instituted in the month of October of the same year, at the issue of the waters from the Lemlon Marshes, I only obtained a maximum of 1-200th part of a cubic inch

of water (mean temp. 74°.) The sediments of the river Euphrates, which are not deposited in the upper part of the river's course, are finally deposited in the Leshun Marshes. In navigating the river in May, 1835, the water flowing into the marshes was coloured deeply by mud, but left the marshes in a state of comparative purity; and this is equally the case in the Chaldean Marshes, below Oran el Bak, the "Mother of Mosquitoes."

According to Pliny, the ancient method of navigating the Euphrates was very remarkable. The vessels used were round, without distinction of head or stern, and little better than wicker baskets coated over with hides, which were guided along with oars or paddles. These vessels were of different sizes, and some of them capable of carrying burdens of palm wine or other merchandize, to the weight of 5,000 talents, (equal, according to Bishop Cumberland's calculation, to about sixty-two tons English,) having, according to their size, beasts of burden on board. When the vessels had thus fallen down the river to Babylon, the crew unloaded their cargo, and sold their vessel, but kept the hides; and, loading their beasts with them, returned home by land, the force of the stream preventing their backward course by water; steam navigation alone can overcome this disadvantage.

THE PRODUCTIONS OF BABYLONIA.

Herodotus declares that, of all the countries he had visited, none was so suitable as Babylonia for cultivation; and he says that the return was generally two, and sometimes three hundred fold; in which testimony Strabo, the first of ancient geographers, agrees. This fertility arose from the system of irrigation before described, as well as from the richness of the alluvial soil of the plain, and the salubrity of the climate. It does not appear, however, that the plains of Babylonia abounded in the various luxuries of life. The contrary, indeed, appears from the song of the captive Hebrews, while sitting on the margin of its waters. This song shows how acutely they regretted their exile from their own pleasant land, the land of the olive and the vine, (which Babylonia is not, in the strict sense of the word,) and their own possessions and high enjoyments there. See Ps. cxxxvii.

The productions for which Babylonia was chiefly celebrated were the date palm, which flourished naturally through the breadth of the plain, and which afforded the Babylonians meat, wine, and honey; sesame, which afforded them oil instead of the olive; barley, millet, and wheat. For grain, it exceeded every other land. The millet and the sesame, says Herodotus, grew up as trees, and the leaves of the barley and wheat were four fingers broad. Babylonia, indeed, for vegetable productions, in ancient times, might be justly compared with Egypt. But it is not so now. According to the prediction of the prophet, the sower is cut off from Babylon, and a drought is upon her waters, and they are dried up, Jer. L 16. 38. All is now an arid desert, offering only some few patches of cultivation near the few settlements which it contains. The grove trees, so numerous, beautiful, and flourish-

ing, in the days of Xenophon and Ammianus Marcellinus, have disappeared with the villages, and are only to be found in and about the principal towns, a few instances excepted, where they mark the site of a place not long deserted. In the city of Babylon itself, which, according to ancient historians, contained within the walls much spare ground that was cultivated and ploughed for corn, there are now no pastures; thus literally fulfilling prophecy, which saith:

"Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there;
Neither shall the shepherds make their fold there."
Isa. xlii. 20.

The soil of Irak Arabi, which, as the reader has seen in a former page, nearly corresponds to ancient Babylonia, may in general be characterized as a sandy clay, covered with the rubbish of ruined towns and canals. The banks of the Euphrates and Shat-al-Ile are not so perfectly desolate as those of the Tigris; but it is only near rivers and canals that we may expect any redeeming features in the landscape. On the Euphrates, the territory of the Khezail Arabs contains rich pastures and good cultivation, and many villages. But this territory is very limited, and all the remaining portion of the plain bears its testimony to the truth of Holy Writ, which says:

"Behold, the hindmost of the nations shall be
A wilderness, a dry land, and a desert."—Jer. i. 12.

The banks of the rivers, and particularly the Tigris, are skirted to a great extent with the tamarisk shrub, which in some places attains the height of twenty or twenty-five feet. The common tamarisk of the country, the *Athleh*, or *Alte*, of Sonini, is the *Tamarisk Orientalis* of Forskal. The solitary tree of a species which, Heeren says, is altogether strange to this country, and which Rich calls *Lignum Vitæ*, found growing upon the ruins of the Kasr at Babylon, and which has been supposed to be a last remnant or offspring of the sloping or hanging gardens, that appeared to Quintus Curtius like a forest, is also a tamarisk, but it differs from the *Athleh* in size. This tree possesses scaly branches and long slender petioles, with few leaves; the appearance, however, is supposed by some to have been produced by a scanty supply of water and great age, from whence they argue that it may belong to the common species. Curtius says this tree was eight cubits, near fifteen feet, in girth. The tree bears every mark of antiquity in appearance, situation, and tradition. By the Arabs it is regarded as sacred, from a tradition that it was preserved by the Almighty from the earliest times, to be a refuge in after ages for the Khalif Ali, who, fainting from fatigue at the battle of Killah, reposed in security beneath its shade. It must have been more than 1,000 years old at the reputed time of the engagement, so that it may be supposed a germ from the royal gardens at Babylon.

The willow and the poplar appear in Babylonia, but they rather resemble shrubs than trees, and are more rare than the former plants. The willow was doubtless more abundant on the banks of the Euphrates, in ancient times; for the Hebrews, in their captivity,

"High on the willows, all entwined, unstrung,
Their harps suspended."

Isaiah speaks of Babylon as "The brook of the willows," or, as Prideaux and Rochart would render it, "The valley of the willows," Isa. xv 7. Ainsworth says, however, that the weeping willow, *Salix Babylonica*, is not met with in Babylon, and that a poplar, *Chorab*, with lanceolate and cordate leaves on separate parts of the same branch, has been mistaken for a willow.

Tradition states that the castor oil plant once grew luxuriously in the plains of Babylon, but there is only one specimen existing and that grows as a tree on the site of ancient Ctesiphon. The *Aclepias Syriaca* is tall and abundant in some places, and when young, though deemed by us poison, it is eaten by the Arabs. The Cistob plant sometimes attains the height of six or seven feet. Camel-thorn is very common and the Arabs express a sweet juice from it, in eat the leaves as we do spinach. Among other plants which grow in this desolate region are a rare species of rue, *Calocynthia*, *Chenopodium muricatum*, a beautiful species of *mesembryanthemum cacer*, *Adonis vernalis*, *Centauria*, *Lithospermum heliopsis*, *Lycium* and a beautiful twining species of *Solanum*. The marshes near the Tigris are thickly covered with the blossoms of the white floating cresswort. Of the cultivated fruit trees near the town, the date palm is the most important, it contributes largely to the subsistence of the population. Grapes, figs, pomegranates, quinces, etc., are good, but apples, pears, oranges, etc., are of inferior size and quality. Melons, cucumbers, onions, and other plants of this family are abundant and excellent. But these only grow as stated before, in certain parts of the district. The plains of Babylon, for the most part are characterized, according to the sure word of prophecy, by desolation, as the reader will discover more at large in the ensuing pages.

CLIMATE

Babylon, generally speaking, enjoys a salubrious and wholesome air, though at certain seasons, no air can be more dangerous. Plutarch relates, that the heats were so extraordinary, that the rich were accustomed to sleep in caverns of water. The country is exposed to a pestilential wind, called the Samiel. This wind is popularly considered to prevail during forty days, but its actual duration is often twice as long. During this period, it commonly rises about noon, or somewhat earlier, and continues until three or four o'clock in the afternoon. It is felt like a fiery breeze which has passed over the mouth of a lime-kiln. It seldom or never rains in Babylon, during the space of eight months, and it has been known not to rain for two years and a half. Bauwolt says, the inhabitants reckon, that if it rains two or three times in the year, it is sufficient for their purpose. An idea may be gathered of the temperature of the air of the plains of Babylon from the following table, which was taken at Bagdad, situated in its vicinity, in the years 1830 and 1831.

1830	Mean		Open Shade		Sun	
	Lowest	Highest	Lowest	Highest	Lowest	Highest
April	—	81	—	84	—	113
May	71	94	71	104	80	122
June	87	99	79	104	96	121
July	99	107	94	111	105	130
August	95	104	87	111	91	116
September	84	97	77	106	81	127
October	76	90	61	100	72	121
November	59	77	43	84	51	103
December	37	64	31	67	38	96
1831						
January	49	61	37	78	43	94
February	55	66	48	77	54	95
March	—	—	—	—	61	—

At three in the afternoon, during the heat of the summer it was found that the temperature in uninhabited cellars was two or three degrees less than it had been in the ordinary rooms at eight o'clock in the morning of the days when it was taken.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF ASSYRIA

Under this section, the reader will find all the principal places mentioned in the sacred writings, and by profane writers, as belonging to the empire of Assyria. We commence with those mentioned in the inspired volume, Gen. x. and xi.

TOWER OF BABEL

After the deluge, it appears from the sacred writings that the children of Noah congregated, in their first emigration upon the banks of the Euphrates, in the land of Shinar, and in that part of the land which has been defined under the term Babylon. While there they consulted together to build a very lofty tower, "Go to," said they, "let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach into heaven and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth." Gen. xi. 4. The plan was put into execution, the tower was reaching towards heaven, when the work was stopped by the Almighty. He confounded the language of the builders, and, by this new dispensation, scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth, ver. 5-9.

We should take a narrow view of the works of the Almighty if we supposed that he looked with jealousy on this impotent attempt. Although the works of man may appear fair and magnificent in his own eyes, yet to Him they are nothing, for in his sight

"The nations are as a drop of a bucket
And are counted as the small dust of the balance
Behold, he taketh up the isles as a very little thing
(Isa. xl) 15

It was not the building, but the object, which was displeasing in the sight of the Almighty, and hence the result of his displeasure, their dispersion.

"When Babel was confounded and the great
Confederacy of projectors wild and vain,
Was split into diversity of tongues,
Thou, as a shepherd separat'st his flock,
I hear to the upland, to the valley thence,
God drove asunder and assigned their lot

To all the nations. Ample was the bowl
He gave them, in its distribution fair
And equal; and he bade them dwell in peace."

COWPER.

But has man obeyed his high commands? Ask of history, and of observation, and they will answer, No! The same restless ambition has been displayed by man in all ages of the world; and many, full many, are the Babel builders of our own day. But what availeth their devices and designs? Opposed by the powerful arm of Omnipotence, they are quickly brought to naught; and men are taught to experience the truth of the wise man's words, that

"There is no wisdom nor understanding
Nor counsel against the Lord."—Prov. xxi. 30.

He sits in the heavens, and defeats the impotent attempts of those who oppose his will; and though the whole world should confederate against him, the rebuke of the prophet might be applied to them with beautiful propriety.

"Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces.

And give ear, all ye of far countries.

Gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces.

Gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces.

Take counsel together, and it shall come to naught.

Speak the word, and it shall not stand."—Isa. vii. 9, 10.

It is the wisdom of man to bow at the footstool of his Creator to ask of him wisdom to know, and strength to perform his holy will; it is his happiness to lay down his arms of rebellion, and to seek his mercy through Christ.

The building of a lofty tower is applicable, in the most remarkable manner, to the wide and level plains of Babylon. In that plain no object exists, different to another, to guide the stranger in his journeying; and which in those days, as in the present, was a sea of land, the compass of which was unknown. The effect of these high places remains as striking as ever.

"Chaldean towers o'er the drear land
Seen faintly from the thick tower'd Babylon
Against the sunset."

as the pile of Akkerkoof, the memorable Birs, and the still more colossal mounds of Urchoe, Terodon, and Irak, although they deceive the traveller as to distance, yet still faithfully guide him to one point in his destination.

There is no statement that this great work sustained any damage at the confusion: it is simply stated that the erection ceased. What were its precise dimensions, it is not possible to state: different writers make it range from a furlong to five thousand miles in height! As there was no stone to be found in the alluvial tract washed and produced by the floods of the Euphrates and Tigris, all the building, of whatever kind, must have been built of brick, and cemented in the manner mentioned in Scripture. "And they had brick for stone, and slime had they for mortar," Gen. xi. 3.

It is generally supposed, that this fabric was in a considerable state of forwardness at the confusion, and that it could have sustained no considerable damage, when the building of Babylon was recommenced. From hence, it is not improbable that the original Tower of Babel formed the nucleus of that amazing tower which,

in the time of the early authors of classical antiquity, stood in the midst of the temple which was built by Nebuchadnezzar, in honour of the idol god Belus. This was called the

TOWER OF BELUS.

It would appear that Nebuchadnezzar, whose reign commenced about 605 years B.C., took the idea of making this ancient pile the principal ornament of the city, which it was his delight to render famous. The earliest authentic information concerning this tower, in common history, is derived from the pages of Herodotus. This author did not inspect it, however, till thirty years after it had been damaged by Xerxes, king of Persia, who did so in his indignation against the form of idolatry with which it had become associated. He describes the spot as a sacred inclosure, dedicated to Jupiter Belus, consisting of a regular square, of 1,000 feet on each side, and adorned with gates of brass. In the midst of this area arose a tower, whose length, breadth, and altitude, was 500 feet. The structure consisted of eight towers, one above another, and on the outside, steps were formed, winding up to each tower, and in the middle of every flight seats were provided as resting places. In the topmost tower there was a magnificent chamber, sacred to Belus. This chamber was furnished with a splendid couch, near which was a table of gold. There was no statue there when Herodotus visited Babylon, whence some have concluded that the Assyrians imagined the deity frequented his temple when he pleased. Diodorus, however, states, that there was originally a statue of Belus, forty feet high, erected on its summit; and Herodotus himself was informed by the Chaldeans, that there formerly stood in the temple of Belus, a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, which was spared by Darius Hystaspes, but afterwards was taken away by Xerxes, who slew the priest that forbade its removal. But this latter statue is supposed by Dr. Hales to be the "golden image," made by Nebuchadnezzar, in all the pride of conquest, which he set up as an object of idolatrous worship to his subjects, as recorded by the prophet Daniel. See Dan. iii. 1. It was evidently, he says, distinct from the statue of Jupiter Belus, noticed by Diodorus, and was designed to represent Nebuchadnezzar himself, or the genius of his empire, according to Jerome, supported by Daniel:—"Thou art this head of gold," Dan. ii. 38.

The riches of the temple of Belus, in statues, tables, censers, cups, and other sacred vessels, were immense. All were of massy gold. According to Diodorus, the sum total amounted to 6,300 Babylonish talents of gold, or rather more than 21,000,000*l.* sterling.

About two centuries after the devastations committed by Xerxes, Alexander, among other projects, conceived an idea of restoring this celebrated tower to its pristine splendour. As a preparatory step to this undertaking, he employed 10,000 men to remove the rubbish which had fallen from the dilapidated structure; but, after they had laboured therein two months, Alexander died, and the work ceased. From this it may be inferred by the reader, that but faint traces of the original structure can remain at this

present day. Such is the case; and hence it is that some identify it with the Mujelibé, about 950 yards east of the Euphrates, and five miles above the modern tower of Hillah; others with the Birs Nemroud, to the west of that river, and about six miles to the south-west of Hillah; and others with Nimrod's tower at Akkerkoof.

THE MUJELIBE.

The Mujelibé was first supposed by Pietro Della Velle to be the Tower of Belus. This traveller examined its ruins A.D. 1616, and he characterises the mass as "a mountain of ruins," and again, as a "huge mountain." He is supported in his opinion by D'Anville, Rennell, and other high names; but none of them, except Kenneir, possessed any distinct information concerning the Birs Nemroud.

The Mujelibé, or, "overturned," is one of the most enormous masses of brick-formed earth, raised by the art and labour of man. According to Rich, the mound is of an oblong shape, irregular in its height, with its sides facing the cardinal points. The measurement of the northern side being 200 yards in length; the southern 219; the eastern 182; and the western 136. The elevation of the south-east, or highest angle, he says, is 141 feet. The western face of the building is most interesting, on account of the appearance which it presents. It is a straight wall, that seems to have cased and parapeted this side of the magnificent pile. The south-west angle is rounded off; but whether it was so formed, or it has been thus worn by the hand of time, cannot be stated. On the summit, it is crowned with something like a turret, or lantern. The other angles are not so perfect, but it is probable, they were originally thus ornamented. The western face is the easiest, and the northern the most difficult of access. Every portion of this mighty structure, though erected as if it would resist the utmost shock of time, has been torn by the rains, which here fall in torrents, with the force and body of water-spouts, in a terrific manner. The eastern face, particularly, is worn into a deep channel, from the summit to the base. The summit is covered with heaps of rubbish; in digging into which, layers of broken burned brick, cemented with mortar, are discovered, and whole bricks, with antique inscriptions on them, are not unfrequently found. The whole is covered with fragments of pottery, brick, bitumen, pebbles, vitrified scoria, and even shells, bits of glass, and mother of pearl. Dens of wild beasts (in one of which Rich found the bones of sheep and other animals) are very numerous among this ruin; and in most of the ravines are numbers of bats and owls. Yes, these mighty buildings, which were once, perhaps, the chambers of royalty, are now the haunts of jackals, and other ferocious animals; reminding us of the awful prediction of the prophet:

"Wild beasts of the desert shall lie there;
And their houses shall be full of doleful creatures;
And owls shall dwell there,
And screech shall dance there.
And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their desolate houses,
And dragons in their pleasant places."—*Isa. xlii. 21, 22.*

It may be mentioned that the Hebrew word *Shairim*, rendered "satyr" here, is translated by Dr. Henderson "wild goats," and it literally signifies "hairy ones;" a signification still preserved in the Vulgate. In Gen. xxvii. 11. 23, in Lev. iv. 24. xvi. 9, it is applied to the goat; and in Lev. xvii. 7, 2 Chron. xi. 15, to objects of idolatrous worship, perhaps in the form of goats, and translated "devils." It is probable, that in the verse quoted, and in Isa. xxxiv. 14, some kind of wild goat is intended; but it may be interesting to observe, that Rich, who explored these masses, A.D. 1812, heard the oriental account of satyrs while thus employed. He had always imagined the belief of the existence of such creatures to be confined to the mythology of the west, but a Tehohadar who accompanied him accidentally mentioned that, in this desert, there is an animal resembling a man from the head to the waist, and having the thighs and the legs of a goat and a sheep. He also informed him that the Arabs hunt it with dogs, and eat the lower parts, abstaining from the upper, on account of their resemblance to the human species. The belief of the existence of such creatures, however ideal, is by no means rare in the vicinity of the Babylonian wilds.

BIRS NEMROUD.

It has been observed, that every one who sees the Birs Nemroud feels at once, that of all the masses of ruin found in this region, there is not one which so nearly corresponds with his previous notions of the Tower of Babel; and he will decide that it could be no other, if he is not discouraged by the apparent difficulty of reconciling the statements of the ancient writers concerning the Temple of Belus with the situation of this ruin on the western bank, and its distance from the river and the other ruins. This difficulty is not insuperable; but without identifying the Birs Nemroud with the Temple of Belus, we prefer giving the reader a description of it, leaving him to draw his own conclusions.

This sublime ruin stands in the midst of a solitary waste, like the awful figure of Prophecy herself, pointing to the complete fulfilment of her thrilling denunciations. "Just," says Rich, "as we were within the proper distance, so necessary to the production of grandeur of view, the Birs at once burst upon our view in the midst of rolling masses of black thick clouds, partially obscured by that kind of haze, whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity; while a few catches of stormy light, thrown on the desert, in the back ground, served to give some idea of the immense extent and dreary solitude of the waste surrounding the venerable pile."

The Birs Nemroud is a mound of an oblong form, the total circumference of which is 732 yards. At the eastern side, it is cloven by a deep furrow, and is not more than fifty or sixty feet high; but on the western side, it rises in a conical figure, to the elevation of 188 feet; and on its summit is a solid pile of brick, thirty-seven feet high by twenty-eight in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is broken and irregular, and rent by a large fissure, extending through a third of its height. It is perforated

by small square holes, disposed in rhomboids. The fire-burned bricks of which it is built have inscriptions on them, and so excellent is the cement, which appears to be lime-mortar, that it is nearly impossible to extract one whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the action of the fiercest fire, or had been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of brick being perfectly discernible. The ruins stand on a prodigious mound, the whole of which is itself in ruins, channelled by the weather, and strewed with fragments of blackstone, sandstone, and marble. In the eastern part, layers of unburned brick, but no reeds, are discernible. In the north side, may be seen traces of building, exactly similar to the brick pile. At the foot of the mound, a step may be traced, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent, by several feet each way, the true, or measured base; and there is a quadrangular enclosure around the whole, as at the Mujelibe, but more distinct, and of greater dimensions.

This stupendous structure is believed, both by Rich and Ker Porter, to be the remains of the celebrated Temple and Tower of Babel, completed, if not commenced by Nebuchadnezzar. Porter seems to show that three, and part of the fourth original stages of the tower, as described by Diodorus, may be traced in the existing ruins of Birs Nemroud; and with regard to the intense vitrifying heat, to which the summit has evidently been subjected, he says, that he has no doubt that the fire acted from above, and was probably lightning. This circumstance is assuredly most remarkable, in connexion with the tradition of the Arabs, that the original Tower of Babel was rent and overthrown by fire from heaven. The same author conceives that the works of the Babylonish kings concealed, for a season, the marks of the original devastation, and that now, the destruction of time and man have reduced it to nearly the same condition in which it appeared after the confusion. As it exists, it reminds the beholder of the emphatic words of the prophet:

"Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord,
Which destroyest all the earth
And I will stretch out mine hand upon thee,
And roll thee down from the rocks
And will make thee a burnt mountain
And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner,
Nor a stone for foundations.
But thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord."

Jer. li. 25, 26.

Scarcely half this elevation now stands. In the piece of brick wall, now surmounting the pile, 270 feet from the eastern face of the Birs, is a great mound, equal to the Kasr in elevation, and 1,242 feet broad by 1,935 feet in length. The whole of its summit and sides are furrowed into hollows and traversing channels, the effect of time, violence, and accident, and all are imbedded with fragments of the same nature as the other mounds. It is supposed that this mound contained the minor temples of the attendant gods of the chief divinity, and also the abodes of the priesthood, with their attendants.

Within the quadrangle of two miles and a half, stood the mound and the temple itself, with a large open area expanding on all sides; but on the north side, from the top of the mound, at the distance of 400 feet, mounds of various elevation are descried. Clustering ranges appear to continue curving round to the west, where a vacuum occurs, after which they recommence running eastward. Other chains, of apparently greater magnitude, rise to the west, at 200 yards from the Birs, and these are connected with others to the north and south; so that the whole quadrangle seems to have been filled with variously-erected structures. These were doubtless erected for the protection of the various animals worshipped according to the Sabian ritual, the officers in attendance, and the many occasional residents of the place; for the inhabitants regarded the Birs Nemroud as a temple, a college, a royal sanctuary, and even a fortress, in the days of extremity.

NINROD'S TOWER.

This pyramidal mass, which many travellers have taken for the ruined Tower of Babel, stands about ten miles to the north-west of Bagdad. By the Arabs, who refer every thing ancient to Nimrod, it is denominated 'Tel Nemroud; and by the Turks, Nemroud Tepasse: which appellations some translate "The Tower of Nimrod," but which signifies "The hill." The term Akker-koof, given it by the Arabs, is intended to signify the ground around it; and the word having no distinct meaning, it is supposed by some that it was probably the name of some ancient city of the Babylonians, now buried in the dust. Thus Rennell thinks it to be the ancient Agrami; D'Anville, the ancient Sittace; and Ker Porter, the city of Accad, mentioned Gen. x. 10, as one of the principal cities of Nimrod's kingdom.

The ruined mass of the Tower of Nimrod rises 180 feet above the level of the plain, and 126 feet above the mound whereon it is erected. Its circumference at the base of the upper structure is 300 feet, and 900 feet within ten feet of the base on the mound. The whole mass is computed at 300,000 cubical feet. It is composed of the same materials as the structures before described, and seems to be solid, except certain square perforations, resembling those of the turret of the Birs Nemroud. Like that of the Birs, there is reason to believe that this pile, as well as the lofty conical mounds of Al Hymér, were the temples and mansions of the Sabian priesthood, and dedicated to the worship of the host of heaven. A number of relics of Babylonish idolatry have been dug out of the ruins of the Kasr, and the hill of Amzám; and it is probable many more might be discovered on a close investigation.

CITY OF BABYLON.

There can be no doubt that this famous metropolis of the Assyrian empire was erected upon the site of that first post-diluvian city of which there is any record, and which was built by Nimrod, Babel. See Gen. x. 10. The town founded by Nimrod could have been but of little importance; but its greatness, after it had been

enlarged and improved by Belus, Semiramis, Nebuchadnezzar, and his queen, whom Herodotus calls Nitocris, is shown by the writings of ancient historians, and the ruins now found on the site. Herodotus, with whom Pliny and Solinus agree, says that Babylon was a perfect square, each side of which was about twelve miles, and its circuit forty-eight, and that it was so magnificent, that no city could be compared with it. The walls were about 350 feet high, and eighty wide, and it was encompassed with a wide ditch, deep, and full of water. On the top were erected small watch towers, of one story high, leaving a space between them through which a chariot and four horses might pass and turn. In the circumference of the wall, at stated intervals, were a hundred massy gates of brass, whose hinges and frames were of the same metal. The Euphrates ran through the city, and divided it into two parts. Each wall formed an elbow, or angle on the river, at which point a wall of baked brick commenced, and the two sides of the river were lined with similar walls. The houses were built of three and four stories. The streets were straight, and intersected by others, which opened at the side of the river. Opposite the end of the streets, small gates of brass were formed in the walls which lined the river; and there were as many gates as there were transverse streets. The external wall served for defence, and there was also an internal wall, narrower, but still very strong.

A bridge was built by Nitocris, queen of Babylon, to connect the two parts of the city divided by the Euphrates. The piers of this bridge were formed of large hewn stones, and in order to fix them in the river, the waters of the Euphrates were turned, leaving the bed of the river dry. It was at this time that the banks of the river were lined with the walls, and the descents to the river from the smaller gates were made. The bridge was built about the middle of the city, and the masonry connected with iron and lead. During the day, pieces of squared wood were laid from pier to pier, which were removed at night, lest the inhabitants on each side should rob one another. When the whole was completed, the waters of the Euphrates were turned back into their ancient course.

Among the curiosities of Babylon, the most celebrated were, the temple and tower of Belus, which ran through the centre of the city, from north to south; the palace of Nebuchadnezzar, which formed the citadel; and the spacious hanging gardens, contiguous to the royal palace, which were built by Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify his wife, who was a native of Media, a mountainous country, with the resemblance of her own, in the level country of Babylon.

The magnificence of this renowned city, after its enlargement and improvement by Nebuchadnezzar, when it became one of the wonders of the world, is strongly expressed by the arrogant boast of that haughty monarch: "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" Dan. iv. 30. But where now is all its greatness? Reader, while in the plenitude of its power, and, according to

the most accurate chronologists, one hundred and sixty years before the foot of an enemy entered its gates, the voice of prophecy pronounced its doom, and a succession of ages has brought it gradually to the dust:

"The kings thy sword had slain, the mighty dead,
Start from their thrones, at thy descending tread.
They ask in scorn, Destroyer, is it thou?
Art thou—thou too!—become like one of us?
Turn from the feast of music, wine, and mirth,
The worm thy covering, and thy couch the earth?
How art thou fall'n from thine ethereal height,
Son of the morning, sunk in endless night!
How art thou fall'n, who midst in pride of soul,
I will ascend above the stars, pole,
Thence rule the adorning nations with my rod,
And set my throne above the mount of God?
Spit in the dust, thy blood pollutes the ground;
Sought by the eyes that fear if true, yet not found,
Thy Christians pause, they turn thy relics o'er,
Then pass thee by, for thou art now no more."

MONTEAGUE.

It is a common opinion, that the destruction of Babylon has been so complete, that its site cannot now be discovered, not even by the investigation of the most scientific geographers, and learned antiquarians. This opinion is founded upon the declaration of the prophet, that the Almighty would "cut off from Babylon the name and remnant," and that he would perform this by making it "pools of water," Isa. xiv. 22, 23. This prediction, however, does not mean that every vestige of Babylon should be annihilated, but that it should cease to exist as a city, so called; and that every remnant of it, as an inhabited city, should be cut off, that no human being should make it his abode. Nor does it mean that the whole space including the city, should become a pool of water, for if it did, that very circumstance would point out to the traveller its ancient site. That such was never intended, is distinctly demonstrated by the present aspect of the remains, pointed out as those of Babylon, which answers in a remarkable manner to the recorded predictions of Holy Writ. These predictions will be noticed, after describing briefly the site and the ruins of that once "golden city."

The best authorities place Babylon near Hillah, a town situated on the Euphrates, which was erected out of the ruins in its vicinity, A. D. 1101, and which is about forty-eight miles south of Bagdad. This opinion is founded on, 1. The latitude of the place, as given by the best oriental geographers, compared with the situation of Babylon, as recorded by classical writers; 2. The stupendous magnitude and extent of the adjacent ruins; 3. Its vicinity to the biminous fountains of Hitt, mentioned by Herodotus, as being eight days' journey above Babylon, upon a stream of the same name, which falls into the Euphrates; and, 4. From the circumstance that the whole surrounding district has been distinguished by the name of Babel, from the remotest ages to the present hour. The author of "Critical Geography," after ably analyzing the opinions of ancient and modern geographers, concludes by saying, that, taking all these authorities together, the site of old Babylon is clearly pointed out to be at, or in the direction of Hillah; and he thus determines its geographical position:

As the longitude of Bagdad is, according to Rich, $44^{\circ} 45' 45''$ E. of Greenwich, and N. latitude $33^{\circ} 19' 40''$; and as the longitude of Hillah, by the same authority, is $40^{\circ} 33' 9''$, or $12^{\circ} 36'$ of Bagdad, and its latitude $32^{\circ} 31' 16''$ N., or 38 geographical miles S. of the parallel of Bagdad, and its general bearing from that place is S. 13 W., and the road distant 50 geographical, or rather more than 57½ English miles; we may fix the southern limit of the ruins indicating its site, in $32^{\circ} 33'$ N. latitude, and E. longitude $44^{\circ} 32'$ N. of Greenwich, two miles W. of Hillah.

It is not possible to determine precisely the extent and circumference of ancient Babylon, so as to decide which of the various statements of Herodotus, Pliny, Strabo, Solinus, Ctesias, Diodorus, Clitarchus, and Curtius, are correct. The broad walls of Babylon are broken down, and neither wall nor ditch exists within the area to point out where they stood. Untraceable, however, as the walls now are, some traces of the ancient city commence at two canals, rising east and west, immediately to the south of the village of Mahowil, and a little east of the eastern bank of the Euphrates. One of these canals is crossed by a brick bridge, and as soon as the traveller has gained the opposite side, the vestiges of the fallen city present themselves to his view in awful grandeur. For the distance of twelve miles along the banks of the Euphrates, his eye wanders over mounds of temples, palaces, and human habitations of every kind, now buried in shapeless heaps; and he travels onward amidst a silence, profound as that which presides over the abodes of the dead.

The first object surveyed, after crossing the bridge, is a mound of considerable elevation, about five hundred yards from the second canal. The sloping sides of this mound are covered with broken bricks and other fragments of buildings, while the ground around its base presents a nitrous surface. A few hundred yards in the advance, is another mound of still greater elevation, from which other elevations project in several directions. Two miles from the bridge are the remains of a larger and higher embankment than that of a simple watercourse, and which seems to be the remnant of some interior boundary. The road from this embankment, for the space of four miles, though somewhat even, is nevertheless broken by several mounds, detached portions of canal embankments, and other indications of a place in ruin. These are mingled with large marshy hollows in the ground, and large nitrous spots, which arise from the deposits of accumulated rubbish. At the end of this tract of four miles, a spacious canal is encountered, beyond which, eastward, is a vast uninterrupted flat. At the distance of half an hour's ride from this canal, the eastern face of the Mujelibe is descried. After a further ride of an hour and a quarter in the same direction, the Euphrates appears in sight; the view of its north-eastern bank being hitherto totally excluded by the long intervening lines of ruin, which in the ear of reason reiterates the words of the prophet:

"Babylon is fallen, is fallen," Isa. xli. 9.

From this point to the base of the Mujelibe,

large masses of ancient foundations spread on the right, more resembling natural hills than mounds, and concealing the ruins of splendid edifices. Amid these ruins, the majestic Euphrates flows in peaceful solitude; and although the glory of that river is also departed, it is still a noble feature of the waste scenery.

The ruins which claim most attention are comprised within an area of rather more than two miles, from east to west, and about the same distance from south to north. This space is bounded by the river along its western limits, and contains a great number of small mounds, and three immense masses of ruins, denominated the Amram Hill, the Kasr, or palace, and the Mujelibe. This latter mound is five miles north of Hillah. To the north-west of this mound commences a magnificent rampart, which, running along its northern and eastern sides, takes its course southward, till intersected by the Nil canal. At this point it makes a curve, stretching away direct for rather more than two miles, at the end of which is an opening of three hundred feet, which is supposed to have been once intended for a majestic gateway. The rampart recommences on the southern side of this opening, and runs in an answering and expanding direction south-west, for a mile and a half, where it unites with a cluster of low mounds, connected with the great mass of ruins south of the hill of Amram. The whole of this rampart is broad and elevated, and along its summits and slopes are traces of ancient buildings; but no moat has been discovered. This space has been compared to a drawn bow from whence the arrow has just been discharged; the river forming the bow, and the two lines of the rampart the string. It is intersected by another ridge of mounds, commencing seven hundred yards south of the Nil canal, and running direct across the area to the opposite side of the rampart.

A little to the west of this, another mound commences, which appears rather low till an opening occurs, when it is seen again rising in high elevations, covered with the wreck of ancient buildings. At the north end of this ridge of mound another commences, striking off nearly at an angle from that point, and running direct west to the river, where it terminates in an elevated mass; the shore being there extremely steep and high, forming an admirable defence against the river, and the sudden invasion of an enemy. This is supposed to be the river embankment built by Nebuchadnezzar, who fortified it with brick and bitumen fortifications, and over against every street leading to its banks placed a brazen gate, with stairs leading down to the water. Diodorus and Ctesias say, that these embankments were formed of sun-dried bricks in courses; and such may yet be found in regular layers along the steep shore, from north to south, and huge fragments of the exterior walls are discerned both on the margin of and beneath the stream. From this point, the river bulwark runs north-west to the mouth of the Nil canal; and from the same point it runs south along the bending course of the river for three quarters of a mile, till it arrives at a point where the river has changed its channel westward. Beyond this deviation, the bulwark commences in a rapid

amount of forty-five feet, following the course of the stream for about 700 yards, till it is lost in the dense woods of bushes and date trees leading to Hillah. Thus this famous embankment has been distinctly traced for the space of 2,000 yards, along the eastern shore of the Euphrates.

On the north of Hillah, the first ruin that meets the eye of the traveller is a mound called Jumjama, an epithet which, like Golgotha and Calvary, signifies, "the place of a skull." South of this is the Amram hill, which is 1,100 yards in length, and 800 in breadth, and the figure of which nearly resembles that of a quadrant. The elevation of this mound is somewhat irregular, but at intervals it rises to seventy feet above the level of the plain. It is broken by deep ravines and long winding furrows, and the whole appears one vast elevated mass of earth, mixed with fragments of brick, pottery, vitrifications, mortar, and bitumen. At the foot of the narrowest and most elevated part of the embankment, a number of urns are cemented into the burned brick of the wall, which are filled with ashes, intermingled with small fragments of human bones.

A little to the north of the Amram hill is the Kasr, or Palace, an august ruin, rising full seventy feet above the general level. The whole of this mass is furrowed into deep ravines, intersecting each other in every direction, and as the traveller passes over it, his feet sink into dust and rubbish. Every vestige discovered in it shows it to have been composed of buildings superior to all the rest in this section of the ruins, but the excavations which are constantly going forward there to obtain bricks, make it difficult to decipher the original designs of the mound. In some places, the workmen have bored into the solid mass, discovering on every hand walls of burned brick laid in lime mortar, fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthenware, marble, and varnished tiles. Rich discovered a colossal lion, standing on a pedestal of coarse granite of a grey colour, and of rude workmanship. This was on the north side of the mound; and immediately west of it are the ruins peculiarly denominated the Kasr, or Palace.

There is one remarkable difference between the material of the Kasr, and that of the Mujelibe and the Birs Nemroud. The latter piles are vast internal courses of sun-dried bricks, consolidated by the intervention of reeds and slime; but the Kasr is formed of furnace-burned brick, with its necessary cements. Every brick has been found, on examination, to be placed with its face downward; and where bitumen has been used, the bricks of each course were covered with a layer of bitumen, spread over with reeds, or laid in regular matting; and on this preparation the faces of the succeeding courses were imbedded. This agrees with the account of Herodotus, who states that the bricks for the walls were made of the clay dug from the moat that surrounded them; that in order to join them together, warm bitumen was used, and that between every course of thirty bricks, beds of reeds were laid, interwoven together. The piles of the walls, still standing, are from sixteen to eighteen feet above the general line of their broken summit, and their thickness is from eight to nine

feet. Their materials are so strongly cemented together, that though the bricks form the hardest part of the wall, yet they cannot be detached from the mortar. All the portions of brick remaining in this vast ruin, present traces of long passages or square chambers. The arch never appears, which is an evidence of the antiquity of the masses. From this, indeed, both Rich and Ker Porter conclude, that the Kasr is part of the ruins of the terraced palace of Nebuchadnezzar; and as this is stated by Herodotus to be about seven and a half miles in circumference, the latter thinks that the large rampart described was the outer wall, and that the space included within the rampart answers to that recorded by the historian. One circumstance, which appears confirmatory of this opinion, is, that on the northern side of the Kasr, among the mouldering fragments, stands the solitary tree before described, called *Athele* by the Arabs. This would appear to be a solitary survivor, or rather a descendant, of those that adorned the renowned hanging gardens of Nebuchadnezzar.

About a mile to the north, and 950 yards east of the river, is the famous mound called the Mujelibe. On the west, there are no ruins at all correspondent to those on the eastern side of the river. There are a few small mounds enclosed by mud walls, and surrounded by cultivation, but there is no appearance of ruins. But though no ruins exist in the immediate vicinity of the western bank, yet the most stupendous of all the remains of Babylon exist in the desert about six miles south-west of Hillah, and nine miles south-east of the Mujelibe. These are the ruins of the Birs Nemroud, before described.

To the north-west of the village of Anana, there is a mound 300 yards long, by fourteen feet high; and two miles farther, north west, is a numerous assemblage of mounds, the most considerable of which is thirty-five feet high. These mounds extend three miles, and Ker Porter conceives that they are the ruins of the lesser and older palaces of the Babylonian monarchs. A mile beyond this, the plain becomes sterile, and presents, for more than half a mile in breadth, a multitude of minor mounds. About three miles onward, in the road to the Birs Nemroud, is another space covered with remains of buildings, extending nearly two miles, thereby establishing the fact, that the western plain of the Euphrates sustained its portion of the city of Babylon.

Such are the remains of Babylon, and such its site, as identified by travellers; and hence is shown that the vast dimensions assigned to the city by Herodotus may be correct. It must not be supposed, however, that an area of one hundred and forty-four square miles was inhabited. As stated in the former chapter, there was enclosed within the wall that surrounded it, a large space of ground devoted to cultivation. It was, indeed, a walled province or district, containing a number of detached squares or villages, with open areas on every hand, and within them circular spaces surrounded with walls. The streets, which are said to have led from gate to gate across the area, were probably only roads through cultivated lands, over which buildings were distributed in groups. Curtius records this as a

fact; and Xenophon reports, that when Cyrus took the city, which event occurred by night, the inhabitants of the opposite quarter of the town were ignorant of it till the third hour of the day, that is, three hours after sun-rise, which would arise from the distance of one cluster of houses from another. Besides, the cities of Asia are built very different from those of Europe; the houses being widely separate from each other, and having gardens, parks, and enclosures on the sides and behind, though the streets facing the houses are narrow. Taking these facts into consideration, and remembering that Babylon was the seat of royalty, and that a large part of the space enclosed was occupied by the royal palaces, parks, and gardens, besides the Mujelibe, the Temple of Belus, etc., it may be safely conjectured, that not above one-third of the enclosure was occupied by habitations, or three times the space occupied by London, which is reckoned at sixteen square miles. On this reduced scale, the population would be enormous, amounting to between three and four millions of human beings; yet a number not beyond the bounds of belief.

It remains now to trace out how far the aspect of the ruins of Babylon answers to the recorded predictions of Scripture.

The prophet says,

"And Babylon shall become heaps."—*Jer. li. 37.*

And what, it may be asked, are the mounds of the Kasr, the Mujelibe, the Amram, the Anana, the triangular mound east of the Birs, and the majestic Birs itself, but immense heaps? Vast tumuli, and palaces of human habitations of every description, buried in undistinguishable heaps, are all that remain of this once "golden city." "From the summit of the ruins of the Tower or Temple of Belus, 235 feet high," says Major Keppel, "we had a distinct view of the vast heaps which constitute all that now remains of ancient Babylon: a more complete picture of desolation could not well be imagined. The eye wandered over a barren desert, in which the ruins were nearly the only indication that it had ever been inhabited. It was impossible to behold this scene, and not to be reminded how exactly the predictions of Isaiah and Jeremiah have been fulfilled," etc.

The prophet says,

"A drought is upon her waters:—and they shall be dried up. And I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry."—*Jer. li. 35, li. 36.*

"The ground, at the time we passed it," records Rich, "was perfectly dry."

The prophet says,

"The sea is come up upon Babylon
She is covered with the multitude of the waves thereof."—*Jer. li. 42.*

Thus apparently contradicting his previous denunciation. But the prophet does not intend the ocean by the term "sea," but an extensive body of water. And Rich says, "The ruins of Babylon are inundated, when the Euphrates is at its height, so as to render many parts of them inaccessible, by converting the valleys among them into morasses."

The prophet says,

"Babel is confounded,
Merodach is broken in pieces;
Her idols are confounded,
Her images are broken in pieces."—*Jer. li. 2.*

"Therefore, behold, the days come,
That I will do judgment upon the graven images of Babylon."—*Jer. li. 47.*

Rich says: "We found the sculpture of a lion among the ruins." And Ker Porter's work on Babylon exhibits several specimens of their idolatrous worship, as engraved on cylinders dug out of the ruins.

The prophet says,

"Yea, the wall of Babylon shall fall
The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken,
And her high gates shall be burned with fire."
Jer. li. 44, 48.

Kinnier says, that captain Frederic rode twenty-one miles in length, and twelve in breadth, but was unable to discover any thing that could admit of a conclusion that either wall or ditch had ever existed within the area. Rich and Ker Porter bear the same testimony; but Buckingham, in his chapter entitled "Search after the Walls of Babylon," states, that he discovered, on the eastern boundary of the ruins, on the summit of a large ruinous heap, "a mass of solid wall, about thirty feet in length, by twelve or fifteen in thickness, yet evidently one of much greater dimensions each way; the work being, in its present state, broken and incomplete in every part;" which heap of rubbish and ruins, he conjectures, on many plausible grounds, to be a part, and the only part that can be discovered, of the walls of Babylon, so utterly are they broken.

The city of Babylon was situated in a perfect level; but the prophet says,

"Behold, I am against thee, O destroying mountain, saith the Lord,
Which destroyest all the earth.
And I will stretch out mine hand upon thee,
And roll thee down from the rocks,
And will make thee a burnt mountain.
And they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner,
Nor a stone for foundations;
But thou shalt be desolate for ever, saith the Lord."
Jer. li. 25, 26.

This notion of a mountain, it has been said, in the midst of a perfect flat, visited in all parts by the waters of the river, or by pools thence derived, is exceedingly strange and unnatural. But evidence of the fulfilment of the prediction is clearly afforded by the Birs Nemroud. Rich relates: "I visited it under circumstances peculiarly favourable to the grandeur of its aspect. The morning was at first stormy, and threatened a severe fall of rain; but as we approached the object of our journey, the heavy clouds separating, discovered the Birs frowning over the plain, and presenting the appearance of a circular hill crowned by a tower, with a high ridge extending along the foot of it. It being entirely concealed from our view during the first part of our ride, prevented our acquiring the gradual idea so generally prejudicial to effect, and so particularly lamented by those who have seen the Pyramids. Just as we were in the proper distance, it burst at once upon our sight, in the midst of rolling

masses of dark thick clouds, partially obscured by that kind of haze whose indistinctness is one great cause of sublimity, whilst a few strong catches of stormy light, thrown upon the desert in the back ground, served to give some idea of the immense extent and dreary solitude of the wastes by which this venerable ruin stands. Here, then, is a great mountain, and this traveller, in describing the appearance of the Birs-Namroud says "The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by numerous fragments of brick work, of no determinate figure, tumbled together, and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the fiercest fire or been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of brick being perfectly discernible—a curious fact and one for which I am utterly unable to account. Ker Porter also states "At the foot of this piece of wall lay several immense, unshapen masses of brickwork, some entirely changed to a state of the hardest vitrification, the lines of the cement its visible and so hardened in common with the bricks that when the masses are struck they ring like glass. The heat of the fire which produced such vitrifying effects must have burned with the heat of the strongest furnace. Here then is a burnt mountain and the prophecy is seen to be accomplished.

The prophet says,

And Babylon the glory of kingdoms,
The beauty of the Chaldees' exaltation,
Shall be as when they say, We will build a tower,
It shall never be built.
Neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation.
Neither shall the Arab encamp there,
Neither shall the shepherd make his fold there.
But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there,
And their houses shall be full of skeletons,
And owls shall dwell there,
And satyrs shall dance there.
And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their
desolate houses,
And dragons in their pleasant palaces.

Ker Porter testifies. As for the abundance of the country, it has vanished as clean away as if the besom of desolation had indeed swept it from north to south, the whole land from the outskirts of Bagdad to the furthest stretch of sight lying a melancholy waste. The curse has fallen, in all its tremendous weight, upon Babylon. Not a blade of grass grows there. The same author, speaking of his excursion from Hillah, north-east to the mound of Al Hymer says "Now there was not a drop of water in any of the canals. Every spot of ground in sight was totally barren, and on several tracts appeared the common marks of former building. In like manner, the decomposing materials of a Babylonian structure doom the earth on which they perish to a lasting sterility. On this part of the plain, both where traces of building were left, and where none had stood, all seemed equally naked of vegetation, the whole ground appearing as if it had been washed over and over again, by the coming and receding waters, till every bit of genuine soil was washed away, its half clay, half sandy surface being left in ridgy streaks, like what is often seen on the flat shores of the sea after the retreating of the tide." Hence it is that

the Arab does not pitch his tent, nor the shepherd make his fold there, hence it is that Babylon is now uninhabited.

With reference to the second division of this prophecy, the testimony of travellers also attests its accomplishment. Rich states "There are many dens of wild beasts in various parts, in one of which I found the bones of sheep and other animals, and perceived a strong smell like that of a lion. And again "All the people of this country assert, that it is extremely dangerous to approach the Kasr, or Palace, after night fall on account of the multitude of evil spirits by which it is haunted. A more emphatic illustration of the accomplishment of this prediction was found in the works of Ker Porter. He says "In this my second visit to the Birs-Namroud while passing rapidly over the last tracts of the ruined road ground at some little distance from the outer bank of its quadrangle boundary my party suddenly halted having detected several dark objects moving along the summit of its hill which they conjectured into dismounted Arabs on the look-out while their armed brethren must be lying in ambush under the southern flow of the mound. Thinking this very probable I took out my glass to examine and soon distinguished that the number of our alarm were two or three mystic figures in the air upon the heights of the pyramid. Perhaps I had never seen so sublime a picture to the mind as well as to the eye. These were a species of enemy which my party were unused to deal with without any panic fear, and while we continued to advance, though slow with the halting of the people made the noble figures gradually change their position till in the course of twenty minutes they disappeared. We then took up the scale to the ruins, and I had once more the gratification of ascending the wallsides of the Tower of Babel. In my progress I stopped several times to look at the broad prints of the feet of the lions left plain in the clay soil, and by the track I saw that it was had chosen to raise such royal game. We needed not to have gone far to find their lair. But while thus actually contemplating these savage tenants winding amid the ruins of Babylon and holding themselves within the dependencies of the once magnificent temple I could not help reflecting on how faithfully the various prophecies had been fulfilled which relate, in the Scriptures to the utter fall of Babylon, and the abandonment of the place.

Thus faithfully and beautifully do the words of prophecy and ocular demonstration agree, with reference to the present appearance of Babylon. But the greatness of Babylon did not depart in a day, and each step in the progress of its decline was an accomplishment of a prediction. (Conquered for the first time, (the particulars of which may be found in the chapter of the kingdom of Assyria,) it was first reduced from an imperial to a tributary city.

Come down, and sit in the dust O virgin daughter of Babylon
Sit on the ground
There is no thrones O daughter of the Chaldeans
For thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate
Take the millstone, and grind meal.

* Dr Henderson says, that the mill here referred to is

Uncover thy locks, make bare thy leg,
Uncover the thigh, pass over the rivers.
Thy nakedness shall be uncovered,
Yea, thy shame shall be seen:
I will take vengeance,
And I will not meet thee as a man.
As for our Redeemer, the Lord of hosts is his name,
The Holy One of Israel.
Sit thou silent, and get thee into darkness, O daughter
of the Chaldeans:
For thou shalt no more be called, The lady of kingdoms."
Isa. xlvii 1-6.

According to Herodotus, the Babylonians rebelled against Darius, and the walls were reduced in height, and all the gates destroyed:

"Put yourselves in array against Babylon round about:
All ye that bend the bow,
Shoot at her, spare no arrows:
For she hath sinned against the Lord.
Shout against her round about:
She hath given her hand.
Her foundations are filled,
Her walls are thrown down:
For it is the vengeance of the Lord:
Take vengeance upon her,
As she hath done, do unto her."—*Jer. l. 14, 15.*

The temples and palaces of Babylon were rifled and destroyed by Xerxes, in his rage after his ignominious retreat from Greece:

"And I will punish Bel in Babylon,
And I will bring forth out of his mouth that which he
hath swallowed up
And the nations shall not flow together any more unto
him.
Wherefore, behold, the days come, saith the Lord,
That I will do judgment upon her graven images."
Jer. li. 41, 52.

That celebrated warrior, Alexander the Great, attempted to restore Babylon to its former glory; and he conceived an idea of making it the metropolis of an universal empire. But man is impotent to save that which his Maker has doomed to destruction. While the rebuilding of the Temple of Belus, and the reparation of the embankment of the Euphrates were carrying forward, the conqueror was cut off in the height of his power, and the flower of his age:

"Take balm for her pain,
If so be she may be healed.
We would have healed Babylon, but she is not healed."
Jer. li. 8, 9.

Diodorus relates, that Seleucia, according to the design of its founder, was the chief cause of the decline of Babylon as a city, and that it drained it of a great part of its population. A later writer also observes, that about 130 years B.C., Humerus, a Parthian governor, who was noted as surpassing all tyrants in cruelty, exercised great severities on the Babylonians, and having burned the Forum and some of the

a hand-mill, resembling the Scotch *garn*, and consisting of an upper and lower stone, the latter of which is hard, and the former is made to move round upon it by means of a handle. The work is very laborious, and in the east is confined to female slaves, or other females in low circumstances. Humer speaks of the employment as the work of slaves:

"Beneath a pile that close the dome adjoin'd,
Twelve female slaves the gift of Ceres grind:
Task'd for the royal board to ball the bran
From the pulse flour (the growth and strength of man),
Discharging to the day the labour due,
Now early to repose the rest withdrew:
One maid, unequal to the task assign'd,
Still turn'd the tedious mill with anxious mind."
Odyssey, xx. 105-108.

temples, and destroyed the best portions of the city, reduced many of the inhabitants to slavery, and caused them, with their families, to be transported into Media:

"For out of the north there cometh up a nation against her,
Which shall make her land desolate,
And none shall dwell therein:
They shall remove, they shall depart,
Both man and beast."—*Jer. l. 3.*

Thus Babylon gradually verged for centuries, towards poverty and desolation. Although Cyrus chiefly resided there, and sought to reform the government, and remodel the manners of the Babylonians, successive kings of Persia preferred Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana, as the seat of government. In like manner, the successors of Alexander made no attempt to carry his design of restoring Babylon into effect; and, after the division of his empire, the very kings of Assyria deserted the "golden city," and dwelt in Seleucia. All appeared to reiterate the words of the prophet:

"Forsake her, and let us go every one into his own country
For her judgment reacheth unto heaven,
And is lifted up even to the skies."—*Jer. li. 8.*

It was not to Babylon alone that the judgments of Heaven were confined. They rested on the land, as well as the doomed metropolis; and it is pleasing to trace out how beautifully the word of prophecy and history harmonize in the destruction of Chaldaea. Speaking of the nations that were to lay waste the country, the prophet says:

"The noise of a multitude in the mountains, like as of a great people:
A tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered together
The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle,
They come from a far country,
From the end of heaven,
Even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation,
To destroy the whole land."—*Isa. xlii. 4, 5.*

"For many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of them also: and I will recompense them according to their deeds, and according to the works of their own hands," *Jer. xxv. 14.*

Among the nations who have served themselves of the land of the Chaldeans may be enumerated the Persians, Macedonians, Parthians, Romans, Saracens, and Turks: and among the great kings who have successively subdued and desolated Chaldaea, may be mentioned Alexander the Great; Cyrus and Darius, kings of Persia; Seleucus, king of Syria; Trajan, Severus, and Julian, emperors of Rome; and Omar, the successor of Mohammed. Some of these nations were unknown to the Babylonians, and unheard of in the world at the time in which the prophecy was delivered; and most of them, with reference to their local relation to Chaldaea, may be truly said to have come "from a far country," and "from the end of heaven."

The prophet describes their dispositions, exhibiting them as

"Cruel both with wrath and fierce anger,
To lay the land desolate."—*Isa. xlii. 9.*

The Persians and Parthians vied with each other in cruelty and fierceness against both resisting and subjugated enemies. History records, that three thousand Babylonians were impaled at one time, by order of Darius. After this, they were cruelly treated by the Macedonian conquerors of Babylon, and at the time when the possession of Chaldea was contested between Antigonus and Seleucus. So were they, also, under the proverbially cruel Parthians; and in the second century of the Christian era, the Romans, who came "from a far country," proved themselves to be cruel and fierce desolators of Chaldea. "Under the reign of Marcus," says Gibbon, "the Roman generals penetrated as far as Ctesiphon and Seleucia. They were received as friends by the Greek colony; they attacked, as enemies, the seat of the Parthian kings; yet both cities experienced the same treatment. The sack and conflagration of Seleucia, with the massacre of 300,000 of the inhabitants, tarnished the glory of the Roman triumph. Seleucia sunk under the fatal blow, but Ctesiphon, in about thirty-three years, had sufficiently recovered its strength to maintain an obstinate siege against the emperor Severus. Ctesiphon was thrice besieged, and thrice taken by the predecessors of Julian." This emperor carried on the fearful work of his predecessors. The fields of Assyria were devoted by him to the calamities of war; and the philosopher retaliated on a guiltless people, those acts of rapine and cruelty which had been committed by their haughty master in the Roman provinces. The Persians looked from the walls of Ctesiphon, and beheld the desolation of the adjacent country. The extensive region that lies between the river Tigris and the mountains of Media was filled with villages and towns, and the fertile soil, for the most part, was in a state of high cultivation. But, on the approach of the Romans, this rich and smiling prospect vanished. Wherever they marched, the inhabitants deserted the open villages, and took shelter in the fortified towns; the cattle were driven away; the grass and corn were consumed by fire; and as soon as the flames had subsided which interrupted the march of Julian, the vindictive conqueror beheld the melancholy face of a smoking and naked desert. Perisabor, the second city of the province, resisted a fierce and desperate assault. But it was in vain; a breach having been made in the walls, the soldiers rushed impetuously into the town, and after practising every lawless excess, the city was reduced to ashes, and the engines which assaulted the citadel were planted on the ruins of the smoking hotbeds. In the end, the Turks, aided by the fierce Saracens, Koords, and Tartars, with persevering cruelty, became the scourge of the land of the Chaldeans. Verily,

"The Lord hath opened his armoury,
And hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation:
For this is the work of the Lord God of hosts
In the land of the Chaldeans."—*Jer. i. 25.*

"Thus saith the Lord;
Behold, I will raise up against Babylon,
And against them that dwell in the midst of them that
rise up against me,
A destroying wind;
And will send unto Babylon famines,

That shall fan her, and shall empty her land;
For in the day of trouble they shall be against her round about.

Against him that bendeth let the archer bend his bow,
And against him that lifteth himself up in his barge-
dine

And spare ye not her young men;

Destroy ye utterly all her host.

Thus the slain shall fall in the land of the Chaldeans,

And they that are thrust through in her streets."

Jer. li. 1-4.

"Waste and utterly destroy after them, saith the Lord,
And do according to all that I have commanded thee.
A sound of battle is in the land,
And of great destruction.
And I will kindle a fire in his cities,
And it shall devour all round about him."

Jer. li. 21, 22, 23.

Again, the prophet, in describing the ravages in the land of the Chaldeans, says:

"Remove out of the midst of Babylon,
And go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans,
And be as the he goats before the flocks.
For, lo, I will raise

And cause to come up against Babylon

An assembly of great nations from the north country;

And they shall set themselves in array against her,

From thence she shall be taken

Their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man;

None shall return in vain

And Chaldea shall be a spoil

All that spoil her shall be satisfied, saith the Lord.

Come against her from the utmost bound;

Open her storehouses

Cast her up as heaps, and destroy her utterly.

Let nothing of her be left.

A sword is upon her treasures; and they shall be robbed.

Jer. li. 8-10, 26, 32.

"O thou that dwellest upon many waters, abundant in treasuries

Thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetousness."
Jer. li. 13.

When Cyrus captured Babylon, he became possessed of

"The treasures of darkness,

And hidden riches of secret places"—*Isa. xlv. 2.*

But he did not retain them in his own hands. Instead of heaping up his wealth uselessly, his great object was to relieve those who made their wants known to him. So great was his liberality, that Ctesius remarked to him, that he would make himself poor, though he might have been the richest prince in the world. After Cyrus, Alexander, that "mighty robber," spoiled Babylon; and he, also, distributed its wealth to his followers. To every Macedonian horseman he presented six minæ, about 15*l.* sterling; and to every Macedonian soldier and foreign horseman two minæ, about 5*l.*; and to every other man in his army a donation equal to two months' pay. Successive ages brought successive spoilers. Many nations came from afar, and none returned to their own land in vain. It was the prey of the Persians and the Greeks for nearly two centuries; then of the Parthians from the north, for an equal period; till a great nation, the Romans, came from the distant parts of the earth, to rob the land of its treasures. "A hundred thousand captives," says Gibbon, "and a rich booty, rewarded the fatigues of the Roman soldiers, when Ctesiphon was taken, in the second century, by the generals of Marcus." Nor did Julian, who, in the fourth century, was forced to raise the siege of Ctesiphon, go in vain to the land of Chaldea. He also failed not to take of it a spoil; and, though an apostate, he verified by his acts the truth of the Scriptures which he denied.

After devoting Persepolis to the flames, the magazines of corn, arms, and splendid furniture, were partly distributed among the troops, and partly reserved for the public service; the useless stores were destroyed by fire, or thrown into the Euphrates. At this time, also, he rewarded his army with a hundred pieces of silver, and when the enemy was afterwards conquered, the spoil, says Gibbon, was such as might be expected from the riches and luxury of an oriental camp: large quantities of silver and gold, splendid arms and trappings, and beds and tables of precious metal fell into the hands of the conquerors.

A more emphatic illustration of the prediction, that "A sword is upon her treasures," took place when the Mohammedan, Omar, destroyed Ctesiphon. This city was taken by assault, and the disorderly resistance of the people gave a keener edge to the sabres of the Moslems, who shouted with religious transport, "This is the white palace of Chosroes; this is the promise of the apostle of God." These naked robbers were suddenly enriched beyond all expectation. Each chamber revealed a new treasure, secreted with art, or ostentatiously displayed. The gold and silver, the various wardrobes, and precious furniture, surpassed the estimate of fancy or numbers. An ancient historian defines the untold and vast mass, by the fabulous computation of three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold. One of the apartments of the palace was decorated with a carpet of silk sixty cubits in length, and as many in breadth. A paradise, or garden, was depicted on the ground of this carpet; the flowers, fruits, and shrubs, were imitated by the figures of gold embroidery, and the colours of precious stones, while the ample square was enriched by a variegated and verdant border. Omar divided this prize among his brethren of Medina, and the palace was destroyed; but such was the value thereof, that the share of Ali alone was sold for 20,000 drachms, or nearly 700*l.* sterling.

This prophecy receives an accomplishment at the present day. A sword may still be said to be upon her treasures. Maltre Braun, in his geography, says: "On the west of Hullah there are two towns, which, in the eyes of the Persians, and all the Shiites are rendered sacred by the memory of two of the greatest martyrs of that sect. These are Meshul Ah and Meshed Housen, lately filled with riches, accumulated by the devotion of the Persians, but carried off by the ferocious Wahabees to the middle of their deserts." A more recent proof that the treasures of Chaldaea are still sought after, is found in Captain Mingan's travels: "Amongst the ruins of Ctesiphon," he says, "the natives often pick up coins of gold, silver, and copper, for which they always find a ready sale in Bagdad. Indeed, some of the wealthy Turks and Armenians, who are collecting for several French and German consuls, hire people to go and search for coins, medals, and antique gems; and, I am assured, they never return to their employers empty-handed."

The predictions against the fertility of the land of Chaldaea have no less been verified than those against her treasures and her cities:

"Behold, the hidestmost of the nations shall be
A wilderness, a dry land, and a desert.
Cut off the power from Babylon,
And him that handleth the sickle in the time of harvest."
Jer. i. 12, 16.

"The land shall tremble and sorrow.
For every purpose of the Lord shall be performed
against Babylon.

To make the land of Babylon a desolation
Without an inhabitant.
The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor,
It is time to thresh her
Yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall come.

Her cities are a desolation,
A dry land, and a wilderness,
A land wherein no man dwelleth,
Neither doth any son of man pass thereby."

Jer. li. 29, 33, 43.

The accounts of the Babylonian lands yielding crops of grain two and three hundred fold, compared with the present aspect of the country, afford a remarkable proof of the desolation to which it has been subjected. And its ancient cities, where are they? The site of many cannot now be discovered, and those that can, embrace the dust. Even the more modern cities, which flourished under the empire of the khalifs, are "all in ruins." Desolation prevails over the breadth and length of the whole country. The site of Babylon, and of all the other towns in this region, and the level plain itself, are marked by an appearance of utter barrenness and blast, as if from the curse of God; which gives an intense and mournful corroboration to the denunciations of Scripture.

And let us be assured, that if they were thus verified to the letter, as to the desolation of proud and wicked nations, they will not be less truly marked as to their fulfilment in the case of the unbelieving and sinful rejecter of the offers of the gospel of Christ. Such shall assuredly die in his sins; and having slighted mercy, shall feel the rod of offended justice.

Thus, with the progressive decline of Chaldaea, Babylon the Great sunk into utter ruin, so that now her habitations are not to be found; and the worm is spread over her. When it became wholly deserted, however, is not satisfactorily determined. Strabo says, that in his time a great part of it was a mere desert; that the Persians had partially destroyed it; and that time and the neglect of the Macedonians had nearly completed its destruction. Pliny, who wrote in the reigns of the emperors Vespasian and Titus, describes its site as a desert, and the city as "dead." A few years after, Pausanias writes: "Of Babylon, a greater city than which the sun did not formerly behold, all that now remains is the Temple of Belus, and the walls of the city;" and Jerome, in the fourth century, informs us, that Babylon was then in ruins, and that the walls served only for the enclosure of a park, for the pleasures of the chase; and that it was used as such by the Persian court!

Reader, adore the omniscience and omnipotence of the Creator of the universe. He marked the crimes of the inhabitants of Chaldaea, and long before he struck the blow, foretold by his prophets their destruction; and when the "set time" was come, he called forth his armies and destroyed them, their cities, and their lands. But whilst thou admirest the workings of his

providence in the wonderful event, let a solemn fear pervade thy breast, lest thou also provoke his righteous indignation. Think not that the crimes of an individual escape his notice, while he makes those of a nation: "Nothing is secret, that shall not be made manifest; neither any thing hid, that shall not be known and come abroad," Luke viii. 17. *He marks thy crimes;* and unless thou bidest thyself in the clefts of the "Rock of ages," or, in other words, unless thou takest refuge in Christ, unless thou believest in Him who died to save sinners, thou also must perish, and that everlastingly. As it was said of Babylon, so the whole tenor of the word of God pronounces to the world at large,

"And he shall destroy the sinners thereof out of it."
Isa. xli. 9.

Oh, then, flee from the wrath to come!

It has been well observed, that, though Babylon should be vast as the whole world, yet being a wicked world, it shall not go unpunished; and sin brings desolation on the world of the ungodly.

NINEVEH.

Like Babylon, the celebrated city of Nineveh could boast of very remote antiquity. Who founded it does not appear to be clearly ascertained. The sacred historian relates: "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city," Gen. x. 11, 12. The marginal reading, however, runs thus, "Out of that land he [Nimrod] went forth into Assyria," etc.; and as the form of expression in the Hebrew gives equal authority to the marginal as to the textual reading, opinions are equally divided as to which of the senses is to be preferred. But there is one consideration in favour of the latter, which seems to be more weighty than all the arguments adduced in favour of the former by the learned. There can be no doubt that Assur, or Assyria, derived its name from Asshur, the son of Shem; hence, it is reasonable to suppose, that he (Asshur) went forth out of that land (Shinar), and builded Nineveh. Nothing, indeed, can be more natural than to understand the text of Asshur's migration; and therefore none is so likely to have founded Nineveh as Asshur himself, except it be supposed that Nimrod conquered the country of Assyria, before Asshur had firmly settled himself therein. But this is not probable, for the land would then, we may suppose, have been denominated Nimrodia, from Nimrod, rather than Assyria, from Asshur. In the prophecies of Isaiah, moreover, we read that Asshur founded Babel, Isa. xlii. 13; but in no part of Scripture is it intimated that Nimrod went into Assyria and built Nineveh.

But whether Nimrod or Asshur founded this city, it does not appear to have been of much importance for many centuries afterward. The passage pointed out, indeed, would lead us to conclude that Resen was in its origin a more important city than Nineveh. Like other cities in the east, and like our own mighty metropolis, it rose gradually to the enormous magnitude recorded by historians, when the empire of which it was the capital attained its highest state of

prosperity. Perhaps the commencement of its greatness may be dated about 1230 B. C., when it was enlarged by Ninus, its second founder, and became the greatest city of the world, and mistress of the east.

It appears that the city of Nineveh extended its length along the eastern banks of the Tigris, while its breadth reached from the river to the eastern hills. According to Diodorus, it was of an oblong form, fifteen miles long, and nine broad, and consequently forty-eight miles in circuit. Its walls were 100 feet high, and so broad, that three chariots could drive on them abreast, and on the walls were 1,500 towers, each 200 feet high. The reader must not imagine, however, that all this vast enclosure was built upon. Like Babylon, it contained parks, fields, and detached houses and buildings, such as may be seen in the east at the present day.

This representation of the greatness of Nineveh corresponds with the notice given of the city in Holy Writ. In the days of the prophet Jonah, about B. C. 800, it is said to have been "an exceeding great city of three days' journey," Jonah i. 2; iii. 3; which most probably refers to its circuit, for sixteen miles is, according to Kennell, an ordinary day's journey for a caravan. The population of Nineveh, also, is represented as being very great; it contained more than six score thousand persons that could "not discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle," Jonah iv. 11. This statement is generally understood to include young children, who are usually reckoned to form one-fifth of the entire population, which would thereby give 600,000 persons as the population of Nineveh, which is by no means extraordinary for a town of such extent. Pliny assigns the same number for the population of Seleucia, on the decline of Babylon; and London, in 1831, contained not less than 1,776,000 persons, within a circle, with a radius of eight British miles from St. Paul's cathedral.

It was while the city of Nineveh enjoyed this high state of prosperity, that the prophet Jonah was commissioned to proclaim to the inhabitants this startling message, "Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown," Jonah iii. 4. The monarch and the people believed his word, and warned by it, by a general repentance and humiliation, averted the blow. The king of Nineveh "arose from his throne, and he laid his robe from him, and covered him with sackcloth, and sat in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published through Nineveh by the decree of the king and his nobles, saying, Let neither man nor beast, herd nor flock, taste any thing: let them not feed, nor drink water: but let man and beast be covered with sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God: yea, let them turn every one from his evil way, and from the violence that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce anger, that we perish not? And God saw their works, that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil, that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not," Jonah iii. 6-10.

How long the inhabitants of Nineveh continued repentant is not recorded. It is probable that

when they saw the danger past, they returned every one to his evil ways—that their goodness vanished as the morning cloud that passeth away. It is certain, indeed, that the generation that followed them were notorious for their wickedness. Hence, the prophet Nahum, about fourscore years after, or a.c. 721, was commissioned with “the burden,” or “doom,” of Nineveh.

But still mercy kept the sword of justice sheathed one hundred and fifteen years before the catastrophe occurred. Another prophet, indeed, foretold its doom before its downfall. See Zeph. ii. 13—15. But these warnings were unheeded; the people went on sinning with a high hand against the Majesty of heaven. How great their iniquities were, may be inferred from the advice given by Tobit to his son Tobias, shortly before his death, and which is here offered to the notice of the reader, as illustrating an historical fact, and not as an inspired record.

“Go into Media, my son, for I surely believe those things which Jonas the prophet spake of Nineveh, that it shall be overthrown; and that for a time peace shall rather be in Media.—And now, my son, depart out of Nineveh, because that those things which the prophet Jonas spake shall surely come to pass,” Tobit xiv. 4, 8.

The sword that had been thus long hovering over Nineveh, at length fell upon the devoted city. It was taken by the Medes and Babylonians under Arbaces, about a.c. 606, in consequence of the river demolishing part of the wall, where it is said to have been destroyed. Like the city of Babylon, however, the utter ruin of Nineveh was the work of ages, and successive spoilers were engaged in its demolition. And here, again, it may be profitable to trace how beautifully the predictions concerning Nineveh harmonize with historical facts, and the testimony of travellers.

The prophet says,

“But with an overrunning flood
He will make an utter end of the place thereof,
And darkness shall pursue his enemies.”—Nah. i. 8.
“The gates of the rivers shall be opened,
And the palace shall be dissolved.
But Nineveh is of old like a pool of water.”

Nah. ii. 6, 8.

Diodorus Siculus relates, that the king of Assyria, after the discomfiture of his army, confided in an ancient prophecy, “that Nineveh should never be taken until the river became its enemy;” but that after the allied revolvers had besieged the city for two years without effect, there occurred a prodigious inundation of the Tigris, which inundated part of the city, and threw down the wall for the space of twenty furlongs. The king then, he adds, deeming the prediction accomplished, despaired of safety, and erected an immense funeral pile, on which he heaped his wealth, which with himself, his household, and palace, were consumed.

The prophet says,

“For while they be folded together as thorns,
And while they are drunken as drunkards,
They shall be devoured as stubble fully dry.”

Nah. i. 10.

“Woe to the bloody city!
It is full of lies and robbery; the prey departeth not:
The noise of a whip, and the noise of the rattling of the wheels,
And of the prancing horses, and of the jumping chariots.
The horsemen lift up both the bright sword and the glittering spear:

And there is a multitude of slain, and a great number of carcases;
And there is none end of their corpses—they stumble upon their corpses.”—Nah. ii. 1—3.

Diodorus Siculus says, the king of Assyria, elated with his former victories, and ignorant of the revolt of the Bactrians, had abandoned himself to inaction, had appointed a time of festivity, and supplied his soldiers with abundance of wine; and that the general of the enemy, apprised by deserters of their negligence and drunkenness, attacked the Assyrian army, while the whole of them were fearlessly giving way to indulgence, destroyed great part of them, and drove the rest into the city.

The prophet says,

“Take ye the spoil of silver, take the spoil of gold:
For there is none end of the store and glory
Out of all the pleasant furniture.”—Nah. ii. 9.

The historian affirms, that many talents of gold and silver, collected from the ashes of the funeral pile and the rubbish of the burned palace of the Assyrian king, were carried to Ecbatana.

The prophet says,

“There shall the fire devour thee.”—Nah. iii. 15.

And as Diodorus relates, partly by water, partly by fire, it was destroyed.

As regards the predictions which refer to the utter desolation of Nineveh, how awfully have they been fulfilled!

The prophet says,

“He will make an utter end of the place thereof.
What do ye imagine against the Lord!
He will make an utter end
Affliction shall not rise up the second time.”

Nah. i. 8, 9.

“She is empty, and void, and waste.”—Nah. ii. 10.

“And he will stretch out his hand against the north,
And destroy Assyria;
And will make Nineveh a desolation,
And dry like a wilderness.
And flocks shall lie down in the midst of her,
All the beasts of the nations.
Both the cormorant and the bittern shall lodge in the upper lintels of it;
Their voice shall sing in the windows;
Desolation shall be in the thresholds:
For he shall uncover the cedar work.
This is the rejoicing city that dwelt carelessly,
That said in her heart, I am, and there is none beside me.
How is she become a desolation,
A place for beasts to lie down in!”—Zeph. ii. 13—15.

In the second century, Lucian, a native of a city on the banks of the Euphrates, testified that no vestige of Nineveh was then remaining, and that none could tell where it was once situated.

According to Abulfaraj, and the general testimony of Oriental tradition, most modern writers suppose Nineveh to have been situated on the left, or east bank of the Tigris, opposite Mosul, and partly on the site of the modern village of Nunis, or Nebbe Yunus, which contains about 300 houses.

The utter ruin of Nineveh was expressed by the prophet Nahum, under this emphatic figure:

“Make thyself many as the cankerworm,
Make thyself many as the locust.
Thou hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven;
The cankerworm spinneth and dieth away.

They crowned are as the locusts,
And thy captains as the great grasshoppers,
Which camp in the hedges in the cold day,
But when the sun ariseth they flee away,
And their place is not known where they are."

Nab. iii. 15-17.

The extent of the desolation here denounced will be better understood if the figure is explained. It is supposed, that by the "great grasshoppers" here mentioned, are to be understood locusts before they are in a condition for flight; and, certainly, the insect in this state of its existence could not fail to have been matter of sad experience to the Hebrews. The description, indeed, is perfectly analogous to the habits of these-devouring insects. The female lays her eggs in the autumn, amounting, some say, to 200 or 300, and she makes choice of a light earth, under the shelter of a bush or hedge, wherein to deposit them. In such a situation, they are defended from the winter's blast, and, having escaped the rigour of the cold, they are hatched early in the season by the heat of the sun, at which time the hedges and the ridges swarm with them. Their ravages begin before they can fly, consuming, even in their larva state, the roots of herbage which sprout around them. When they leave their native hedges, they march along, as it were, in battalions, devouring every leaf and bud as they pass; till, at length, when the sun has waxed warm, about the middle of June, their wings are developed, and they flee away, to inflict on other places that utter desolation to which they reduced the place of their birth.

This figure, therefore, implies that the desolation of Nineveh should be so complete, that its site would in future ages be uncertain or unknown; and that every vestige of the palace of its monarchs, of the greatness of its nobles, and the wealth of its merchants, would wholly disappear.

The supposed remains of ancient Nineveh have been examined and illustrated by Rich, in his "Second Memoir of the Ruins of Babylon." He says: "Opposite Mosul is an enclosure of a rectangular form, corresponding with the cardinal points of the compass, the eastern and western sides being the longest, the latter facing the river. The area, which is now cultivated, and offers no vestiges of building, is too small to have contained a place larger than Mosul, but it may be supposed to answer to the palace of Nineveh. The boundary, which may be traced all round, now looks like an embankment of earth or rubbish of small elevation, and has attached to it, and in its line, at several places, mounds of greater size and solidity. The first of these forms the S.W. angle, and on it is built the village of Nebbe Yunus, (described and delineated by Niebuhr as Nimia,) where they show the tomb of the prophet Jonah, much revered by the Mohammedans. The next and largest of all, is the one which may be supposed to be the monument of Nimus. It is situated near the centre of the western face of the enclosure, and is joined, like the others, by the boundary wall. The natives call it 'Koyonjuk-Tepe.' Its form is that of a truncated pyramid, with regular steep sides, and a flat top. It is composed, as I ascertained

from some excavations, of stones and earth, the latter predominating sufficiently to admit of the summit being cultivated by the inhabitants of the village of Koyonjuk, which is built on it at the N.E. extremity. The only means I had, at the time I visited it, of ascertaining its dimensions, was by a cord, which I procured from Mosul. This gave 178 feet for the greatest height, 1,850 feet for the length of the summit E. and W., and 1,147 for its breadth, N. and S. (Out of a mound, in the north face of the boundary, was dug, a short time ago, an immense block of stone, on which were sculptured the figures of men and animals. So remarkable was this fragment of antiquity, that even Turkish apathy was roused, and the pasha, and most of the principal people in Mosul, came out to see it. One of the spectators particularly recollected, among the sculptures of this stone, the figure of a man on horseback, with a long lance in his hand, followed by a great many others on foot. The stone was afterwards cut into small pieces, for repairing the buildings of Mosul, and this inestimable specimen of the arts and manners of the earliest ages irretrievably lost. To this day, stones of the largest dimensions, which clearly attest their high antiquity, are found in or near the foot of the mound.")

Thus the reader will perceive, that Nineveh is left without any monuments of royalty, and without any tokens of its splendour or its wealth; that their place is not known where they were; that it is, indeed, a desolation, "empty, and void, and waste," and an utter ruin, according to the Divine predictions:

"Her walls are gone; her palaces are dust:
The desert is around her, and within
Like shadows have the mighty passed away!
Whence, and how came the ruin? By the hand
Of the oppressor were the nations bowed.
They rose against him, and prevailed; for he,
The haughty monarch, who the earth could rule,
By his own furious passions was over-ruled.
With pride his understanding was made dark,
That he the truth knew not, and by his lust,
And by the fierceness of his wrath, the hearts
Of men he turned from him. So to kings
Be he example, that the tyrannous
And iron rod breaks down at length the hand
That wields it strongest; that by virtue alone
And justice, monarchs away the hearts of men;
For there hath God implanted love of these,
And hatred of oppression, which, unseen
And noiseless though it work, yet, in the end,
Even like the viewless elements of the storm,
Brooding in silence, will in thunder burst!
So let the nations learn, that not in wealth,
Nor in the grosser pleasures of the sense,
Nor in the glare of conquest, nor the pomp
Of vassal kings, and tributary lands,
Do happiness and lasting power abide;
That virtue unto man's best glory is,
His strength, and truest wisdom, and that guilt,
Though for a season it the heart delight,
Or to worst deeds the bad man do make strong,
Brings misery yet, and terror, and remorse;
And weakness and destruction to the end.
So if the nations learn, then not in vain
The mighty one hath been, and is no more!"

ATHERSTONE.

RESEN.

The site of Resen is indicated in the sacred text (Gen. x. 12) with more than ordinary precision; but we have no evidence to show where it stood. Most writers agree in stating that it

was erected on the margin of the Tigris, between Nineveh and Calah; and Bochart conjectures it to be the *La-rissa* of Xenophon, which, according to that historian, stood near the Tigris, and had been formerly a great city, eight miles in circumference, inhabited by the Medes, but was, at that date, destitute of inhabitants, and in ruins.

CALAH.

The best authorities concur in placing Calah on the Great Zab, before it enters the Tigris. From this city, the country on the north-east of the Tigris, and south of the Gordian mountains of Armenia, was called *Callachene*, or *Calasene*. It was one of those cities founded by Asshur, as recorded Gen. x. 11, but it has long since perished from off the earth. Bochart conceives that this is the same city with Hainh, where the king of Assyria placed the captive Israelites, 2 Kings xvii. 6.

REHOBOTH.

The site of Rehoboth has been fixed at many parts of Assyria. Thus some place it below Nineveh, others below Calah, and others fix it on the western banks of the Tigris, opposite Resen. By some, again, it is considered to be the *Oroha* of Piny, while others translate it to signify the streets of Nineveh. In the English translation, it is spoken of as one of the cities built by Asshur. See Gen. x. 11.

URICH.

The rabbins say, that Errech, mentioned Gen. x. 10, as one of the cities built by Nimrod, is the same as Ur, the seat of the nativity of Abraham, and the death of Haran, and which is to the present day denominated by the Syrians, *Urha*, and by the Arabs, *Urah*, or *Orrah*. But this is an unreasonable distance from Babel, in the vicinity of which it was erected; and it would, likewise, give too great an extent to the kingdom of Nimrod. It is generally believed to have been a city of Chaldaea, from whence the present name of Irak is derived. Herodotus, Ptolemy, and Ammianus Marcellinus, mention cities, the names of which are evidently also formed from Errech. There was a city distinguished as *And-Erech*, in Susiana, near some fiery and bituminous pools; and there was another, denominated *And-Erech*, on the Euphrates, below Babylon. This latter city, perhaps, occupied the site of the original Errech.

ACCAD.

This city is considered by the most able geographers to be the *Sutace* of the Greeks, and the *Alkerkoof* of the present time; both of which names retain some elements of its ancient denomination. It is situated about nine miles west of the Tigris, at the place where that river makes its nearest approach to the Euphrates. The opinion that this was the site of the original Accad, is founded, not only upon the circumstances of its situation and name being favourable to its identity, but also, because there is a remarkable monument there which the Arabs,

to this day, call *Te Nemroud*; and the Turks, *Nemroud Tepasse*: both which appellations signify, the "Hill of Nimrod." This hill is surmounted by a mass of building, which has the appearance of a tower, or an irregular pyramid, according to the point from which it is viewed. It is 300 feet in circumference at the bottom, and rises 125 or 130 feet above the inclined elevation on which it stands. The foundation of the structure is composed of a mass of rubbish, formed by the decay of the superstructure. The different layers of sun-dried bricks, of which it is composed, may be traced very distinctly in the tower itself. These bricks are cemented together by lime or bitumen, and are divided into courses, varying from fifteen to twenty feet in height, and separated by layers of reeds, such as grow in the marshy parts of the country. These reeds are in a state of wonderful preservation. It is supposed, from the solidity and loftiness of the pile, as well as the difficulty of discovering any other use for it, that it was one of those towers which were consecrated by the ancient heathen to the worship of the heavenly bodies, and which served at once as temples and observatories. Piles of this nature have been found in all the primitive cities of this region: the *Tel Nemroud*, therefore, sufficiently indicates the site of a primitive town; and, consequently, it may have been Accad.

CALNEH.

Both ancient and modern, European and Oriental authorities, concur in fixing the site of this city at what was the great city of Ctesiphon, upon the eastern bank of the river Tigris, about eighteen miles below Bagdad. On the opposite side of the river stood Seleucia, which was built by the Greeks for the express purpose of draining Babylon of its inhabitants, and which was made the capital of their empire, east of the Euphrates. After the lapse of several ages, Ctesiphon, which appears to have been in existence as a small town, (which small town was ancient Calneh, built by Nimrod,) began to assume an importance as a rival to Seleucia, in the hands of the Parthians, those inveterate and fierce foes of the Greeks.

SITTACE.

There is a diversity of opinion among authors concerning the situation of this city. By Ptolemy and Piny it is placed at a great distance from the Tigris; but Xenophon, who traversed the whole country, and had himself been at Sittace, says, that it stood only about a mile and a half from that river. In the days of this historian, it was a large and populous city.

APOLLONIA.

This city is placed by Ptolemy between the rivers Gorgus and Sula. It is mentioned by Polybius and Stephanus, who reckon it the twentieth town between Babylon and Susa.

ARTENIA.

According to Strabo, this city was anciently of great note, and stood about fifty miles east of Seleucia. It is noticed by Tacitus, Isidore, Characenus, Stephanus, Piny, Ptolemy, and

other Oriental geographers. By Isidore it is placed on the river Silla. Both this city and Apollonia were, without doubt, as their names indicate, of Greek origin.

ARBELA.

The city of Arbela (now Arbil, or Erbil, a miserable village, according to Niebuhr's observations) stood on the ordinary route from Bagdad to Mosul, in 36° 11'. According to Rennell, it was forty-six miles from Mosul. It was situated between the Lesser and the Greater Zab, but nearer the latter, in a hilly and fertile district. The city was once in possession of an hereditary race of Mohammedan princes, whose dominion extended to Tabreez, in Azerbaidjan, and it was then (about the fifteenth century of the Christian era) a large city, defended by a castle, situated on a hill of a conical shape. Part of the present town, which consists of wretched houses, built of sun-dried bricks, is on this hill, and part around it. The castle has almost disappeared. There are no antiquities at Erbil, but there is a minareh, belonging to a mosque, at a little distance, which was erected by sultan Masaffer. This minareh is sturdily built of burned bricks and mortar, and has two entrances facing one another, each leading to a flight of steps, by which two persons may ascend the tower without seeing one another till they meet on the summit.

The city of Arbela is famous in history for having given name to the last great battle between Alexander and Darius, B.C. 331. The battle was fought at a spot called Gaugamela, now Karmelis, a little place, about thirty miles W. by N. from Arbela, according to Niebuhr; but, according to Arrian, about sixty miles E. of Gaugamela, on a stream called the Choser, the Bumades, or Baucelas of Arrian. After the battle, Alexander, in pursuit of Darius, crossed the Greater Zab, and arrived at Arbela, from which circumstance it obtained its celebrity.

Besides the cities enumerated in the preceding pages as existing anciently in Assyria, etc., there were others, as Charracharta, Thebura, Arrapa, Marde, Bessara, Opis, etc.; but nothing is known concerning them beyond their names. At a later date, when the country was under the dominion of foreign rulers, other cities, also, are mentioned by geographers and historians, as Ctesiphon, Seleucia, etc.; and these also, for the most part, are passed away.

"So sink the monuments of ancient might,
So fade the glories and the splendours of the world,
Her empires brighten, fade, and fade away,
And trophies, fane, and adamantine dome,
That threaten an eternity, depart!"

R. MONTGOMERY.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF THE ASSYRIANS.

THE GOVERNMENT.

THE idea given of the government of the kings of Nineveh and Babylon is, that it was haughty

and despotic, and the kingdom hereditary. The whole power centred in the king, and life and death were at his command. All decrees issued from the throne, and none might revoke them. Thus, after Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego had been delivered from the burning fiery furnace, by the merciful interposition of Divine Providence, Nebuchadnezzar, astonished at the event, exclaimed, "Therefore I make a decree, That every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, shall be cut in pieces, and their houses shall be made a dunghill: because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort," Dan. iii. 29. And when the same monarch, troubled by a dream, which had escaped his memory, sought of his wise men for a revelation and an interpretation thereof, because they could not resolve it, he showed his absolute power over his subjects, by issuing a decree, that all the wise men of Babylon should be slain: "And the decree went forth that the wise men should be slain; and they sought Daniel and his fellows to be slain," Dan. ii. 13. This despotism was the natural result of impious arrogance. The monarchs of Nineveh and Babylon affected even Divine honours, as will be seen in their history, and set themselves above all the nations and the gods of the nations they vanquished. "Hath any of the gods of the nations," said Sennacherib, by the lips of the vaunting Rabshakeh, "delivered at all his land out of the hand of the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath, and of Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hama, and Idrab? have they delivered Samaria out of mine hand? Who are they among all the gods of the countries, that have delivered their country out of mine hand, that the Lord should deliver Jerusalem out of mine hand?" 2 Kings xx. 13-15. Entertaining such arrogant notions as these, it is no wonder that they lorded it over their own people, and the nations whom they might conquer. Their impious arrogance did not even stop here. Sometimes they required that none under heaven should be worshipped but themselves. Speaking of Holofernes, the writer of the book of Judith says, "Yet he did cast down their frontiers, and cut down their groves, for he had decreed to destroy all the gods of the land, that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god," Judith ii. 8.

The monarchs of Nineveh and Babylon sometimes even presumed to pass sentence upon the whole world. Of the same monarch it is said, "So he called unto him all his officers, and all his nobles, and communicated with them his secret counsel, and concluded the afflicting of the whole earth out of his own mouth. Then they decreed to destroy all flesh, that did not obey the commandment of his mouth. And when he had ended his counsel, Nabuchodonosor king of the Assyrians called Holofernes the chief captain of his army, which was next unto him, and said unto him, Thus saith the great king, the lord of the whole earth, Behold, thou shalt go forth from my presence, and take with thee men that trust in their own strength, of footmen a hundred and twenty thousand; and the number of

horses with their riders twelve thousand. And thou shalt go against all the west country, because they disobeyed my commandment. And thou shalt declare unto them, that they prepare for me earth and water:^a for I will go forth in my wrath against them, and will cover the whole flow of the earth with the feet of mine army, and I will give them for a spoil unto them: so that their slain shall fill their valleys and brooks, and the river shall be filled with their dead, till it overflow: and I will lead them captive to the utmost parts of all the earth. Thou therefore shalt go forth, and take beforehand for me all their coats: and if they will yield themselves unto thee, thou shalt reserve them for me till the day of their punishment. But concerning them that rebel, let not thine eye spare them; but put them to the slaughter, and spoil them whosoever thou goest. For as I live, and by the power of my kingdom, whatsoever I have spoken, that will I do by mine hand. And take thou heed that thou transgress none of the commandments of thy lord, but accomplish them fully, as I have commanded thee, and defer not to do them," Judith ii 2-13.

The happiness or misery of the subjects of these arrogant monarchs wholly depended on their arbitrary will and pleasure. The only doctrine in politics promulgated by them was, passive obedience and non-resistance. Their right to rule as they pleased, and as their passions dictated, was constantly inculcated and universally believed. It is no matter of astonishment, therefore, that these monarchs, invested with such extraordinary powers, should require proportionate homage, and assume correspondent titles. No subject could approach their presence but by humble prostrations, and none durst address them, (no, not even their own offspring,) by any other title than that of lord, great king, and king of kings. Thus, Nabshakch, in addressing the messengers of Hezekiah, called Sennacherib the "great king, the king of Assyria," Isa. xxxvi. 4. And Daniel, speaking to Nebuchadnezzar, called him king of kings," Dan. ii. 37. In later ages the Parthian sovereigns assumed to themselves the same titles. Voltagreen, in writing to the emperor Vespasian, used the following superscription: "Arsaces, king of kings, to the emperor Flavius Vespasian;" and he was answered in his own style: thus, "Flavius Vespasian to Arsaces, king of kings." Phraates III., before this, had sent ambassadors to Pompey, to expostulate with him, for omitting in his letter to him the title of "king of kings." None durst appear in their presence, without prostrating themselves on the ground. Nay, more, they were obliged, at what distance soever the king appeared, to pay him that adoration. And this was not only exacted of their own subjects and vassals, but also of foreign ministers and ambassadors; the captain of the guard being charged to inquire of those who sought admittance to the king, whether they were willing to pay him that homage. If they refused, they were informed, that the king's ears were

open only to such as were willing to obey the royal command of rendering this homage. Philostratus says, that in the days of Apollonius, a golden statue of the Parthian king was exposed to all who entered Babylon; and that only such who adored it were admitted within the walls.

The kings of Assyria appear to have administered their government by different kinds of officers, both civil and military. Strabo divides them into three classes, and says that they were chosen from among the gravest and noblest personages in the empire. The first of these had the charge of virgins, and their disposal in marriage; the second took cognizance of thefts; and the third, of all other crimes. From Scripture it may be gathered, that the subordinate powers of the king of Assyria were divided into princes, governors, captains, judges, treasurers, counsellors, sheriffs, and rulers of provinces, Dan. iii. 2, 3. So that, it would appear, nothing was wanting to preserve peace and good order in the empire; and that the civil and military economy was under severe regulations.

In their own household, the monarchs of Assyria had officers high in rank. The chief of these officers appears to have been "the captain of the guard," who had the execution of all his master's arbitrary and sanguinary commands. This appears evident from Dan. ii. 14, 15, wherein it is related that Arioch, the captain of the king's guard, was commissioned to slay all the wise men of Babylon. Whenever an officer of this rank, among the Egyptians or Babylonians, is mentioned in Scripture, he is called *Sar*, or *Rabshattabachim*, literally, "chief of the slaughterers;" the same word being applied to the slaughterer of beasts; and, hence, it is equivalent to "chief of the executioners;" the body guard, under the direction of their chief, being, in the east, charged with the execution of capital punishments, and the commander himself often putting the more distinguished offenders to death with his own hand.

The second in authority in the king's palace had charge of the education and subsistence of the youth of the palace: "And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs, that he should bring certain of the children of Israel, and of the king's seed, and of the princes; children in whom was no blemish, but well-favoured, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability in them to stand in the king's palace, and whom they might teach the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans. And the king appointed them a daily provision of the king's meat, and of the wine which he drank: so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king," Dan. i. 3-5. This has always been the custom in the eastern countries; and, at this day, it may receive illustration from the customs in the Ottoman court. Ricaut, in his "State of the Ottoman Empire," says, "The youths that are designed for the great offices of the Turkish empire must be of admirable features, and pleasing looks, well shaped in their bodies, and without any defects of nature; for it is conceived that a corrupt and sordid soul can scarce inhabit

^a This was after the manner of the kings of Persia; to whom, according to Herodotus, earth and water were wont to be given, to acknowledge that they were lords of land and sea.

in a serene and ingenious aspect; and I have observed, not only in the seraglio, but also in the courts of great men, their personal attendants have been of comely, lusty youths, well habited, deporting themselves with singular modesty and respect in the presence of their masters. So that, when a pasha, aga, or spahsee travels, he is always attended with a comely equipage, followed by flourishing youths, well clothed and mounted, in great numbers; that one may guess at the greatness of this empire, by the retinue, pomp, and number of servants which accompany persons of quality in their journeys.

The whole of the account given of the arrangements for the Hebrew youths, together with the distinction which Daniel, as well as Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego ultimately attained, is not only instructive as to the usages of the Chaldean court, but may be illustrated by the customs of Turkey, before the alterations made in the present century. The pages and officers of the court, as well as the greater part of the public functionaries and governors of provinces, were originally youths taken captive in war, or bought or stolen in times of peace. The finest and most able of these were sent to the palace, and, if accepted, were placed under the charge of the chief of the white eunuchs. Those that were accepted, were brought up in the religion of their masters; and there were schools in the palace, in which they received such complete instruction in Turkish learning and science, as few others could obtain. Among the accomplishments, great pains were taken to teach them to speak the Turkish language with the greatest purity. The youths were well clothed, but their diet was temperate. They slept in large chambers, where there were rows of beds. Every one slept separately; and between every third or fourth bed lay a white eunuch, whose duty it was to keep a watchful eye upon the conduct of those near him, and report it to his superior. When any of them arrived at a proper age, they were instructed in military exercises, and great pains were taken to render them active, robust, and brave. Every one, also, was taught some mechanical or liberal art, that they might have a resource in time of adversity. When their education was completed, those who had displayed the greatest capacity and valour were employed about the person of the king, and the rest given to the service of the treasury, and the other offices of the establishment to which they belonged. The more talented were promoted to the various high court offices, which gave them access to the private apartments of the seraglio, so that they could converse at almost any time with their great master. This advantage paved the way for their promotion to the government of provinces, and to military commands; and it often happened, that favourite court officers were promoted to the post of grand vizier, or chief minister, and other high offices of state, without having been previously pashas or military commanders.

A third officer in the court of the Assyrian monarchs was the prime minister, who resembled the Turkish vizier, and who more immediately represented the person of his great master. To this dignity Daniel was promoted, after he had

revealed and interpreted the forgotten dream of Nebuchadnezzar. It is said: "Then the king made Daniel a great man, and gave him many great gifts, and made him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon. Then Daniel requested of the king, and he set Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, over the affairs of the province of Babylon; but Daniel sat in the gate of the king," Dan. ii. 48, 49. The object for which this officer "sat in the gate," as it is called, was to hear complaints, and to pass judgments; and, therefore, he may be said to have been the representative of the king.

Besides these officers, there seems to have been a master of the magicians at court, whose business it was to satisfy the king upon any subject he might require to know with regard to futurity and prognostications. To this post, also, Daniel was exalted. See Dan. iv. 9.

It has been before recorded, that none was allowed the honour of serving in the monarch's presence who was not remarkable for comeliness of person and excellency of parts. As might be expected, this rule extended to their wives and concubines. Of these latter there appears to have been a great number, as there afterwards was in the Persian court; for it is said of the impious Belshazzar, that he brought "the golden and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem; that the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein," Dan. v. 2.

From this latter quotation, it would appear, that though the monarchs of this mighty empire considered the whole world as created for their use and service, they nevertheless mingled with their subjects in banqueting and revelling, more especially with the lords and chief men in their dominion. The common style of addressing them was, "O king, live for ever," Dan. ii. 4; v. 10; and those who gained their favour were clothed in purple or scarlet, adorned with chains of gold about their necks, and invested with some government. Thus the guilty Belshazzar, smitten with fear of the handwriting upon the wall, asserted to the wise men, while yet his knees were smiting one against another: "Whosoever shall read this writing, and show me the interpretation thereof, shall be clothed with scarlet, and have a chain of gold about his neck, and shall be the third ruler in the kingdom," Dan. v. 7.

The exhortation of the psalmist is peculiarly suitable to the circumstances we here relate:

"Put not your trust in princes,
Nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help.
His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth;
In that very day his thoughts perish."—*Psa. cxlvi. 3, 4.*

Even the mighty tyrants of Babylon and Nineveh stooped to the stroke of the mightier tyrant, Death! and though they exalted themselves as gods on earth, in the common course of nature, or by the hand of violence, they were eventually proved to be mortals!

According to Arrian, when the kings of Assyria died, they were buried in the Lemian marshes; and Ainsworth, in writing of these plains, which the Euphrates expedition explored,

says: "The easterly extent of the valley of the Louisa marshes leaves a narrow band of soil between the marshes and the Tigris, which is everywhere covered, like the plains of Babylonia and of Chaldea, with the monuments of antique industry and enterprise. Thus the words of Arrian receive confirmation from existing mounds and ruins. This territory, inhabited by the Zobeid Arabs, contains the great mounds of Mizistha, Ithahr, Uffrin, Jerrab Supli, Nimalah, and many others of minor importance, situated between the more massive, lofty, and extended ruins which belong to Zibiyah, in the north, and to Jayitah Tel Siphir, and Irak, or Ezech, on the south. On some of these monumental mounds, Mearns, Fraser and Ross found glazed earthen coffins, still more corroborative of the descriptions of Arrian, who says, the monuments or tombs of the kings of Assyria are said to be placed among these marshes. As in the present day, the reed tombs of a sheik, or holy man, are often to be seen islanded amidst a wilderness of water and of aquatic vegetation."

Here, then, is the sum of human greatness: The mighty of the earth, alike with "the mean man," are brought low, and mingle with the dust:

"Proud royalty! how altered in thy looks!
How blank thy features, and how wan thy hue!
Son of the morning! whether art thou gone!
Where hast thou hid thy many-splendored head,
And the majestic monarch of thine eyes,
Felt from afar? Pliant and powerless now,
Like new-born infant bound up in his swaddles,
Or victim tumbled flat upon his back,
That throbs beneath the sacrificer's knife,
Mute must thou bear the strife of little tongues,
And coward insults of the base-born crowd,
That grudge a privilege thou never hadst,
But only hoped for in the peaceful grave,
Of being unmolested and alone.
Arabia's gums and odoriferous drugs,
And honours by the herald duly paid,
In mode and form, even in a very scruple,
Oh, cruel irony! these come too late,
And only mock whom they are meant to honour.
Surely there's not a dungeon slave, that's buried
In the highway, unshrouded and unheeded,
But lies so soft, and sleeps as sound as he.
Sure pre-eminence of high descent,
Above the baser born, is not in state!"—*BLAIR*.

Who could look upon the tombs of the kings of Assyria, buried in the solitude of these marshes, and thirst for human greatness? Rather, they would teach the beholder its vanity, and cause him to exclaim with the psalmist:

"There be many that say, Who will show us any good?
Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us."

Psa. ix. 6.

"Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity;
And quicken thou me in thy way."—*Psa. cxix. 37.*

LAW.

The laws of the Assyrians and Babylonians, as may be inferred from the preceding article, were vague, and entirely dependent on the caprice or pleasure of their monarchs. According to Herodotus, however, there was one law, which appears to have been irrevocably fixed. This law was calculated to increase the number of the inhabitants, by obliging all, especially the meaner classes, to marry. But though this law was calculated to increase the power of the empire, it was, nevertheless, one of the most unjust, cruel, and unnatural enactments that has ever been

enacted by any state, ancient or modern; for, by one clause, it deprived a parent of exercising his natural right of bestowing his own daughters in marriage. This right was assumed for the king and his officers; and, as soon as they were arrived at the age of maturity, they were exposed in some public place for sale. The most beautiful were put up first, and the highest bidder became the purchaser. When all who had charms were disposed of, the money that was raised by this sale was applied in behalf of some of those to whom nature had not been so lavish of her exterior gifts. These were offered to such as would take the least money with them; and the poor, who valued money more than beauty, were eager in underbidding each other, as the rich were in overbidding for the beautiful. The result of this was, that their females were all disposed of in marriage: the poor, however, were obliged to give security that they would take those they had chosen, before they received the sum they agreed to take with them.

Concerning many other customs, and even laws, as recorded by Herodotus and Strabo, we forbear to speak, recalling to memory the sentiments of the apostle with reference to the works of darkness committed by the heathen world: "For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret," *Ephes. v. 12*. Those which we have recorded, as done openly, are sufficient to make the Christian blush for the honour of humanity, and to call forth the deepest gratitude of Christian parents and their children, for their privileges; which, however, are attended with corresponding duties and responsibilities. But it is to be feared, that many professing Christian parents neglect their duty in this particular. Too many sacrifice the happiness of their offspring at the shrine of the god of this world, Mammon! An old writer, looking at this evil in a worldly point of view, and aiming a blow at its root, says, "There be two towns in the land of Liege, called Bovins and Binant, the inhabitants whereof bear an almost incredible hatred one to another; and yet their children, notwithstanding, usually marry together: and the reason is, because there is none other good town or wealthy place near them. Thus parents, for a little pelf, often marry their children to those whose parents they hate; and thus, union betwixt families is not made, but the breach rather widened the more." To borrow a figure from the same writer, grace and goodness should be the principal loadstone in the affections of those who unite in holy matrimony; for love which hath ends will have an end; whereas, that which is founded on true virtue, will always continue. That is a wise injunction of the apostle, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers," *2 Cor. vi. 14*. Neither gold nor honours should tempt the Christian parent to endanger the everlasting welfare of the souls of their offspring by such unequal marriages; for the word of God repeatedly warns them against such connexions, and the severest judgments follow them.

PUNITIVE LAWS.

Like the general laws, so were the punishments among the Assyrians and Babylonians, vague and uncertain. They were, indeed, arbitrary

and rigorous, in proportion to the tyrant's present rage and fury. Nothing is recorded of them by profane historians; but it may be gathered from the prophecies of Daniel, that beheading, cutting in pieces, turning the offender's house into a dunghill, and burning in a fiery furnace, were sentences ordered by the kings of Babylon; and hence it may be inferred that these were the usual modes of punishment. See Dan. i. 10; ii. 5; iii. 19.

MILITARY POWER.

Little is known concerning the military force of the empire of Assyria, except that it was very great. Thus, when Sennacherib invaded Jerusalem, it is recorded that the angel of the Lord smote in the Assyrian camp "a hundred and four score and five thousand" men, Isa. xxxvii. 36. That they were noted for their power in horses and chariots is plain, from Isa. i. 26-28, where the prophet predicts the executioners of God's judgments upon his people in these emphatic words:

"And he will lift up an ensign to the nations from far,
And will hiss unto them from the end of the earth
And, behold, they shall come with speed and it is
None shall be weary nor stumble among them
None shall slumber nor sleep,
Neither shall the girdle of their loins be loosed,
Nor the latchet of their shoes be broken
Whose arrows are sharp,
And all their bows bent,
Their horses' hoofs shall be counted like flint,
And their wheels like a whirlwind."

Here, says Dr. Henderson, the rapidity with which the Assyrians advanced is beautifully expressed, by comparing the revolution of the wheels of their war-chariots to that of the sudden whirlwind, which seizes upon all within its reach, and rolling it up with indescribable velocity, bears it into the air. The allusion to the hardness of the hoofs of the horses, probably arises from the fact that the ancients did not shoe their horses by nailing iron-plates to the bottom of the hoof, as in our own country. They had, indeed, shoes of leather, gold, and silver, but these enclosed the whole hoof, and were only used on particular occasions. Xenophon, who, in his *Cyropædia*, represents the Babylonians in his day as supplying 20,000 horse and 200 chariots, to the force opposed to Cyrus, lays much stress on this point, observing that the good hoof is hard and hollow, and when struck on the ground, sounds like a cymbal. Homer continually uses the epithet, "brazen-hoofed," to the horses of his heroes, which proves that he considered hard hoofs to be requisite in war-horses.

• COMMERCE.

The trade of this ancient people is nowhere described at large, but that it must have been considerable, cannot be doubted, especially when Babylon was in the meridian of her glory. This mighty city was, as it were, situated in the midst of the old world, and by the medium of the Euphrates and Tigris, had ready communication with the western and northern parts, as it had also with the eastern, by means of the Persian Gulf. Babylon, moreover, was not only the seat of a potent monarchy, but it also afforded many productions and manufactures of its own, to

exchange with its neighbours. In Job. vii. 21, a "goodly Babylonish garment," or, literally, "a mantle of Shinar," of which Babylon was, in after ages, the famous and dominant capital, is mentioned, which indicates that this district had early acquired the reputation for its manufactured robes, for which its capital was famous among the ancients. That the Babylonians had shipping of their own, may be inferred from the fact, that the prophet denominates their city a "city of waters;" and the description of the fall of Babylon, in the book of Revelation, under which figure the mystical Babylon, Rome, is represented, proves at once the mighty riches of this city as an emporium, that the Babylonians had an extensive commerce, and that they abounded in shipping: "The merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more: the merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble, and cinnamon, — and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men. The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing, and saying, Alas, alas, that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls! For in one hour so great riches are come to nought. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off, and cried, — Alas, alas, that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate," Rev. xviii. 11-19.

THE PRIESTLY POWER.

In several passages of Scripture we read of magicians, astrologers, sorcerers, and Chaldeans, in connexion with the government of the Assyrian empire. This refers to the priests, who appear to have formed the learned caste; occupying the same station as the priests did in Egypt. It does not seem clear, however, that they possessed the same power in the councils, or over the actions of the monarchs. What influence they possessed arose from their learning. Thus, it is probable, greatly distinguished them from the rest of the people, and caused them to be as much revered as the Egyptian priests were. They chiefly spent their time in the study of philosophy, and they were especially famous in the art of astrology, which would give them immense influence over the minds of the credulous multitude, and cause them to be regarded with deference, even by the haughty monarchs who ruled over them. That they held a conspicuous place in the empire appears evident, from several transactions recorded in the book of Daniel, and from the fact that Isaiah notices them in his denunciations of woe upon that empire:

"Stand now with thine enchantments,
And with the multitude of thy sorceries,
Wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth:

If so be thou shalt be able to predict,
 If so be thou mayest prevail.
 Then art thou in the multitude of thy counsels.
 Lo now the astrologers, the stargazers,
 The monthly prognosticators,
 Stand up, and save thee:
 From these things that shall come upon thee.
 Behold, they shall be as stubble;
 The fire shall burn them;
 They shall not deliver themselves from the power of the same.
 There shall not be a soul to warm at,
 Nor fire to sit before it.
 Thus shall they be unto thee with whom thou hast
 laboured,
 Even thy merchants, from thy youth;
 They shall wander every one to his quarter;
 None shall save thee."—*Isa. xlvii. 12-15.*

Profane history bears its testimony to the truth of the sacred writings. Diodorus says, that the Chaldeans were greatly given to divination, and the foretelling of future events; and that they employed themselves, either by purifications, sacrifices, or enchantments, in averting evils, and procuring good fortune and success. The art of divination was performed by the rules of augury, the flight of birds, and the inspection of victims. They interpreted dreams and prodigies; and the presages which they derived from the inspection of the entrails of sacrifices, were received as oracles by the multitude. The same author states, that their knowledge and science were traditionally transmitted from father to son, thus proceeding on long-established rules, and that they held the world to be eternal, having neither beginning nor end. They maintained, however, that all things were ordered, and that the beautiful fabric of the universe was supported by Divine Providence, and the motions of the heavens performed by some unseen and overruling power. It was from their long observations of the stars, and their knowledge of their motions, that they professed to foretell future events. The Sun, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and Jupiter, they denominated "interpreters," as being principally concerned in making known to man the will of the gods. They maintained that future events were foreshown by their rising, setting, and colour: presaging hurricanes, tempestuous rains, droughts, famines, appearance of comets, eclipses, earthquakes, and every circumstance which was thought to bode good or evil to nations, kings, and private individuals. Like modern astrologers, they held also that the planets in their courses through the twelve signs, into which they divided the visible heavens, possessed an influence, either good or bad, on men's natures; so that from a consideration of their several natures, and respective positions, it might be known what should befall them in after life. Several remarkable coincidences are mentioned by ancient historians to have occurred between their prognostications and events, but they partake too much of the fabulous to be admitted into these pages. They are as incredible as the number of years during which the Chaldeans allege that their predecessors were devoted to this study; for when Alexander was in Asia, they reckoned

up 470,000 years since they first began to observe the motions of the stars, a circumstance which fully proves their disposition for the marvellous.*

The immense amount of mischief which the study of this vain science gave rise to cannot be estimated. One of the greatest evils which arose from it, was that of idolatry. From the motions and the regularity of the heavenly bodies, they inferred that they were either intelligent beings of themselves, or that they were each under the power of a presiding intelligence. Hence the origin of Sabianism, or the worship of the host of heaven. Their observations led them first to judicial astrology, and then to make images of those intelligences, which they imagined either animated the celestial orbs, or guided their motions. The highest object of regard would be that most glorious of all orbs—the sun. Hence it is supposed, that Belus was the sun itself, with the ancient Assyrians and Babylonians; or the Real Shemaim, or Lord of the Heavens, with those nations dwelling in the vicinity of Palestine. If this supposition be correct, then the image of Belus would be that of the sun, and the tower of Belus would be dedicated to that luminary. Accordingly, we are told, that there was a sacellum, or small chapel, on the summit of the tower, where his image was kept, and where he was worshipped.

This form of worship prevailed, from all that appears, in the days of Job, whose trials were, it is believed, within that period in which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob lived. In reference to this mode of worship, the writer of the instructive book of Job says:

"If I beheld the sun when it shined,
 Or the moon walking in brightness;
 And my heart hath been secretly enticed,
 Or my mouth hath kissed my hand:
 This also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge:
 For I should have denied the God that is above."
 Job xxxi. 26-28.

It would not appear, however, that the Chaldeans or Assyrians bowed down to the heavenly hosts as God; at least, in their first stages of defection from their Maker. When men first became idolaters, they had not forgotten the existence of God, but had become unmindful of his character and attributes. They were aware of his existence; but they saw him not as Adam and Eve did in their state of innocence; and imagining that he was too high and distant to concern himself in their affairs, or in the management of the world on which they lived, they con-

* Dr. Hales seems to set this statement in its proper light. He says "Cicero represents the foolish and arrogant pretensions of the Chaldeans to a series of recorded observations of the stars for 470,000 years, in round numbers. Diodorus is more particular, and raises it to 473,000 years before Alexander's expedition into Asia. The correct number is somewhat more, 473,040 years; the additional forty years being omitted by Diodorus, as insignificant in so great an amount, upon the same principle that even the 3,000 (fortunately preserved by Diodorus) were omitted by Cicero. But this correct cycle of 473,040 years was evidently formed by the multiplication of two factors: the square of the Chaldean Score, $10 \times 10 = 100$ years, and the Nabonassar or Bethlinal period of 4,730 years. The square of eighteen seems to have been employed, in order to furnish a larger period, approximating more nearly to the true lunar motions than the Score itself, or rather its deficient value eighteen years, neglecting the eleven days over."

* These probably were men who marked out for every year the events which, as they pretended, were to occur in each month of that year, after the manner of our ancient almanack-makers. Such a custom was both ancient and oriental.

cluded that he must have left these small matters to beings greatly inferior to himself, but higher than man in their nature and existence. They sought for these, and beholding the sun when it shined, and the moon walking in brightness, and the planetary bodies moving unerringly onward in their courses, they believed them to be the regent governors, who took an immediate interest in their concerns, and turned to them in prayer. They esteemed them as mediators between God and them; for that there was a necessity for a mediatory office between God and man, is observed to have been a notion held by mankind from the beginning. "Conscious of their own meanness, vileness, and impurity," says Prideaux, "and unable to conceive how it was possible for them, of themselves alone, to have any access to the all-holy, all-glorious, and Supreme Governor of all things, they considered him as too high and too pure, and themselves as too low and polluted, for such a converse; and therefore concluded, that there must be a mediator, by whose means only they could make any address to him, and by whose intercession alone any of their petitions could be accepted of. But no clear revelation being then made of the mediator, whom God had appointed, because as yet he had not been manifested unto the world, they took upon them to address themselves unto him by mediators of their own choosing; and their notion of the sun, moon, and stars, being, that they were the tabernacles or habitations of intelligences, which animated those orbs in the same manner as the soul of man animates his body, and were the causes of all their motions, and that those intelligences were of a middle nature between God and them; and, therefore, the planets being the nearest to them of all these heavenly bodies, and generally looked on to have the greatest influence on this world, they made choice of them in the first place for their mediators, who were to mediate for them with the Supreme God, and procure from him the mercies and favours which they prayed for; and accordingly they directed divine worship to them as such; and here began all the idolatry that hath been practised in the world." This was the first step in the defection of man from his Creator. And now no longer practically acknowledging "the God that is above," the knowledge even of his existence faded from the popular mind. For though some might know, by reason or tradition, that there was one great God, they knew it but obscurely and erroneously, and they also retained the original error, believing him to be too high to be honoured by adoration, or moved by prayer; and hence the most stupid idolatry usurped the place of true religion.

At first, the sun and moon were worshipped by the Chaldeans in the open air, and their altars raised high upon the mountains. At length, symbolical representations and statues were introduced, as supplying their place when absent, temples were erected, gods multiplied; and the actual worship of the heavenly bodies, from the one end of heaven to the other was adopted, as fear, avarice, ambition, or imposture might dictate. Under the influence of these causes it was that these first idolaters began to furnish the *Socelli*, tabernacles or temples, with images, and

to erect the same under trees, and upon the tops of mountains; and from hence it was that they assembled themselves together, to worship the hosts of heaven, to hope for all good from them, to dread all evil as proceeding from them, and to honour and fear them; regardless of Him, by the world of whose mouth they were created.

Such appears to have been the rise and progress of idolatry, such the original doctrine of Sabism, as fabricated by the Chaldean priests, adopted by the Assyrians and Babylonians, and finally by all the nations of the east.

"Oh, that men,
 Could't thou believe, should be so stupid grown,—
 While yet the patriarch lived who reaped the flood,
 As to be able the living God, and fall
 To worship their own work in wood and stone
 For gods!" Milton.

But the evil did not stop here. As man departed further from his God, he seems to have hewn out to himself idols of a more ignoble kind, till at length the very dead were deified. This, however, did not take place till idolatry had attained its height. Josephus says, that the first instance of the kind was amongst the Syrians of Damascus, who deified Benhadad, and Hazael, his successor. Now, Adad, or Hadad, was the name of the sun with that people, and Benhadad signified the "son of the sun;" and from this it would appear, that the sun was the primary object of their worship, as it was with their neighbours, the Assyrians and Chaldeans, and that afterwards the deified Benhadad usurped those honours; or, that they were given to him by his subjects, under the belief that he was amongst them, what the sun was amongst the moon and stars. In like manner, it has been supposed that Belus, among the Assyrians, may have been in after ages a deified hero. This honour has, indeed, been ascribed to Pul, the founder of their political grandeur, he being, as will be seen in a future page, the first Assyrian monarch who extended his conquests west of the Euphrates. Nothing is more probable than this; for it was finally the belief of star worshippers, that the souls of their monarchs, when they ceased to animate their bodies, went to the sun, or illuminated some star in heaven, and they were consequently deified upon this opinion of their migration. Such being the lamentable fact, it is more than probable that this warrior king underwent an apotheosis, or had the same divine honours paid to him in after ages, that were in former days given to the orb, whither, they asserted, he was ascended. Preparatory to this, he would have been represented as the delegated god of Belus, or, the sun upon earth. Accordingly, Herodotus tells us, that in the Temple of Belus were two gods and two altars, both of gold: one larger and one smaller; that on the lesser altar none but sucking victims were offered; and on the greater, none but such as were full grown. These sucking victims may denote that the sun is the nourisher of all living creatures; and the full-grown may signify that, being thus perfected by the nourishing power of Belus, he committed them to the care of his deified vicegerent on earth.

In accordance with the view here taken of the
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religion of the Chaldean priests, the author of the book of Wisdom, in speaking of idols, says: "By the vain glory of men they entered into the world.—Thus in process of time an ungodly custom grown strong was kept as a law, and graven images were worshipped by the commandments of kings. Whom men could not honour in presence, because they dwelt far off, they took the counterfeit of his visage from far, and made an express image of a king whom they honoured, to the end that by this their forwardness they might flatter him that was absent, as if he were present." *Wisd. xiv. 14, 16, 17.*

This was certainly the case with regard to the deification of kings, who aspired, like the fallen angels, to be gods. The same author assigns two other cogent reasons for this practice, which must have powerfully operated with the former: "For a father afflicted with untimely mourning, when he hath made an image of his child soon taken away, now honoured him as a god, which was then a dead man, and delivered to those that were under him ceremonies and sacrifices," *ver. 15.* "Also the singular diligence of the artificer did help to set forward the ignorant to more superstition. For he, peradventure willing to please one in authority, forced all his skill to make the resemblance of the best fashion. And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took him now for a god, which a little before was but honoured as a man. And this was an occasion to deceive the world: for men, serving either calamity or tyranny, did ascribe unto stones and stocks the incommunicable name," *ver. 18—21.*

From what has been said, therefore, it appears that idolatry had its first rise among the Chaldean priests, and that the vain science of astrology was its parent. The evils to which it gave rise, are well described by the author before quoted: "For whilst they slew their children in sacrifices, or used secret ceremonies, or made revelings of strange rites; they kept neither lives nor marriages any longer undefiled: but either one slew another traitorously, or grieved him by adultery. So that there reigned in all men without exception blood, manslaughter, theft, and dissimulation, corruption, unfaithfulness, tumults, perjury, disquieting of good men, forgetfulness of good turns, defiling of souls, changing of kind, disorder in marriages, adultery, and shameless uncleanness. For the worshipping of idols not to be named is the beginning, the cause, and the end of all evil," *ver. 23—27.*

Contrasting such a state of things as this with those that present themselves to our view, under the influence of the Christian religion, how ought we to admire and prize those doctrines which produce the good fruits of holiness. Sitting under our vine, and under our fig-trees, we can live in peace, and, walking abroad in the world, can adopt the language of the poet, with reference to the beautiful scenes which nature presents to our view,

"And smiling say, My Father made them all."

COWPER.

But our happiness, under the benign influences of revealed religion, does not stop here. If we are Christians indeed, we are not only raised in the scale of nature, in a moral point of view, but

in a spiritual; not only profited for time, but for eternity. Like Enoch of old, who, by faith, was translated, that he should not see death, we can "walk with God," and stretching our thoughts beyond the narrow bounds of time, and looking up to heaven, in humble dependence upon a crucified Redeemer, can say,

"There is my house and portion fair,
My treasure and my heart is there,
And my abiding home."

For such as by faith are united to Christ, by whose blood they are justified, and by whose Spirit, through the means of the word, that immortal seed of regeneration, they are sanctified, are reserved unto life everlasting, and have mansions prepared for them in the eternal world. See *John xiv. 1—3; 2 Cor. v. 1, 2.*

CASTE.

As the Chaldeans were peculiarly the men of learning, and the priesthood in the Assyrian empire, so the Babylonians, properly so called, according to some authors, applied themselves to the arts and sciences, in which they excelled, as their manufactures, buildings, etc., testify. Beside these, there were other subordinate sects, but nothing is known of their constitution. Herodotus says, that three of them fed upon nothing but fish, and therefore infringed a sacred law among the Babylonians, who abstained from such food, out of respect to their great goddess. As these tribes, however, lived in the fens, where no corn grew, it may not, as Strabo observes, have been upon a religious principle, but out of necessity, that they departed from the usages of their countrymen. Strabo relates something more extraordinary of the inhabitants of Borsippa, where the bats being much larger than in other places, they salted them for food; but whether this practice proceeded from want, or superstition, is not related.

This is all that can be safely narrated of the constitution of the empire of the Assyrians and Babylonians; for the statements of writers in general on this subject, are so vague and uncertain, that there are no satisfactory data on which to form correct opinions; and to record those which are palpably fabulous, forms no part of our plan. The writer and the reader of ancient history are constantly reminded, that they have no certain data, excepting as to what is derived from, or confirmed by, the Holy Scriptures.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF ASSYRIA.

PART I.—ASSYRIAN ADMINISTRATION.

THE Assyrian empire was one of the most powerful that has ever been established upon the face of the earth. By it, the nations around were long kept in awe, ruled by its iron rod. It grew so mighty, indeed, that its monarchs, eventually, lifted up with pride, forgot that they were mortal, and arrogated to themselves divine honours.

Some authors contend that there were two Assyrian empires, and that Nimrod founded the first, which subsisted, in more or less extent and glory, upwards of 1450 years. The evidence, however, on which this proposition rests, is very slender. It is highly improbable that empires should have been in existence at so early a date after the dispersion. Kingdoms might, and were, but not empires. Besides, Nimrod was not an Assyrian, or descendant of Asshur, the son of Shem, but a Hamite, or Cushite. Ham, his grandfather, or, at least, his son Misraim, settled in Egypt; others of his sons in Phenicia and Palestine, and Nimrod's brethren of the Cushite race appear to have settled in Arabia, and perhaps in India. Neither the writings of sacred nor profane historians relate that Babel was a city of consequence, till it was rendered such by Semiramis and Nebuchadnezzar. It is not probable that empires should have been at that early age of great importance. But a few years before, mankind had been involved in one general destruction, for their iniquities, eight souls excepted. And prior to the date at which it is said Nimrod founded his empire, the dispersion took place, and the souls then living were, as the sacred historian tells us, scattered abroad upon the face of all the earth, Gen. xi. 9. It may be safely asserted, therefore, that this city, like others in the east, rose gradually to the enormous magnitude it attained, as ages rolled on, and the empire of which it was the capital rose to its height of prosperity; just as the metropolis of our own country has arisen, as its population, wealth, and power increased.

It is said, Gen. x. 11, "Out of that land went forth Asshur, and builded Nineveh;" that is, being driven out of Shinar, or Babylonia, he went out into Assyria, and builded Nineveh. Who, then, is so likely to have founded Nineveh as Asshur himself? It is not even suggested in the Bible, that Nimrod went forth into the land of Assyria, and built Nineveh; but we read, Isa. xxiii. 13, that Asshur founded Babel.

"Behold the land of the Chaldeans,
This people was not,
Till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness:
They set up the towers thereof,
They raised up the palaces thereof,
And he brought it to ruin."

The fair conclusions to be deduced from Scripture concerning Nimrod and Asshur are, that the former founded a small, but a short-lived kingdom, and that the latter founded Nineveh, which, in after ages, became the capital of the Assyrian empire.

The chronology, and the actions of the ancient Assyrian kings, as recorded by Ctesias, and, after him, Diodorus Siculus, and many modern authors, abound with glaring improbabilities and exaggerations, such as have never been surpassed in the most notorious forgeries, or in the most extravagant romances of oriental writers. To have performed such actions as they ascribe to Nimrod, who is represented by them as the founder of the empire, he must have possessed an empire wider in extent than any that has yet existed, and this empire must have been started into being at once, like the godly globe on which

we live. Years must pass away before the infant becomes a man; and ages must have rolled onward, before an empire could have stood forth so prominently, as that of the Assyrian is said to have done in the days of its founder, Nimrod. It is wonderful how such monstrous fictions could pass for history with men of understanding as the Greeks were; it is still more wonderful, that they should have been seriously believed by some of the greatest men in the world of literature, whether of ancient or modern times. But such is the nature of man, that, wandering from the source of truth, he is easily led astray, easily seduced into errors. Learning and talent, then, avail him but little; for our judgment, like all our other faculties, is warped by our forefather's transgression—by our departure from original righteousness.

Upon the particulars of such statements it is unnecessary to dwell minutely. The only safe guide for us to follow in this matter is the book of revelation. The sacred page does not, indeed, give us a definite history of other nations, but introduces them only so far as some historical facts are connected with the history of the Hebrew race, or with the Jews considered as a nation. In this way the following facts are discovered, which will throw a light upon the pretended antiquity of the Assyrian empire, and prove that it was neither so ancient, nor so extensive, as Ctesias and his followers would have us believe.

In the book of Genesis, chap. xiv., we read concerning the nations dwelling on the east of the Euphrates, that, shortly after Abram migrated to the land of Canaan, Chedorlamer, king of Elam, Amraphel, king of Shinar, Arioch, king of Ellasar, and Tidal, king of Gogim, or nations, made a successful incursion into the territory called Pentapolis, or the five cities of the plain, which were involved in the overthrow of Sodom, and where now is the Dead Sea. We read, further, that the kings of these cities served Chedorlamer, and his confederates, who carried their conquests this time to the shores of the Red Sea, and the frontiers of Egypt, and returned, carrying Lot and his family captive. The sacred narrative goes on to say, that Abram discovering the situation of his nephew, armed his servants, 318 in number, pursued Chedorlamer, and his allies, and defeated them, rescuing Lot, and recovering the spoils.

From this may be gathered, that Elam was an independent monarchy, and that Amraphel, king of Shinar, if not his vassal, was his ally. Now, the name Shinar, in Scripture, is usually applied to Babylonia; it was, therefore, in those early ages, a distinct kingdom from, and dependent, not on Assyria, but Elam. But if Nimrod, Nimus, and Semiramis, had founded, and reigned over so extensive an empire as some have asserted, this could not have been the case; for Elam itself, and the other nations mentioned in connexion with it, must have been provinces of that empire.

In the days of Abraham, and for ages after, the Canaanites were an independent race, and from the expulsion of that people down to the time of the "sweet singer of Israel," no mention is made of an Assyrian empire. There is a

profound silence, indeed, throughout the whole of the sacred narrative, and in the writings of the prophets, concerning the empire of Assyria, till after the days of Amos, about B.C. 783. It is true, the writings of this prophet state that "the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir," Amos i. 5; and that as God had brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, so had he brought the Syrians from Kir, Amos ix. 7: but all that can be discovered from this is, that Kir was the ancient abode of the Assyrians, before they began to figure in the historic page. After the days of Amos, all the prophets make mention of Assyria as a powerful empire, and we read first of a king of Assyria by name, 2 Kings xv. 19; and the parallel passage, 1 Chron. v. 26, where it is recorded: "And the God of Israel stirred up the spirit of Pul king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, and he carried them away, even the Reubenites, and the Gadites, and the half tribe of Manasseh, and brought them unto Halah, and Habor, and Hara, and to the river Gozan, unto this day." From this is discerned, therefore, that Pul was the first Assyrian king of any great political power, and that the Assyrian empire was raised up by the Almighty, to punish the children of Israel for their iniquities. It follows, then, that the story told us of the remote antiquity of the Assyrian empire, and of there being two empires, is a fiction. There was only one, and that one had not its origin till about the days of Pul, 790 years B.C., who invaded and rendered tributary the kingdom of Israel in the days of Menahem. This is all the information which Scripture gives concerning the antiquity, etc., of the Assyrian empire; and this is all that can be safely relied upon in this matter. And why should it be thought needful to carry inquiries beyond the bounds where correct data are given, and to lose time in discussing what is confessedly fictitious?

PUL.

It is recorded in the preceding section, that Pul is the first king of Assyria mentioned by name in Scripture. The Scripture dynasty of Assyrian kings, however, begins with that unnamed "king of Nineveh," who repented at the prophecy of Jonah, about B.C. 821. Dr. Hales thinks it probable that Pul was the son of this monarch. Be that as it may, Pul was the first king of Assyria who began to interfere in the affairs of the western states. Hitherto the Assyrian power appears to have lain dormant in that direction. But "God stirred up the spirit of Pul," and he invaded Israel, B.C. 770, in the twentieth year of his reign. The act is thus recorded in Scripture: "And Pul the king of Assyria came against the land; and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him." [For Menahem had usurped the crown of Israel in the same year, and therefore needed protection.] "And Menahem exacted the money of Israel, even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back, and stayed not there in the land," 2 Kings xv. 19, 20; 1 Chron. v. 26.

It is considered, by the best authorities, that Pul was the Assyrian Belus; that he shared a joint worship with the original Belus, or the sun; and that the temple of Belus, at Babylon, was dedicated to both, Babylon being originally a province of the Assyrian empire. Dr. Hales conceives, that he was the second Belus of the Greeks, Nimrod, or Ninus, being the first, who built the temple of that name at Babylon; and, like the first, was deified after his death. It is probable, that he attracted their attention by his excursions into Syria and Palestine. He died B.C. 747.

TIGLATH-PILESER.

This conqueror seems to have been the son of Pul. Sir Isaac Newton conjectures, and Dr. Hales concurs in the conjecture, that at Pul's death his dominions were divided between his two sons; when the sovereignty of Assyria was given to the elder, Tiglath-pileser; and the prefecture of Babylon to the younger, Nabonassar, from the date of whose government the celebrated era of that name took its rise, B.C. 747. The celebrated Semiramis, says the latter author, who built the walls of Babylon, according to Herodotus, might have been either the mother or the wife of Nabonassar.

In the seventh year of his reign, B.C. 740, Tiglath-pileser found an opportunity of interfering in the disturbances that broke out in Syria and Palestine. The cause of this interference is thus narrated by the sacred historian: "Then Rezin king of Syria and Pekah son of Remaliah king of Israel came up to Jerusalem to war; and they besieged Ahaz, but could not overcome him. At that time Rezin king of Syria recovered Elath to Syria, and drove the Jews from Elath: and the Syrians came to Elath, and dwelt there unto this day. So Ahaz sent messengers to Tiglath-pileser king of Assyria, saying, I am thy servant and thy son: come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, which rise up against me. And Ahaz took the silver and gold that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the king's house, and sent it for a present to the king of Assyria. And the king of Assyria hearkened unto him: for the king of Assyria went up against Damascus, and took it, and carried the people of it captive to Kir, and slew Rezin," 2 Kings xvi. 5-9.

This act fulfilled the prophecies of Amos:

"And the people of Syria shall go into captivity unto Kir, saith the Lord."
Amos i. 5.
"Have not I brought up.....th Syrian from Kir?"
Amos ix. 7.

But the sacred historian says of Tiglath-pileser, that he distressed Ahaz, and strengthened him not, 2 Chron. xxviii. 21. At this time, indeed, he carried away the Transjordanite tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, captives to Media, where he planted them in Halah, Habor, and on the river Gozan, 1 Chron. v. 26; and also the other half of Manasseh in Galilee, 2 Kings xv. 29, which acts were also in accordance with the sure word of prophecy:

"I hate, I despise your feast days,
And I will not smell in your solemn assemblies.

Though ye offer me burnt offerings and your meat offerings,
I will not accept them:
Neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts.
Take them away from me the noise of thy songs;
For I will not bear the melody of thy viols.
But let judgment run down as waters,
And righteousness as a mighty stream.
Have ye offered unto me sacrifices and offerings
in the wilderness forty years, O house of Israel?
But ye have borne the tabernacle of your Melech
And Chilon your images,
The star of your god, which ye made to yourselves.
Therefore will I cause you to go into captivity beyond
Damascus."—*Amos* v. 21—27.

Or, as it is in the Acts of the Apostles:

"[I will carry you away beyond Babylon]."—*Acts* vii. 43

And again:

"Now therefore hear thou the word of the Lord. Thou sayest, Prophecy not against Israel, and drop not thy word against the house of Isaac. Therefore thus saith the Lord;
Thy wife shall be an harlot in the city,
And thy sons and thy daughters shall fall by the sword,
And thy land shall be divided by line.
And thou shalt die in a polluted land,
And Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land."—*Amos* vii. 16, 17.

Compare also 2 Kings xvi. 5—9, and Isa. viii. 1—11.

SHALMANESER, OR, SHALMAN.

This prince is simply called Shalman in Hos. x. 14. He was the successor of Tiglath-pileser, and, according to Dr. Hales, his reign extended from 726 to 714 B. C.

In the fifth year of his reign, B. C. 722, the king of Israel having rebelled against him, Shalmaneser invaded Israel, and besieged Samaria, which he took, B. C. 719; and fulfilling the prophecies of Amos and the other prophets, referred to in a previous page, he transported the chief of the people of the seven western tribes beyond Assyria, and planted them in Media, 2 Kings xvii. 5, 6, whither his father had transplanted the Transjordanite, or eastern tribes. Thus was completed the captivity of the ten revolted tribes, in the course of twenty-one years, that is, from 740 to 719 B. C.

On the policy of the Assyrian monarchs in transplanting their captives thither, Dr. Hales remarks: "The geographical position of Media was wisely chosen for the distribution of the great body of the captives; for, first, it was so remote, and so impeded and interspersed with great mountains and numerous and deep rivers, that it would be extremely difficult for them to escape from this natural prison, and return to their own country. And, second, they would also be opposed in their passage through Kir, or Assyria Proper, not only by the native Assyrians, but also by their enemies, the Syrians, transplanted thither before them. And, third, the superior civilization of the Israelites, and their skill in agriculture and in the arts, would tend to civilize and improve those wild and barbarous regions. And, fourth, they could safely be allowed more liberty, and have their minds more at ease than if they were subject to a more rigorous confinement nearer to their native country."

The causes for the captivity of Israel are stated, 2 Kings xvii. 7—23, where the judgments, says the author of the Kings of Judah and Israel, are fully vindicated, while the sins of Israel, and the extent to which they carried their idolatry, are strikingly delineated.

It may be mentioned, that the tribe of Naphtali is said to have been carried away by Tiglath-pileser, 2 Kings xv. 29. In the book of Tobit, however, the writer, who was of that tribe, ascribes his captivity to Enmeshar, or Shalmaneser. See Tobit i. 1, 2.

Besides the final subversion of the kingdom of Israel by this prince, Josephus preserves a passage from the archives of Tyre, from which it appears that the Assyrian king overran Phœnicia also, and received the submission of the whole country except Tyre. The elder Tyre, (Palm-tyrus,) Sidon, Acre, and other towns, seem to have been glad of the opportunity of exchanging the yoke of their neighbour for that of a foreign power; for they assisted the Assyrians with a fleet of sixty ships, which the Tyrians defeated with only twelve ships. Upon this, Shalmaneser advanced to Tyre, and kept it in a state of blockade for five years, when his death occasioned the undertaking to be discontinued. He was succeeded in his kingdom by

SENNACHERIB,

whose reign, according to Hales, extended from 714 to 710 B. C. As soon as this prince was settled on the throne, he renewed a demand which had been exacted by his father from Hezekiah, king of Judah, and upon his refusal to comply, he declared war against him, and invaded Judah with a mighty army. Hezekiah acknowledged his offence, and offered to submit to any tribute the king should impose upon him. Accordingly, he paid the stipulated sum of 300 talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold, (in the whole amounting to 285,012 $\frac{1}{2}$ sterling,) to raise which, he exhausted the royal and sacred treasures, and stripped off the gold with which the doors and pillars of the temple were overlaid, which, to this pious king, must have been a grievous necessity indeed, 2 Kings xviii. 13—16.

The Assyrian monarch, however, regarding neither the sanctity of oaths nor treaties, still pushed on his conquests. Nothing was able to withstand his power, and Jerusalem was reduced to the utmost extremity. While he himself was ravaging the whole country, and reducing the important frontier towns toward Egypt, (which he determined to invade, because Sennacherib, king of Egypt, had encouraged Hoshea to revolt, with promises of assistance he did not perform, and now, perhaps, renewed to Hezekiah, as may be gathered from 2 Kings xviii. 21,) he sent three of his generals, Tartan, Rabaris, and Rabshakeh, with a great host, to besiege Jerusalem, and to summon Hezekiah to surrender. They came to the very walls, and there not only ridiculed his expectations from Egypt, but his faith in Jehovah. They also exhorted the people to desert their prince, and promised them plenty

* This work is published by the Religious Tract Society, and the reader is referred to it as containing the Jewish history of this period.

and security under the rule of their master; and threatened utter destruction unless they submitted to his yoke, 2 Kings xviii. 17—35.

At this message from the Assyrian monarch, Hezekiah was deeply distressed. He saw that the situation of himself and people was a very critical one, and that nothing but a display of Divine power, manifested on behalf of Jerusalem, could save them. With outward tokens, therefore, of humiliation, and deep emotions of godly sorrow, he repaired to the temple, accompanied by his nobles, to seek that aid. From hence he sent to solicit the intercession of the prophet Isaiah on their behalf, and received an immediate reply, that Sennacherib should be constrained to depart from them, and should die by the sword, 2 Kings xix. 1—7; Isa. xxxvii. 1—7.

At this critical juncture, Hezekiah fell sick of the plague. He was brought to the brink of the grave, and a message from God bade him prepare to leave the world. In this distress, Hezekiah again resorted to prayer, and received in answer, a declaration, that on the third day he should be perfectly restored, and that fifteen years should be added to his life. For the confirmation of his faith, the shadow of the sun was carried back ten degrees; that is, the light was protracted in a miraculous manner, in token of his recovery, 2 Kings xx. 1—11; Isa. xxxviii.

Shortly after this event, as we are told by Herodotus, the king of Assyria invaded Egypt, but without success. [See the History of the Egyptians, page 49.] His account, however, is evidently a caricature of the miraculous deliverance promised to Hezekiah, for the blasphemous of the Assyrians. "Behold, I will send a blast upon him, and he shall hear a rumour, and shall return to his own land; and I will cause him to fall by the sword in his own land," 2 Kings xix. 7. See also Isa. xxxi. 8, 9.

The rumour which Sennacherib heard, was, that Tirhakah, king of Cush, or Arabian Ethiopia, was come out to fight against him on his passage homewards, 2 Kings xix. 9.

Sennacherib was resolved to meet Tirhakah; and, through the medium of Rab-shakeh, he sent a boasting letter to Hezekiah, defying the God of Israel, and threatening Jerusalem with eventual destruction, although he was now compelled to break up the siege.

The conduct of Hezekiah, when he received this letter, is very pleasing; and it would be well for Christians to follow his example in the hour of distress. He hastened to the throne of grace; he spread its contents before the Lord, and ardently besought him to interpose, for his own name's sake. His prayer prevailed. The prophet was again commissioned to confirm the promise, and to assure him of speedy relief. On that night the promise was fulfilled. As they lay slumbering in their tents, and probably dreaming of victory and revenge, the angel of the Lord smote, in the camp of the Assyrians, a hundred and eighty-five thousand men, 2 Kings xix. 35.

Sennacherib now returned to Nineveh, where, being exasperated by his defeat, he inflicted many cruelties upon his subjects, and especially upon the captive Israelites. The author of the book of Tobit thus speaks of these cruelties: "And if

the king Sennacherib had slain any, when he was come, and fled from Judah, I buried them privily; for in his wrath he killed many; but the bodies were not found, when they were sought for of the king. And when one of the Ninevites went and complained of me to the king, that I buried them, and hid myself; understanding that I was sought for to be put to death, I withdrew myself for fear. Then all my goods were forcibly taken away, neither was there anything left me, beside my wife Anna and my son Tobias," Tobit i. 18—20.

The cruelties of Sennacherib were not, however, long continued. As he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch, his god, (signifying "king of flight," and corresponding to Jove, the "god of flight," among the Greeks,) he was assassinated by two of his sons; who, after committing the sanguinary deed, escaped into the land of Armenia; while a third son, Esarhaddon, reigned in his stead.

The death of Sennacherib is alluded to, Isa. xxxi. 8, where it is said:

"Then shall the Assyrian fall with the sword, not of a mighty man;
And the sword, not of a mean man, shall devour him."

At this juncture, when the Assyrians were weakened by so great a blow, the Babylonians and the Medes revolted. Merodach-balsadan reigned over Babylon; and, soon after his accession, he sent letters and a present to Hezekiah, to congratulate him on his recovery. Hezekiah was flattered by this embassy; and in the pride of his heart he made a vain display of his grandeur, and exhibited to the wondering ambassadors his palaces and treasures. For this vanity, Isaiah was commissioned to reprove him, and to denounce a woe upon him and his people. The very men to whom he had paid his court were to seize upon the treasures he had exhibited, and to reduce his descendants to the most abject bondage, 2 Kings xx. 12—19.

ESARHADDON.

This king is the "great and noble Assnapper" of Ezra iv. 10; the Sargon of Isa. xx. 1; the Sarchedonius of Tobit i. 21; and the Asaradin of Ptolemy. His reign commenced, according to Dr. Hales, B.C. 710.

Esarhaddon came to his throne at a season of general rebellion and revolt of the provinces of Assyria. The Medes led the way, and, after a severe battle, regained their liberty, and retained their independence. They were followed by the Babylonians, Armenians, and others. From this cause, Esarhaddon had full employment on his hands for many years. At length, however, in the thirtieth year of his reign, or B.C. 680, he recovered Babylon, and annexed it to his former dominions.*

* The government of Babylon seems to have fallen into great disorder and confusion after Merodach-balsadan; at least, if we may judge from the recurrence of five reigns and two interregnums of ten years, all in the course of twenty nine years, preceding its reduction again under the Assyrian yoke. We are unacquainted with the story of these kings of Babylon; for their names, and that of others, the reader is referred to the table given at the conclusion of this history, from the pen of Dr. Hales, who framed it from a careful comparison of Scripture with Ptolemy's Canon of the reigns of the contemporary kings of Babylon.

As soon as he had re-established his dominion, and confirmed his authority at home, Esarhaddon undertook an expedition against the states of Phœnicia, Palestine, Egypt, and Ethiopia, to avenge his father's defeat, and to recover the revolted provinces on the western side of the Euphrates. For three years, he ravaged those countries, and brought away many captives; fulfilling the prophecy of Isaiah, which says, "Like as my servant Isaiah hath walked naked and barefoot three years for a sign and wonder upon Egypt and upon Ethiopia; so shall the king of Assyria lead away the Egyptians prisoners, and the Ethiopians captives, young and old, naked and barefoot, even with their buttocks uncovered, to the shame of Egypt." Isa. xx. 3, 4.

That the country of Palestine might not become a desert, he sent colonies of idolatrous people, taken out of the countries beyond the Euphrates, to dwell in the cities of Samaria; thereby fulfilling another prophecy: "And within three-score and five years shall Ephraim be broken, that it be not a people," Isa. vii. 8.

This was the precise space of time which elapsed between the prediction and the event; and the people of Israel did then, B.C. 675, truly cease to be a visible nation; the remnant being mixed and confounded with other nations.

About two years after, Esarhaddon invaded and ravaged Judea; and the captains of his host took Manasseh the king alive, and bound him with fetters, and carried him away captive, with many of the nobles and people, to Babylon. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 11. Manasseh, however, having afterwards been brought to a sincere and lively repentance, obtained his liberty, and returned to Jerusalem.

This is a lively instance of the grace of God, and true repentance. Reader, let it not pass by unimproved. We all need repentance, for "all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;" all have provoked his just wrath and indignation. How comforting, then, is the example before us, that God is merciful! and still more comforting is the assurance of the apostle, that, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." 1 John i. 9. Like Manasseh, then, return to the Lord, and that without delay; for,

"By nature's law, what may be, may be now;
There's no prerogative in human hours.
In human hearts what bolder thoughts can rise,
Than man's presumption on to-morrow's dawn?
Where is to-morrow? in another world.
For numbers this is certain; the reverse
Is sure to none: and yet on this, perhaps,
This peradventure, infamous for lies,
As on a rock of adamant, we build
Our mountain hopes; spin our eternal schemes,
And, big with life's futurities, expire."—Young.

Our hopes should be fixed on Christ; for "Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins," Acts v. 31. In him alone our help is found; and whoever neglects to flee to him, neglects his best interests for time and for eternity.

Esarhaddon was a great and prosperous prince. He appears not only to have recovered all the revolted provinces of Assyria, except Media, but to have added thereto Babylonia, Mesopotamia,

Cilicia, Syria, Phœnicia, Judea, Persia, Arabia, and Egypt, unto the borders of Ethiopia, or Abyssinia; such, at least, were possessed by his grandson Nabuchodonosor, as may be gathered from Judith i. 6—10.

Esarhaddon is ranked by Ptolemy, in his Canon, among the Babylonian kings, probably because he made it his chief residence during the last thirteen years of his reign, which he did, by way of preventing another defection. By Diodorus and Justin he is called Sardanapalus; and they confound him with the last king, Sardan, who perished in the overthrow of Nineveh, about A.C. 606; which, Dr. Hales says, is the grand error which has chiefly perplexed and embarrassed the Assyrian chronology, and given rise to the supposed double capture of Nineveh. This learned writer proves the position he here takes, thus:

1. "Athenæus relates, from Clitararchus, that Sardanapalus died of old age, after he had lost the Syrian or Assyrian empire." He lost the empire, as recorded, in his youth, but he recovered it in his age.

2. His statue was erected at Anahiale, in Cilicia, with this inscription: "Sardanapalus, the son of Anacyndaraxes [Sennacherib], built Anahiale, in Tarsus, in one day. Stranger, eat, drink, and play; for all other human concerns are not worth this;" which word *this* referred to a filip, which the statue was in the attitude of giving with his fingers. To this inscription the apostle evidently alluded, when, writing to the Corinthians, he said, "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die;" and to which he replied, in the following iambic of Menander: "Evil communications corrupt good manners," 1 Cor. xv. 32, 33. Thus intimating, from a better heathen authority, that the conversation of such sensualists as scoff at the hope of another life, is subversive not only of religion, but of sound morality.

3. Herodotus, also, so well skilled in Assyrian affairs, records the following curious incident: "Some robbers, who were solicitous to get possession of the immense treasures of Sardanapalus, king of Nineveh, which were deposited in subterraneous apartments, began, from the place where they lived, to dig under ground, in a direction towards them. Having taken the most accurate measurement, they continued their mine to the palace of the king: as night approached, they regularly emptied the earth into the Tigris, which flows near Nineveh, and at length accomplished their purpose." This would demonstrate, that the second Sardanapalus could not be meant; for he perished with his treasures.

NINUS.

According to Syncellus, a prince of the name of Ninus succeeded Sardanapalus at Nineveh; and we learn from Ptolemy, that Sennoduchin, who was either his son or his deputy, succeeded him also at Babylon. According to Dr. Hales, they began their reign A.C. 607. Nothing is known concerning this Ninus: he was succeeded in his empire by

NABUCHODONOSOR,

or Sennoduchin, whose accession is dated B.C. 688.

In the twelfth year of the reign of Nabuchodonosor, he declared war against Arphaxad, or Phraortes, king of the Medes, and he summoned all the states of his mighty empire to his aid. The western and southern provinces of Cilicia, Phœnicia, Judea, Moab, Ammon, and Egypt, refused to obey the summons, and to furnish him with troops, and they even insulted and ill-treated his ambassadors. This caused a delay of five years in his projected invasion of Media, at the end of which time, *B.C.* 641, he took the field, when he defeated the Median army near Ragan, or Rages, took Arphaxad prisoner, and slew him the same day. After this, he stormed Ecbatana, his capital, demolished its towers, and ravaged its palaces, and then returned to Nineveh, where he feasted his troops for four months.

Flushed with this victory, in the ensuing spring, *B.C.* 640, Nabuchodonosor sent Holofernes with an army of 120,000 foot, and 12,000 horse, to chastise the states that had refused their assistance in the Median war. The commands which Holofernes received were of the most rigorous nature; and, acting upon them, he proved himself a cruel conqueror. He ravaged and reduced Cilicia and Syria, and part of Arabia, Ammon, and Edom; destroying with a high hand the fair fruits of the earth, and smiting the inhabitants with the edge of the sword.

These severe measures awed the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon, and of all the sea-coast unto Azotus and Askelon. In the spirit of fear, therefore, they sent ambassadors to Holofernes, to solicit peace. Holofernes granted it; but he put garrisons into their towns, and obliged them to furnish recruits for his army. He also destroyed the barriers on their frontiers, and cut down their sacred groves; and he destroyed "all the gods of the land, that all nations should worship Nabuchodonosor only, and that all tongues and tribes should call upon him as god." *Judith* iii. 8.

The little state of Judea, it would appear, still preserved its independence. Accordingly, after Holofernes had spent a full month in the plain of Edmælon, on its confines, waiting to collect the carriages of his army, he encamped in the valley over against Bethulia, the key to the hill country of Judea, with an army increased to 170,000 foot, resolving to reduce it to the allegiance of Nabuchodonosor.

The particulars of the siege of Bethulia, and its final deliverance by the heroine Judith, with the death of Holofernes, and defeat of his hosts, are recorded in the book that bears her name; but as that book is of somewhat doubtful authority, the details are here passed over.

Nabuchodonosor died about four years after, or *B.C.* 636; and he was succeeded by the last king of Nineveh.

SARAC, OR SARDANAPALUS.

This prince ascended the throne at a time when revolt and rebellion raged throughout the empire. The Medes once more took up arms, and they soon regained Ecbatana, and the territory they had lost. Nor did they stop here. Revenge, that evil composition of pride and cruelty, inflamed the warlike Cyaxares their king, and he attacked and defeated the Assyrians, and besieged Nineveh.

His first attempts, however, proved abortive.

He was himself attacked and defeated by a powerful Scythian army, who possessed themselves of Upper Asia, and ruled with great rigour for twenty-eight years. At the end of this time, *B.C.* 612, Cyaxares massacred their chieftains at a banquet, and shook off their yoke.

The design which Cyaxares had formed, of reducing Nineveh, was now renewed. He formed an alliance with Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, who, taking advantage of the disaster of Holofernes, had also recovered his independence; and a marriage having been concluded between Nabuchadnezzar, son of Nabopolassar, and Amytis, the daughter of Cyaxares, the kings of Babylon and Media jointly besieged Nineveh.

According to Justin, Sardanapalus was a most effeminate prince, who betrayed great cowardice on the revolt of the Medes, and, instead of defending his crown, fled, after a feeble resistance, to his palace, and burned himself and his treasures in a pile erected for that purpose. *Diodorus*, however, gives a more probable account of the downfall of Nineveh. He states, that, relying upon an ancient prophecy, that Nineveh should never be taken until the river became its enemy, Sardanapalus omitted nothing that prudence and courage could suggest for his defence and security. He sent his children, and a great part of his treasures, to his intimate friend Cotta, governor of Paphlagonia, and provided ammunition and provisions for the defence and support of the inhabitants. At length, after the confederates had besieged the city for two years without effect, an unusual overflow of the Tigris, occasioned by heavy rains in the mountains of Ararat and sources of the river, occurred, and the water rising up to the city, threw down twenty furlongs of its great wall. Sarac, struck with dismay and despair at the unexpected fulfilment of the prophecy, burned his concubines, his treasures, and himself, upon a great pile, in the court of the palace, to avoid falling into the hands of the confederate kings. The enemy entered by the breach, sacked the city, and razed it to the ground, after it had stood for about 1,900 years. [See the section on Nineveh.]

This event took place about *B.C.* 606; after which, Assyria was governed by the monarchs of Babylon; for the power of Assyria was now passed away as a shadow.

CHAPTER V.

THE KINGDOM OF ASSYRIA.

PART II.—BABYLONIAN ADMINISTRATION.

NABOPOLASSAR.

THE capture of Nineveh rewarded the Medes with independence, and the Babylonians with empire. The essential power of Assyria was, however, in the hands of the Babylonians before this transaction took place: it was only the crowning act, which placed Nabopolassar in the position of undisputed master of the empire.

The Babylonians and the Medes having destroyed Nineveh, became so formidable, that they

drew upon themselves the jealousy of their neighbours. Pharaoh-nechoh, king of Egypt, was so alarmed at their power, that, to stop their progress, he marched towards the Euphrates, at the head of a powerful army, and made several conquests. [See the History of the Egyptians, page 52.]

In the fourth year after this expedition, Nabopolassar, observing, that since these conquests of Nekus, all Syria and Palestine had shaken off their allegiance to him, and that his years and infirmities would not permit him to march in person against the rebels, associated his son Nebuchadnezzar with him in the empire.

This young prince, B.C. 604, revenged his father's quarrel upon Nekus. He invaded Egypt, and stripped him of all his conquests, from the Euphrates to the Nile, so effectually, that the king of Egypt no more invaded his neighbours, 2 Kings xxiv. This event was foretold by the prophet Jeremiah. See chap. xli.

The conquests of Nebuchadnezzar did not end here. He likewise entered Judea, besieged Jerusalem, and took it. At first, he caused Jehoiachin to be put in chains, with a design to have him carried to Babylon; but being touched with pity at his repentance and affliction, he restored him to the throne. Great numbers of the Jews, and, among the rest, some children of the royal family, were carried captive to Babylon, with the treasures of the king's palace, and a part of the sacred vessels of the temple, were likewise transported. Among the captives may be mentioned the prophets Daniel and Ezekiel, and Mordecai was carried thither some time afterwards. Thus was the judgment which God denounced, by the prophet Isaiah, to King Hezekiah, accomplished. See 2 Kings xx. 16—18. From this famous epoch, therefore, B.C. 605, which was the fourth year of Jehoiachin, king of Judah, must be dated the captivity of the Jews at Babylon, so frequently and so emphatically foretold by Jeremiah. See Jer. xxii. 13—26; xxv. 11; xxvi. 20—23, xxix. 10; etc., etc.

Towards the end of the year, B.C. 604, Nabopolassar king of Babylon died; and he was succeeded in his empire by his son

NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

Berosus says, that Nebuchadnezzar having heard of his father's death while yet he was carrying on his conquests in Judea, left his Syrian, Phœnician, Egyptian, and Jewish captives, with his heavy-armed troops and baggage, to the care of his friends or officers, to be conducted to Babylon, and went thither himself with a small party across the desert, to take possession of the kingdom, when he appointed the fittest stations in Babylonia to be colonized by the captives.

In the first year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, Jehoiachin rebelled against him, whereupon his generals, who still remained in Judea, marched against him, and avenged the "innocent blood," which he and his people, following the example of Manasseh, had shed, 2 Kings xxiv. 2—4. The prophet Jeremiah had foretold his destruction in these words:

"Therefore thus saith the Lord
Concerning Jehoiachin the son of Josiah king of Judah.

They shall not lament for him, saying,
As my brother! or, As sister!
They shall not lament for him, saying,
Ah lord! or, Ah his glory!
He shall be buried with the burial of an ass,
Drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem."
Jer. xxii. 18, 19.

His doom is referred to more explicitly, also, in another passage:

"Therefore thus saith the Lord of Jehoiachin king of Judah.
He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David
And his dead body shall be cast out
In the day to the heat,
And in the night to the frost."—Jer. xxxvi. 30, 31.

Accordingly, as we learn from Ezekiel, in his figurative description of Jehoiachin, as another rapacious lion's whelp, succeeding Shallum, that

"The nations set against him on every side from the provinces,
And spread their net over him
He was taken in their pit
And they put him in ward in chains,
And brought him to the king of Babylon."
Ezek. xix. 8, 9.

That is, to Nebuchadnezzar, who "bound him," says the sacred historian, "in fetters," (foretold Hab. i. 1.) "to carry him to Babylon," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6. It would appear, however, that Jehoiachin died before the king of Babylon's intentions could be carried into effect; and we may conclude that he was buried "with the burial of an ass," as a just reward for "his abominations," 2 Chron. xxxvi. 8.

Jehoiachin was succeeded in his kingdom by Jehoiachin, who had not reigned more than three months and ten days, before Nebuchadnezzar sent his servants to besiege Jerusalem; and he surrendered himself into their hands, and was brought to Babylon, where he remained in captivity all his days, 2 Kings xxiv. 8—12; Jer. li. 31—34. This event was predicted by Jeremiah, chap. xxii. 24—27; who, also, foretold the failure of his succession:

"O earth! earth! earth! hear the word of the Lord.
Thus saith the Lord,
Write ye this man childless,
A man that shall not prosper in his days
For no man of his seed shall prosper,
Sitting upon the throne of David,
And ruling any more in Judah."—Jer. xlii. 29, 30.

When Nebuchadnezzar deposed Jehoiachin, he appointed his uncle Zedekiah to reign in his stead, and none of his family reigned any more in Judah.

Zedekiah was neither more pious nor prosperous than his predecessors. Having made an alliance with the king of Egypt, he broke the oath of fidelity he had taken to the king of Babylon. The latter, however, soon chastised him for his breach of faith. He invaded Judea with a great army, took most of the cities, and besieged Jerusalem, 2 Kings xxiv. 20; xxv. 1; Jer. xxxix. 1; Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2.

This was in the latter end of the year B.C. 588. Early in the next year, however, the Egyptians having made a show of coming to Zedekiah's relief, the Chaldeans broke up the siege of Jerusalem, and advanced to give them battle. But the Egyptians retired, and left the Jews to their

late, as Jeremiah forewarned the messengers of Zedekiah, whom he sent to inquire of the Lord, Jer. xxxvii. 2-10. On the return of the Chaldeans to the siege, they pursued it vigorously, until after a siege of eighteen months from the beginning, they stormed the city about midnight, and put the inhabitants to the sword, 2 Kings xxv. 2-4; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17-19; Jer. xxxix. 1, 2. Zedekiah, his sons, and officers, and the remnant of his army, were captured in the plains of Jericho, from whence they were conducted to the king of Babylon at Riblah, in Celo-Syria. Nebuchadnezzar upbraided him for his ingratitude and breach of faith; then caused his sons to be slain before his eyes, and his eyes to be put out; after which, he commanded his officers to carry him in fetters of brass to Babylon, where he died, 2 Kings xxv. 6, 7; Jer. xxxix. 4-7; fulfilling the prophecies of the prophets Jeremiah, chap. xxxii. 4, 5; xxxiv. 3-5; and Ezekiel, chap. xii. 13.

After this, Nebuchadnezzar left Gedaliah governor of Judea, who was treacherously slain by Ishmael, and a party of ten men, who slew also the Jews and the Chaldeans that were with him at Mizpeh, his residence, and then escaped to the Ammonites, Jer. xli. 1-15.

The year after the conquest of Judea, *a. c.* 563, Nebuchadnezzar resolved to revenge himself upon all the surrounding nations, who had solicited the Jews to a confederacy against him, or encouraged them to rebel. Among these may be enumerated the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, Arabians, Sidonians, Tyrians, Philistines, Egyptians, Abyssinians, etc., Jer. xlvii. 9; Ezek. xxv. 1-3; xxvi. 1, 2; Jer. xxxvii. 7; etc. The subjugation and desolation of these countries by this servant of the Lord, and rod of God's anger, as he is termed in Scripture, was foretold in general terms, Jer. xxv. 11; xlix. 10; xxvii. 7; Isa. xxii. 15; and the punishment of each was particularly foretold by the prophets as follows:—The Ammonites, Amos i. 13-15; Ezek. xxv. 14-10; etc. The Moabites, Ezek. xxv. 8-11; Jer. xlv. 21; xlviii. 40-47; etc. The Edomites, Amos i. 13-15; Obadiah 10-16; Jer. xlix. 17; etc. The Arabians, Jer. xxv. 24; etc. The Sidonians, Jer. xxv. 22; xlvii. 4; Ezek. xxviii. 21-23; etc. The Tyrians, Isa. xxiii. 1-15; Jer. xxv. 22; Ezek. xxvi. 7-14; xxvii. 2-36; etc. The Philistines, Jer. xxv. 20; Ezek. xxv. 16; Zeph. ii. 5. The Egyptians, Isa. xix. 4-23; Jer. xlv. 13-26; Ezek. xxx. 2-12; xxx. 20-26; xxxii. 2-16; Joel iii. 19. The Ethiopians or Abyssinians, Isa. xlviii.; Ezek. xxx. 4-11.

After having subdued the eastern and western states in the first campaign, Nebuchadnezzar commenced the siege of Old Tyre, in the second year after the destruction of Jerusalem, or *a. c.* 564.

It was not till after an interval of thirteen years, according to the Tyrian annals, recorded by Josephus, that the Babylonian monarch reduced this celebrated city. And during this time, his troops suffered incredible hardships. According to the prophetic declaration, indeed, in achieving this mighty enterprise, "every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled," by the labours they had to undergo.

Before the city was reduced to the last extremity, its inhabitants retired, with the greatest part of their effects, into a neighbouring isle, a mile from the shore, where they built a new city, the name and glory whereof extinguished the remembrance of the ancient city, which became a mere village. At the present moment, it is

"A rock, and waters, and a waste
Of trackless sand."

Nebuchadnezzar, during the siege of Tyre, sent Nebuzaradan with an army into Judea, to revenge the death of Gedaliah. The country, however, was so thin of inhabitants, in consequence of a recent accession to Egypt, for fear of the Chaldeans, that he carried away captive only 745 persons. This may be dated *a. c.* 583.

About the same time, the king of Babylon invaded Elam, or Elymais, and took Shushan, or Susa, its capital, from the Medes, according to prophecy. See Jer. xxv. 25, 26; xlix. 34-38; and Ezek. xxxii. 11-24.*

As a recompence for the service which Nebuchadnezzar and his army had served against Tyre, the prophet Ezekiel promised them the plunder of the land of Egypt, her multitude, her spoil, and her prey, Ezek. xxix. 18-20. Accordingly, *a. c.* 570, after the Tyrian war was finished, Nebuchadnezzar invaded Egypt, and quickly overran the whole extent of the country, from Migdol, its northern extremity, near the Red Sea, to Syene, the southern, bordering on Ethiopia, or Abyssinia, which he also reduced, according to prophecy, Ezek. xxx. 1-12. Pharaoh-hophra, or Apries, became his vassal, and soon after was slain by the Egyptians, fulfilling the prophecies of Jeremiah, chap. xli. 25, 26; xlv. 30; and Ezek. xxxii. 32.

When Nebuchadnezzar had finished all his wars, he employed himself in embellishing Babylon, the greatness of which has been before described.

In the first year of peace, according to Dr. Hales, that is, *a. c.* 569, Nebuchadnezzar had the celebrated dream, recorded Dan. ii., and which is so clear, as explained by Daniel, and with the illustration derived from his own future visions, that it has been explained, with little difference of opinion in essential points, except as to that portion which yet remains to be accomplished.

Daniel declares the head of gold to represent the Babylonian empire; and the other parts, downward, the great empires which should follow in succession. The breast and arms of silver must, therefore, denote the empire of the Persians; the belly and thighs of brass, the empire of Alexander and his successors; the kingdom of iron, which broke in pieces and subdued all things, must mean that of the Romans; and the toes, partly iron, and partly clay, the various kingdoms, some strong, and some weak, which arose upon the ruins of the Roman empire.

The last empire, which is typified by the stone cut out without hands from the mountain, and breaking in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold, subduing all kingdoms, and enduring for ever, is by the Jews referred

* For more extended remarks on this subject, the reader is referred to "The Captivity of the Jews," published by the Religious Tract Society.

to the kingdom of their still expected Messiah. Christians also apply it to the kingdom of Christ, under various modifications of explanation and hypothesis; and there can be little doubt that it has reference to our Saviour's dominion upon earth. In what way this dominion shall be established, whether by the soft influences of his grace, ruling in the hearts of all men, or, as some conclude, by his personal reign upon earth, futurity will develop; but of this we are assured, that

"The seas shall waste, the skies in smoke decay,
Rocks fall to dust, and mountains melt away;
But fix'd His word, His power will yet remain,
His realm will ever last, His own Messiah reign."

After Daniel had explained this dream, the king of Babylon prostrated himself before him, and offered him incense, according to the usual mode of adoration to kings and superiors in the east, and confessed that the God of Daniel was "a God of gods, and a Lord of kings;" and he appointed him ruler over the whole province of Babylon, and also chief governor over his "wise men." These were the highest civil and ecclesiastical employments in the state. At his request, also, he promoted Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, who were three friends of Daniel, "over the affairs of the province of Babylon," while he acted himself as privy-counsellor to the king, to advise him in the administration of justice.

But Nebuchadnezzar's adoration of the one true God was transient. Not more than a year after, elated with pride, he erected a golden statue in the plain of Dura.* Dr. Hales, indeed, suggests, and with great plausibility, that this image of gold may have been made and erected by the haughty and arrogant conqueror, in opposition to his dream, and the foregoing interpretation thereof. He says: "The whole image, and not the head only, was made of gold, to denote the continuance of his empire; and it was consecrated to his tutelary god, Bel, or Belus, Dan. iii. 14; iv. 8; whose power he now considered as superior to that of the God of the Jews, revoking his former confession." Some think, however, that the image was intended as a statue of Nabopolassar, whom he proposed to rank among the gods; and others imagine that the image represented Nebuchadnezzar himself, who intended to be adored under this form. Be this as it may, he was brought again to the acknowledgment of the greatness of Jehovah. When he had set up his image, he commanded all his subjects to worship it, threatening to cast those that should refuse into the midst of a burning fiery furnace. Three Hebrew youths, those whom he had exalted with Daniel, faithful to their religion and their God—oh, what a noble example of piety is here displayed!—refused to obey the royal mandate, and they were cast into a furnace, seven times hotter than it was wont to be made, to appease the fury of the haughty monarch.

When found in the path of duty, the Christian

may expect, according to promise, the guidance and protection of his God. Thus it was with these Hebrew youths. In refusing to bow down in worship to the idol, and expecting the fulfilment of Nebuchadnezzar's threat, they expressed themselves thus piously: "O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter. If it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thine hand, O king." Their expectations were not ill-founded. Although the fire slew the men who executed the monarch's evil command, they walked in the midst of the fire, unharmed. "Did not we," said the trembling and astonished monarch, "cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? They answered and said unto the king, True, O king. He answered and said, Lo, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God."

The haughty monarch, now humbled, called the youthful martyrs forth; and he was again compelled to confess, that the God of the Jews was superior to any other, "because there is no other God that can deliver after this sort," Dan. iii. He showed his conviction to be, at the moment, sincere, by promoting those whose destruction he had sought, in the province of Babylon, as he had done before.

Pride has a very strong foundation in the human mind. It springs from self-love, which is the most deeply rooted part of our nature, and therefore most difficult to be eradicated. In the case of the king of Babylon, it showed itself proof against miracles. But, as Solomon was inspired to write, "Pride goeth before destruction, and an haughty spirit before a fall," Prov. xvi. 18. While Nebuchadnezzar exalted himself against Heaven, he was visited by a most remarkable dream. He saw a tree in the midst of the earth, whose height was great. This tree grew, and was strong; the height of it reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of the earth. The leaves were fair, and the fruit abundant; it was meat for all. The beasts of the field took refuge under it, and the fowls of heaven nestled in its branches, and all flesh was fed of it. Then a watcher, and a holy one came down from heaven, and cried: "Hew down the tree, and cut off his branches, shake off his leaves, and scatter his fruit: let the beasts get away from under it, and the fowls from his branches: nevertheless leave the stump of his roots in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts in the grass of the earth: let his heart be changed from man's, and let a beast's heart be given unto him; and let seven times pass over him. This matter is by the decree of the watchers, and the demand by the word of the holy ones: to the intent that the living may know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, and setteth up over it the basest of men."

Thus, says Dr. Hales, was a merciful warning to this great prince, when at rest in his house, and flourishing in his palace, to break off his sins, especially his inordinate pride, and his

* Herodotus seems to allude to this image, when he says, "There was formerly in this temple (that of Jupiter Belus) a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high; this, however, I mention from the information of the Chaldeans, and not from my own knowledge."

iniquities; especially his capricious cruelty, by showing mercy to the poor, that it might be a lengthening of his tranquillity, according to the sage and honest advice of his chief counsellor Daniel, after the king had told his dream, and the prophet had given the interpretation thereof from God.

The tree denoted the monarch himself, and his extensive dominions: the holy watcher, who came down from heaven, and commanded to hew the tree down, but to bind the stump of its roots that was left in the ground with a band of iron and brass, that it might be wet with the dew of heaven, and have its portion with the beasts of the field, until the expiration of seven times, or seven years, signified the decree of the Almighty, for depriving him of his reason, and banishing him from human society, to associate with the beasts of the field, until he should acknowledge the supremacy of God, who "ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will," Dan. iv. 4--27.

It was thus that Daniel interpreted the dream, and thus that the dream was fulfilled. At the end of twelve months, as he was walking in his palace, and admiring the beauty and magnificence of Babylon, he exclaimed, "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?" While the word was in his mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, "O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken: The kingdom is departed from thee. And they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will." In the same hour his understanding departed from him; "he was driven from men, and ate grass like oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like the claws of a bird," Dan. iv. 28--33.

The malady by which the Divine judgment punished the pride of Nebuchadnezzar, is a subject on which opinions are much divided. Without adopting any, the following is transcribed, as one of the most probable, from the "Medica Sacra" of the learned and pious Dr. Mead. He says: "All the circumstances of Nebuchadnezzar's case agree so well with an hypochondriacal madness, that to me it appears evident that Nebuchadnezzar was seized with this distemper, and under its influence ran wild into the fields; and that, fancying himself transformed into an ox, he fed on grass, after the manner of cattle. For every sort of madness is the disease of a disturbed imagination; which this unhappy man laboured under full seven years. And through neglect of taking proper care of himself, his hair and nails grew to an uncommon length; whereby the latter, growing thicker and crooked, resembled the claws of birds. Now the ancients called people affected with this kind of madness, 'wolf-men,' or 'dog-men,' because they went abroad in the night imitating wolves or dogs; particularly intent upon opening the sepulchres of the dead, and had their legs much

ulcerated, either from frequent falls, or the bites of dogs. In like manner are the daughters of Proutus related to have been mad, who, as Virgil says,

'With mimic howlings filled the fields,' *Ecl. vi. 48.*

For, as Servius observes, Juno possessed their minds with such a species of fury, that, fancying themselves cows, they ran into the fields, bellowed often, and dreaded the plough. Nor was this disorder unknown to the moderns: for Schenckius records a remarkable instance of it in a husbandman of Padua, who, imagining himself a wolf, attacked and even killed several people in the fields; and when at length he was taken, he persevered in declaring himself a real wolf, and that the only difference consisted in the inversion of his skin and hair. But it may be objected to our opinion, that this misfortune was foretold to the king, so that he might have prevented it by correcting his morals; and therefore it is not probable that it befel him in the course of nature. But we know that those things which God executes, either through clemency or vengeance, are frequently performed by the assistance of natural causes. Thus, having threatened Hzekiah with death, and being afterwards moved by his prayers, he restored him to life, and made use of figs, laid on the tumour, as a medicine for his disease. He ordered king Herod, upon account of his pride, to be devoured by worms. And nobody doubts but that the plague, which is generally attributed to Divine wrath, most commonly owes its origin to corrupted air."

It was thus that Nebuchadnezzar spent full seven long years: an awful example of the madness of pride and ambition. At the expiration of that time, his reason returned. In the language of Holy Writ, he lifted up his eyes unto heaven, and blessed the Most High; he praised and honoured Him that liveth for ever, whose dominion is an everlasting dominion, and his kingdom is from generation to generation; confessing, that all the inhabitants of the earth are as nothing before him, and that he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth; and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?

The courtiers of Nebuchadnezzar now sought to him again; he was restored to his throne, and became greater and more powerful than before, inasmuch as, humbled and instructed by his sufferings, he gratefully acknowledged the signs and wonders which the most high God had wrought towards him, and praised and extolled "the King of heaven, all whose works are truth, and his ways judgment," and who is able to abase those that walk in pride, Dan. iv. 34--37.

Having thus humbled the pride of this mighty monarch, God was pleased to show that he did not need his services here; for shortly after this, A. C. 561, Nebuchadnezzar died, and was succeeded by his son,

EVIL MERODACH,

or Ilvarodan, in Ptolemy's Canon, whose first act was the enlargement of the Jewish king Jehoiakim from his prison, whom he treated kindly all the days of his life, setting him above all the other kings that were at Babylon. See

Jer. li. 31—34; 2 Kings xxv. 27—30. But the reign of Evil Merodach, or "foolish Merodach," was brief. According to Xenophon, on his accession to the throne, he set himself to form a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring states, the Lydians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Cilicians westwards, and the Indians eastwards, against the Medes: alleging, that by their union with the Persians by marriage and alliance, they were grown great and powerful, and unless they were opposed with the united force of the confederates, they would be finally subdued, separately. But the designs of Evil Merodach were frustrated. Cyrus, who was appointed general of the combined army of the Medes and Persians, by Cyaxares, his uncle and father-in-law, anticipated the threatened invasion, attacked the Babylonians, routed and pursued them to their camp, and slew Evil Merodach, *a.c.* 558. He was succeeded in his kingdom by

BELSHAZZAR.

his son, the common accounts of whom appear to combine with what is said of the Neriglissar of profane historians.

By the prophet Isaiah, who represents the Babylonian dynasty as the scourge of Palestine, Nebuchadnezzar is styled "a serpent," Evil Merodach, "a cockatrice," and Belshazzar, "a fiery flying serpent," which is the most evil and destructive of all, *Isa.* xiv. 29.

The character of Belshazzar, as described prophetically by Isaiah, and the accounts of Xenophon, are found to agree. According to that writer, his barbarity was such as is rarely recorded in the annals of history. A wanton sporting with the lives and persons of his subjects, appears to have ever inflamed his breast. Thus he slew the only son of Gobryas in a transport of rage, because, at a hunting match, he hit a bear with his spear, and afterwards a lion, when the king had failed in the attempt.

The whole life of Belshazzar appears to have been one continued scene of riot and intemperance. His last and most heinous offence, was the profanation of the sacred vessels belonging to the temple of Jerusalem, which even his grandfather and father had respected. At a great festival he made a feast to a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before them. While at the board, surrounded by parasites and concubines, he had the audacity to send for these holy vessels, for the purpose of prostituting them to debauchery. And to aggravate sacrilege by ingratitude against the Author of all their enjoyments, he and his nobles, etc., "praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone."

But this desecration was marked by the eye of God, nor did their impiety escape punishment. As they were indulging in their mad revelry, the finger of God penned the monarch's doom upon the wall opposite his seat. His eye caught the part of the hand which wrote, and, alarmed at the apparition, and the mystical characters, he called aloud for the magicians, of whom he required an explanation, and an interpretation of the writing.

But none could read, and none interpret, and confusion prevailed in the palace, and an awful uncertainty in the bosom of all its inmates. At length, however, the queen mother reminded her son of the eminent wisdom of Daniel, who had been long despised, and he was sent for into the royal presence.

The prophet came, and the king offered him the highest rewards and honours if he would interpret the inscription. But Daniel knew too well the empty nature of sublimary honours to be dazzled by such an offer. This his answer to the monarch proved: "Let thy gifts be to thyself," said he, "and give thy rewards to another; yet I will read the writing unto the king, and make known to him the interpretation."

Before the prophet did this, he boldly charged the monarch with the impious deeds of profaning the holy vessels of God's sanctuary, and of committing a flagrant act of rebellion against the Majesty of heaven. He then read aloud, and interpreted to his terrified auditory the mystical writing, a view of which has thus been taken by Dr. Hales:

THE INSCRIPTION.

MESE MENE TEKEL [PERES] UPHARSIN
"Number Weight Measure [Division] And Directions."

THE INTERPRETATION.

MESE—"God hath numbered thy reign," and
MENE—"Hath finished it." The repetition emphatically signifying that the decree was certain, and should shortly come to pass. See *Gen.* xl. 32.

TEKEL—"Thou art weighed in the balance, and art found wanting." See *Job* xxxi. 6; *Rev.* vi. 5.

PERES—"Thy kingdom is divided."

UPHARSIN—"And given to the Mede and the Persian" [*Darius* and *Cyrus*].

Belshazzar heard this dreadful sentence, and however unwelcome it was to him, he nevertheless bestowed upon Daniel the promised rewards: he caused him to be clothed in scarlet, with a chain of gold about his neck, and to be proclaimed the third ruler in the kingdom.

"In that night was Belshazzar the king of the Chaldeans slain," *Dan.* v. 25—30. This is the brief statement of Holy Writ. No circumstances are detailed. All inquiries, therefore, into the particulars are only conjectures, or to be supported by such evidence as may be found in common writers. If these contradict each other, we may adopt which we think best grounded, without in the least departing from, or impugning the truth of Scripture.

According to Xenophon, Belshazzar was slain by conspirators; for he states, that Gobryas and Goadatus, who led the band that broke into his palace, were the first who adored the god: for having punished the impious king. Dr. Hales conceives it probable that Daniel's interpretation of the handwriting upon the wall hastened his doom, since the conspirators, with their most injured leaders, would now consider him as devoted to immediate destruction by God himself for his "sacrilege." "The great feast," adds this excellent writer, "on the night of which he was slain, appears to have been a season of pro-

found peace and tranquillity, when a thousand of his lords could freely come from all parts of his empire without molestation or interruption from a besieging enemy, and when the king would be most apt to forget God, after he had eaten, and was full." The death of Belshazzar occurred a. c. 563, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by

LABOROSARCHAD,

A boy, who, according to Herodas, was slain in a conspiracy, nine months after, when, according to Dr. Hales, the Babylonian dynasty became extinct, and the kingdom descended peaceably to "Darius the Mede," or Cyaxares; who, on the well-known policy of the Medes and Persians, appointed a Babylonian nobleman named

NABONADIUS,

Or Labynetus, to be king, or viceroy.

According to Rollin, and other writers of ancient history, this person was the Belshazzar of Scripture; but Dr. Hales, who is here followed, has satisfactorily shown, that the succession of Darius the Mede to the Babylonian throne, was not attended with war. After recording the death of Laborosarchad, he says: "The family of Nebuchadnezzar being now extinct, and the Babylonian dynasty ended, according to prophecy, who had so good a title to the crown as Cyaxares, or 'Darius the Mede'?" 1. He was pointed out as the next successor by the prophet Daniel, whose interpretation of the Divine inscription must naturally have had the greatest weight with the grandees and the whole nation. 2. He was the queen-mother's brother, and the next of kin, by her side, to the crown. And, 3. He was by far the most powerful competitor for it, and also a prince of an easy and amiable disposition. Upon all these accounts, therefore, we cannot hesitate to admit, that the Babylonians

made him, soon after, a voluntary tender of the sovereignty, and that 'Darius the Mede' took, or accepted the kingdom, with their free and full consent." According to this, it would appear that Belshazzar was not the king in whose time the city was taken by Cyrus; and consequently the events which took place on the night on which Belshazzar was slain, were distinct from, and anterior to the siege and capture of the city by the Persian king.

Nabonadius, it would appear, held his office for the space of seventeen years, at the end of which time, a. c. 536, he revolted against Cyrus, who had this year succeeded to the united empire of the Medes and Persians. Cyrus could not attend immediately to him, but at length he marched to Babylon, and took the city, during the drunken festival of the *Sakas*, as predicted by the prophet Jeremiah, ch. li. 28-41. This event took place in the first year of the sovereignty of Cyrus, after which the proud city mouldered into dust. It is known only in the pages of history, and there it is exhibited as a monument of God's wrath, and as testifying to the frailty of all sublunary affairs.*

"The glory of Babel the proud is no more,
She hath perished, as lesser things perished before;
She is desolate now, and the dragon crawls
O'er the muddy heaps of her ruined walls,
And the serpents creep, and the wild beasts stray
Where her chambers of state, and her proud halls lay;
And nothing is left, save a tale of her fame,
The fame of her glory, and wreck of her name."
ANON.

* The date of the taking of Babylon by Cyrus, as connected with the liberation of the Jews, is not affected by this correct view of history, whereas, by the plan adopted by some, of placing the death of Belshazzar and the siege of Babylon together, the reign of the former is carried down too far in the chronology of the Babylonian monarchs.

THE FOLLOWING DYNASTIES OF ASSYRIA

ARE TAKEN FROM DR. HALES.

I.—ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 317 YEARS.

	Y.	M.	B.C.
1. Nimrod, Ninus I. Belus, or Maha Bala	98	8	2554
2. Erechous, or Chasma Belus	7	G	2455
3. Porus	35		2448
4. Nechubus	43		2413
5. Abius	49		2370
6. Oniballus	40		2332
7. Zinistrus	45		2282
Interregnum	985		2237
End of the Interregnum			1252

II ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. 431 YEARS.

1. Mithraeus, or Ninus II.	37		1252
2. Tautanes, or Teutames	32		1215
3. Tautanes	44		1163
4. Thulacus	30		1139
5. Dercylus	40		1109
6. Eupalis, or Empachmes	38		1069
7. Laesthenes	45		1031
8. Perilades	30		996
9. Ophrateneus	21		956
10. Epecheres, or Ofratanes	52		935
11. Acraganes, or Actasapes	42		893
12. Theus Caneleus	20		841
End of the Dynasty	431		821

III.—ASSYRIAN DYNASTY. BABYLONIAN KINGS.

	B.C.	Y.	B.C.
1. King of Nineveh	821	1. Nabonassar	747
Jonah's Prophecy	800	2. Nadius	733
2. Pul, or Belus II.	790	3. Chinsirus	731
First Invasion of Israel	779	4. Jugaces	730

	B.C.		Y.	B.C.
3. Tiglath-Pileser	747	5. Mardock Empad, or Merodach Baladan	13	721
Second Invasion of Israel	740	— revolts from Assyria		710
4. Shalmanassar	726	— writes to Hezekiah		710
Third Invasion of Israel	722	6. Arcianus	6	709
Samaria taken	719	1. Interregnum	2	704
5. Sennacherib	714	7. Belbus	3	702
First Invasion of Judah	711	8. Apronadius	5	699
6. Esarhaddon, Asaradon, or Sardanapalus	710	9. Negibulus	1	693
Medes and Babylonians revolt	710	10. Messemordach	4	692
Babylon regained	680	11. Interregnum	8	688
Second Invasion of Judah, and Captivity of Manasseh	674	11. Asaradin, or Esarhaddon	13	680
7. Ninus III.	677	12. Sanduchin	20	667
8. Nabuchodonosor	658	13. Chyneladen	22	647
Defeat of Arbaxad, or Phraortes, the Mede	641	14. Nabopolassar, or Labynetius I.	21	625
Third Invasion of Judah by Hezekiah	640	Nineveh taken by the Babylonians and Medes		606
9. Sarrar, or Bardanapulus II	636			
Nineveh taken	606			

BABYLONIAN DYNASTY.

	Y.	B.C.
Nineveh taken	2	606
1. Nabopolassar, Labynetius I., Nebuchadnezzar	43	594
— subdues Elam, or Persia		586
2. Ilvarodan, or Evil Merodach	3	561
3. Niracassassar, Nerigilassar, or Belshazzar	5	559
4. Nabonadius, or Labynetius II., appointed by Darius the Mede	17	553
Babylon taken by Cyrus	70	536

THE HISTORY OF THE MEDES.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF MEDIA.

THIS country, once the seat of a potent empire, derived its name from Madai, the third son of Japhet; as may be gathered from Scripture, in which the Medes are constantly thus denominated. See 2 Kings xvii. 6; Isa. xiii. 17; Dan. v. 28, etc.

It is difficult to determine the boundaries of Media, as they appear to have varied in different ages. According to the best authorities, however, Media Proper was bounded by Armenia and Assyria Proper on the west; by Persia on the east; by the Caspian provinces on the north; and by Susiana on the south.

In ancient times, Media was divided into several provinces, namely, *Tropatene*, *Charomithrane*, *Darites*, *Marcianae*, *Amariace*, and *Syro-Media*. According to Strabo, these were, by a later division, reduced to two provinces, Great Media, and Media Atropatene.

Great Media, which is a high table land, is said by all writers to have possessed a good climate and fertile soil; an account which is confirmed by modern travellers. It was separated on the west and south-west from the low country watered by the Tigris and the Euphrates, by a range of mountains, known to the ancients by the names of *Zagros* and *Parachostris*. On the east it was bounded by a desert and the Caspian mountains, (the modern *Elburz* mountains;) and on the north and north-west by the *Cudussi*, *Atropatene*, and the *Matiene*: thus, nearly corresponding to the modern *Irak Ajemi*, which is the most western province of the Persian empire.

Media Atropatene, now called *Aderbijan*, extended as far north as the *Araxes*. This was a cold, barren, and inhospitable country, on which account it is supposed that *Tiglath-pileser* and *Shalmaneser*, kings of Assyria, chose it for the abode of the captive tribes of Israel; (see 2 Kings xvii. 6; 1 Chron. v. 26;) acting upon a similar course of policy, which actuated the Russian monarch, Peter the Great, in transferring the Swedish prisoners, taken at *Pultowa*, into the barren regions of Siberia. By some authors, this division of Media is supposed to have derived its name from *Atropates*, who successfully opposed the Macedonians, and established an independent monarchy, which continued till the time of Strabo, notwithstanding its proximity to the Armenian and Parthian dominions. It is more probable, however, that the appellation of *Atropatene* is a corruption of *Adzur-bagjan*, or

"The Place of Fire," from the number of pyres, or fire temples, erected there. Thebarma, on the lake of *Urmecah*, in *Aderbijan*, being the reputed place of *Zoroaster's* birth; or from the volcanic eruptions to which it is subjected.

MOUNTAINS.

According to Ptolemy and Strabo, the mountains of Media, demanding notice, are

1. *Choatra*, parting Media from Assyria, and branching out from the *Gordyan* or *Carduchian* mountains, on the confines of Assyria and Armenia.

2. *Zagros*, a mountain range, which divides Media from Assyria on the east. And,

3. *Parachoatra*, which is placed by Ptolemy on the borders, towards Persia, and by Strabo on the confines of Media, *Hyrcania*, and *Parthia*.

These are boundaries between Media and the adjacent regions; and, therefore, may be said to belong to the latter as well as the former. But there are other mountains, those of the *Orontes*, the *Jasonius*, and the *Coronus*, which, as they stand in the very heart of the country, may, in the strictest sense, be termed mountains of Media. The principal of these is the

Orontes, or the modern *Alwend*, which bounds the plains of *Hamadan* to the north-west. This range stretches from north-east to south-west, thirty miles in length, and is completely separated from the more northern ranges of *Giroos* and *Sabund*. When viewed from the south and south-east, the *Orontes* presents the appearance of a vast range of separate mountains. It commences with a gradual ascent from the north-east, and covers with its ramifications upwards of sixty miles of ground. The summit of the mountain is covered with perpetual snow, and Sir R. Ker Porter, who ascended it in the month of September, when the summer heat has attained its maximum, found the ravines below the peak deeply covered with snow. From this circumstance, and the high elevation of the plains of *Hamadan*, in which it is situated, it is thought that it rivals *Olympus* in absolute elevation above the level of the sea, though not in respect of its altitude from the base of the plain. The elevation of the plains of *Hamadan* is alone 5,000 feet above the level of the sea. The ascent of the mountain of *Orontes*, or *Alwend*, occupied Sir R. Ker Porter four hours on horseback, and half an hour more was required to scale the summit. Eight hours are required to ascend the summit of *Olympus* from the plains of *Broussa*; five hours and a half on horseback,

the rest on foot. This will give an idea of the difference of the elevations of the plains on which these mountains stand.

RIVERS.

The rivers of note, according to Ptolemy, are the Straton, Amardas, Cyra, and Cambysea. But these rivers, as they are represented to fall into the most southern part of the Caspian sea, must, by their positions, have belonged to the provinces now denominated Ghilan and Mazandaran; and consequently could not belong to Media Proper, as it is described by the ancients.

CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, ETC.

The northern parts of Media, lying between the Caspian mountains and the sea, are very cold and barren. Chardin says, that the snow lies on the mountains nine months in the year. The southern parts of Media, however, are productive of all kinds of grain and necessaries for life; and they are so pleasant, that the country adjoining Tauris is called "The Garden of Persia." In this part of the country there are large plains, among which that of Nyssa was famous in ancient times for the numerous stud of horses fed there for the use of the Persian monarchs.

Where this plain of Nyssa was situated, it is now difficult to determine. The ancients place it in the most eastern part of Media, and beyond the limits of what is now supposed to have been properly this country. Sir J. Chardin conceives that he passed over this fertile tract of ground; but if he is correct, it must be placed several degrees nearer us than the ancient geographers have defined its position. He says, "We continued our way, from Tauris towards Persia, upon the most beautiful and fertile plains, covered with villages. These plains afford the most excellent pasture of all Media, and, I dare say, of the whole world, and the best horses of the country were there at grass. I asked a young nobleman, in company with us, if there were any other plains in Media so fine and so extensive. He told me he had seen some as fine about Derbent, but none more extensive. So that it is reasonable enough to believe that these plains are the Hippobaton of the ancients, and where, they say, the kings of Media had a stud of fifty thousand horses; and that here it is also we must look for the Nysean plain, so famous for the horses of that name. Stephanus, the geographer, says that Nyssa was in the country of the Medes. I told this same nobleman some particulars which historians relate concerning those horses, particularly Phavorinus, who says all the Nysean horses were light duns. He answered, that he had never read or heard any thing of the kind. I afterwards inquired of several gentlemen of learning, but could never understand that there was any place, either in Persia or Media, that produced horses of that colour."

Polybius, in describing Media, says: "This country is the most powerful kingdom in all Asia, as well for its extent as for the number and strength of its inhabitants, and the great quantity of horses it produces. Media furnishes all Asia with those beasts, and its pastures are so

rich, that the neighbouring monarchs send their studs there."

The climate of Media is very unequal: that part which lies between the mountains and the sea is exceedingly cold, and the earth swampy, and full of marshes, where innumerable swarms of venomous insects are bred, which, together with the vapours rising from the Caspian sea, render that part very inhospitable. Adrian tells us, that these parts of Media were infested by scorpions, and that while the king of Persia was on his progress into Media, the inhabitants were employed, for three days before his arrival on the confines, in destroying them.

The provinces that are more remote from the sea enjoy a very wholesome air, though liable to heavy rains and violent storms, especially, according to Chardin, in spring and autumn. This author states that, besides the cattle and game, which the inland provinces abound with, some of them have been, for many ages, remarkable on account of the various sorts of excellent wine they produce, especially the neighbourhood of Tauris, where no fewer than sixty different kinds of grapes, all of an exquisite flavour, are now gathered.

In the plains of Hamadan, the climate is very pleasant. The thermometer never rises, in the height of summer, higher than 80°. The heat, therefore, is never very oppressive, as in other parts of Persia, being constantly tempered by a cool breeze from the north-west during this season. It is no wonder, then, that the Persian kings made Ecbatana (which, as will be seen, was situated in these plains) their summer residence. This province abounds in fine rivulets of the purest water, which is a blessing of inestimable value in the arid and parched regions of Persia. The habitations on these plains are profusely inter-spersed with trees, which give variety and beauty to the scenery. Besides the poplar, the narwend, a species of elm, is a very common tree, and grows into shapes so formal as to raise suspicions that they have acquired them by art. On the skirts of the Orontes, Morier was introduced into an extensive garden, in the centre of which was an alley of poplar, willow, and narwend trees, nearly a mile long, and in which many of the natives were singing and taking their pleasure. One large group was seated around a basin of the coolest and most transparent water. The extensive plain itself is varied at short distances with villages rising from amidst groves of the noblest trees, and seems one luxuriant carpet of the richest verdure, studded with hamlets, and watered with numberless rills. From all this, some idea may be formed of the fertility of Media in ancient times, when it was the seat of empire.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF MEDIA.

BALAH, HABOR, AND HARA.

THESE three cities are mentioned 2 Kings xvii. 6, and 1 Chron. v. 26, as cities of the Medes, to which

the captive tribes of Israel were transported by Shalmaneser and Tiglath-pileser, kings of Assyria, who, according to history, both sacred and profane, possessed the country of Media as a part of their empire. The tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh, were sent thither by Tiglath-pileser, about a.c. 740, and the remaining seven tribes and a half, about a.c. 719, by his successor, Shalmaneser.

It is interesting to observe, that the names of all these places have been satisfactorily traced by Major Rennell, and other travellers, in the remote northern district of Media, towards the Caspian sea and the province of Ghilan; or, more definitely, in the neighbourhood of the river Kizil-Ozan, the ancient Gozan, which now forms the southern limit of the two most northern provinces of Persia, those of Aderbajan and Ghilan.

The river Gozan is spoken of in the text as watering the country where these cities stood; and on a branch of it we found a city named Abhar, or Habar, which is reputed to be exceedingly ancient, and which evidently refers to Habor. The name of it is given variously by geographers, as Abhar, by Abulfeda; Abher, Herbelot; Abar, Hanway; Habar, Tavernier; Abhar, Della Valle; Ebher, Chardin; Ebheher, Olearius; and Abhar, in the tables of Nusereddin and Ulugh-Begh. A remarkable circumstance connected with this place, and which is supposed to confirm its identity with the ancient Habor, is, that it is the first place, in coming from the west, where Persian is spoken, and from thence eastward all the way to Hindostan. Morier, however, a later traveller, who traversed Aderbajan in various directions, mentions a great and snowy mountain, called Ak-Dagh, or the white mountain, sixty-six English miles south-east of Ardebil, thirty-five of Iris, and thirty-five east of the Kizil-Ozan, and belonging to the range of Talish, which bounds the district of Chaleal on the east. At the base of this snow-clad peak, is a city called Herah, as large as the town of Zenggan, in Media, which, as it is in the very district of Chaleal, and on the north of the Kizil-Ozan, and as it seems to be a mere transposition of the word Habor, is thought, by some, more likely to be the Habor to which the ten tribes were carried, than Abher.

Bordering on the Kizil-Ozan itself, is a district of some extent, and of great beauty and fertility, named Chaleal, and having in it a remarkably strong position, of the same name, situated in one of the hills adjoining to the mountains, which separate it from the province of Ghilan. Allowing for the change of spelling and pronunciation in so many ages, this name is not far removed from Halah, or Chalach. This district is described by Olearius, Della Valle, Rennel, and Morier; the latter of whom, who traversed it in his journey from Ardebil to the Kizil-Ozan, says: "At Iris we had entered the large and fertile district of Chaleal, justly called the granary of Aderbajan, and esteemed the finest part of Abbas Mirza's government. As we advanced from Iris into Chaleal, the country progressively improved in richness of soil and extent of cultivation. Quitting the high country, we commenced a gradual descent to the Kizil-Ozan, and

stopped at the village of Paras, where are some striking masses of rock, from the summit of one of which we enjoyed an extensive view; for the deep dell of the river was at our feet, and at a very great distance, just delineated in the horizon, were the snowy summits of the range of Sahand. The descent from Paras to the Kizil-Ozan was extremely grand, presenting many fine outlines of deep chasms and impending rocks."

There is also a district named Tarom, or Tarim, bordering on the Ozan, and occupying the intermediate space between Abhar and Chaleal. This, also, is but a little removed from Hara. There is, however, a city mentioned by Morier, which has a much better claim to be the Hara of Scripture than the Tarom of Rennell. This is called Ahar, and is described as being the capital of the district of the Kara-Daghler, or black mountains, stretching north and north-east to the Araxes and the plain of Mogan, and placed by him forty English miles north-east of Tabriz. Ahar is exactly Hara by the transposition of the aspirate; and a transposition of syllables or letters in words, having nearly the same sound, is usual in the east; as, Legzee for Legzee, Corbal for Colbar, Tilgath for Tiglath.

Major Rennell conceives, that both in the Assyrian and Babylonish captivity of the two remaining tribes, which composed the kingdom of Judah, by Nebuchadnezzar, the whole mass of the people was not carried away, but only the principal inhabitants, as the nobles, soldiers, artisans, merchants, and men of letters, who would be useful in their new settlements, by bringing with them their superior knowledge and skill in arts and manufactures. That some of the captives rose to high rank and estimation, even at Nineveh, Babylon, Ecbatana, and Rages, the seats of government in the Assyrian, Chaldean, and Median empires, is evident from the books of Daniel and Tobit.

In his travels through the western part of the Persian empire, Sir R. Ker Porter mentions a remarkable sculptured rock, called Be-Siroon, in the range of mountains that skirt the plains of Kermanshab to the north-east. One of the groups transcribed thereon, is supposed by this traveller to refer to the captivity. In it there are fourteen figures, one of which is in the air. The first to the left carries a spear, and is in full Median habit. His hair is in a similar fashion, and bound with a fillet. The second holds a bent bow in his left hand; his dress is much the same, with the addition of a quiver slung at his back by a belt crossing his right shoulder, and his wrists are adorned with bracelets. The third figure is much larger than any in the group, which is a usual symbol of royalty in oriental description, and from its air and attitude undoubtedly denotes a monarch. The costume, excepting that the beard is not quite so long, is precisely that which denotes royal dignity, and as exhibited in the bas reliefs of Nakshi Rostam and Persepolis, that of the pontiff and sovereign combined; the robes being the ample vesture of the one, and the diadem the simple band of the other. This figure has also bracelets on his wrists, and is holding up his hand in a commanding or admonitory manner; the two forefingers being extended, and the

other two doubled down in the palm; an action also, common on the tombs at Persepolis, and on the monuments. In his left hand, a bow is grasped, and this bow, together with his left

foot, rests on the body of a prostrate captive, who lies on his back, with outstretched arms, as if imploring mercy. This figure, and also the first in the string of nine, which advance towards



the king, are very much injured, but enough remains to show that they are intended to signify captives. The hands of all are tied behind their backs, and the cord is very distinct which binds the neck of the one to the other, till the mark of bondage reaches to the last of the nine. If it were originally attached to the leader, the cord is now not to be seen there, but the position of his hands show that he was originally in the same trammels as his followers. The second figure, apparently, has his head shaved, and a sort of caul covers it from the top of the forehead to the middle of the head. His dress is a short tunic, reaching down no farther than his knees, and which is fastened round his waist by a belt; his legs are bare. The third figure appears much older, and it has rather a pointed beard and bushy hair, and a similar caul covers the top of his head. He has also a short tunic, with something like the trousers or booted appearances seen on some of the figures at Persepolis. The preceding figure and this are fastened together by a rope round their necks, running onwards, and noosing all that follows in one string. This last figure has the peculiarity attached to him of the skirt of his garment being covered entirely with an arrow-headed inscription. Next in the train is a figure in a long vestment, with full hair, without the caul. He is succeeded by one in a short plain tunic, with naked legs. A second long-robed personage succeeds him, and after him comes another in a short plain tunic, and a head apparently bald. A third long-robed personage follows next, and the ninth figure, who follows him, is in a short tunic and trousers, and has the singularity of wearing a prodigious and high pointed cap. His beard and hair are much more ample than any of his companions, and his face denotes greater age.

This, as stated before, is considered by Sir R. Ker Porter to refer to the captivity. He conceives that the large figure represents Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and the prostrate captive, Hoshia, king of Israel. This prostrate person is not a private individual, for on none such would the foot of a haughty eastern monarch deign to tread; he must, therefore, have been a captive prostrate monarch. The nine captives are doubly bound, in token of a double offence; and the offence of Hoshia and his subjects was double. He had professed homage to the king

of Assyria, who not only spared him, but confirmed him on the throne of Samaria. He, however, ungratefully rebelled, being stirred up by Sargon, the king of Egypt, and, therefore, the double badge of bondage may be supposed to represent the double offence of Hoshia. Including the fallen monarch, the captives are just ten, representing the ten tribes, the king being considered as the head of his own tribe. The last personage in the procession, wearing the high conical cap, Sir Robert conceives may represent the tribe of Levi, who, in compliance with the wishes of the kings of Israel and Judah, had adopted the worship of the golden calves of Dan and Bethel. But this latter conjecture is entirely unfounded. Levi was not one of the ten captive tribes of Israel; it counted as a thirteenth tribe when Joseph (Ephraim and Manassah, as in the instance of the captivity) counts as two, and the number ten is therefore made out without Levi.

It is difficult to determine whether this sculptural refers to the captivity or not. The captives have that peculiar cast of physiognomy which distinguishes the Jews, and the suppositions of our author, except the last, render it probable. Those, however, who hesitate to accept it as an illustration of the captivity, will, nevertheless, value it as a most authentic representation of the mode in which captives were wont to be treated by oriental conquerors, and to which there are frequent allusions in Scripture.

ECBATANA.

Ecbatana, which is generally thought to be the Achmetha of Esra, chap. vi. 2, and the Hamadan of the present day, was the summer capital of the sovereigns of the Persian empire, from the time of Cyrus; while the winter metropolis was Susa. The situation of Ecbatana was remarkable for the coolness of its temperature. Della Valle observes, that the ink froze in the room in which he was writing, a sure proof of the great elevation of the soil, in the latitude of only 35°, which is farther proved from the great mountain Alwend, the Orontes of the Greeks, only a league distant, being covered with snow. The periodical change of residence by the Persian kings, attracted the attention of many ancient writers, and one of them, *Strabo*, compares them to cranes for this reason.

Ancient historians tell us, that Ecbatana was

built by Dejooca, called, in the book of Judith, Arphaxad, the first king of Media, after the inhabitants had shaken off the yoke of the Assyrians. There is no reason, however, to think that Dejooca built Ecbatana, or that the Medes were, in his days, an uncivilized and barbarous people. There can, indeed, be no doubt that Ecbatana was a city long before the days either of Dejooca or Parnaces. The natural amenity of the situation would soon point it out to the natives as a proper place for a city; and when Media rose to a state of political independence, from the beauty and strength of its situation, it would naturally be selected as the fittest place for the royal residence.

The walls of Ecbatana are much celebrated by ancient writers, and minutely described by Herodotus. According to this historian, they were seven in number, all of a circular form, and gradually rising above each other, by the height of the battlements of each wall. The situation of the ground, rising by an easy ascent, was very favourable to the design of building them, and perhaps first suggested it. The royal palace and treasury were within the innermost circle of the seven. The first of these walls was equal in circumference to the city of Athens, that is, according to Thucydides, 178 furlongs, or about twenty-four miles. This wall had white battlements; the second, black; the third was of a purple colour; the fourth, blue; and the fifth, of a deep orange; the two innermost, as serving more immediately for a fence to the person of the king, were embellished in a superior manner to the others, the one being covered with silver, and the other with gold.

This description, as given by Herodotus, seems to partake of the fabulous; nevertheless, that it was one of the most magnificent of oriental cities, other authorities declare. In the book of Judith, ch. i. 2-4, we read, that the walls of this metropolis were seventy cubits (about 130 feet) high, and fifty cubits (about 94 feet) broad; that the towers on the gates were an hundred cubits (about 180 feet) in height; the breadth, in the foundation, sixty cubits (about 112 feet); and that the walls were built of hewn and polished stones, each stone being six cubits (about eleven feet) in length, and three in breadth.

Polybius, speaking of Ecbatana, says: "The edifices of this city surpass, in richness and magnificence, all others in the world. The king's palace is 700 fathoms (nearly one English mile) round. Though all the wood-work was of cedar and cypress, not the least piece of timber was visible; the joints, the beams, the ceilings, and columns, which sustained the porticos and piazzas, being covered with silver or gold plates. All the tiles were of silver. The greatest part of these materials were carried off by the Macedonians under Alexander the Great, and the rest plundered by Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator. When Antiochus, however, entered this kingdom, the temple of Anah was still surrounded with gilded columns, and the soldiers found in it a great number of silver tiles, a few golden bricks, and a great many of silver. All this was converted into specie, and stamped with the spoiler's image; the whole amounting to about 600,000*l.* sterling.

The present town of Hamadan stands at the base of the Alwend mountains, and at the extre-

mity of a rich and cultivated plain. It offers no intimations of its ancient dignity, though it is still an important town, and the capital of a considerable district, governed by a prince of the royal line. The town, though seated on a slope, where the mountain meets the plains below, does not appear to stand on precisely the same site as the ancient Ecbatana, which is described as being upon a circular hill. It contains about 9,000 houses, and 45,000 inhabitants, 600 families of which are Jews, and as many Armenians.

Hamadan is a place of pilgrimage to the Jews, on account of its containing a tomb alleged to be that wherein Esther and Mordecai were interred; and the site is very likely to have been that of the internment of one or both of those personages. This tomb is mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela. It stands on ground somewhat more elevated than any in the neighbourhood, and is in some degree fallen into decay. The entrance to the building is by a stone door of small dimensions, the key of which is kept by the chief rabbi. This door conducts to the ante-chamber, which is small, and contains the graves of several rabbis. A second door, of inferior dimensions to the first, leads to the tomb-chamber, which is larger than the outer apartment. In the midst of this stand the two sarcophagi of Mordecai and Esther. They are composed of dark and hard wood, are richly carved, and have an Hebrew inscription along the upper ledge, taken from Esther ii. 5, and x. 3. The wood is in good preservation, though evidently very old. The present building is said to have been built by certain devout Jews, and to occupy the site of one more magnificent, which was destroyed by Timur Beg. The inscription thereon, as translated by Sir Gore Ouseley, runs thus: "Thursday, fifteenth of the month Adar, in the year 4474 from the creation of the world, was finished the building of this temple over the graves of Mordecai and Esther, by the hands of the good-hearted brothers, Elias and Samuel, the sons of the deceased Ismael, of Kashan." This date is probably after the computation of the eastern Jews, which would make it answer to about 250 A.D.; otherwise it would not have been earlier than about 650 A.D.

The following are the translations of the other inscriptions, which are rendered by Sir R. Ker Porter, and which are very interesting:

From a marble slab in the sepulchre.—"Mordecai, beloved and honoured by a king, was great and good. His garments were those of a sovereign. Abasuerus covered him with this rich dress, and also placed a golden chain around his neck. The city of Susa rejoiced at his honours, and his high fortune became the glory of the Jews."

On the sarcophagus of Mordecai.—"It is said by David, Preserve me, O God! I am now in thy presence. I have cried at the gates of heaven, that thou art my God; and what goodness I have received came from thee, O Lord.—Those whose bodies are now beneath in this earth, when animated by thy mercy, were great; and whatever happiness was bestowed upon them in this world came from thee, O God!—Their grief and sufferings were many; but they became happy, because they always called upon thy holy name in their afflictions. Thou liftedst me up, and I

became powerful. Thine enemies sought to destroy me in the early times of my life; but the shadow of thy hand was upon me, and covered me, as a tent, from their wicked purposes."—**MOSES.**

From the *sarcophagus of Esther*.—"I praise thee, O God, that thou hast created me. I know that my sins merit punishment, yet I hope for mercy at thy hands; for whenever I call upon thee, thou art with me; thy holy presence secures me from all evil.—My heart is at ease, and my fear of thee increases. My life became at the last, through thy goodness, full of peace.—O God! shut not my soul out from thy Divine presence. Those whom thou lovest never feel the torments of hell. Lead me, O merciful Father, to the life of life, that I may be filled with the heavenly fruits of paradise!"—**ESTHER.**

According to Morier, Hamadan presents more objects of research to an antiquarian than any other city in Persia. On the eastern summit of Alwend is a large square platform, called by the natives, "The tomb of the son of Solomon." A number of copper lamps lie scattered in its vicinity, which were brought hither by crowds of devotees, who came on pilgrimage to this fancied tomb. In one of the valleys of Alwend, about eight miles south-west of the town, at the source of a rapid rivulet that waters the plain, about fifty feet above the water, appears, projecting from the sloping side of the acclivity, the mysterious stone called the Gunj Nameh, or Tales of a Treasure. It is an immense block of red granite, of the closest and finest texture, and of many thousand tons' weight. At ten feet from the ground, two square excavations appear in the face of the stone, cut to the depth of a foot, five feet in breadth, and as many in length. Each of these tablets contains three columns of engraved arrow-headed writing, in a state of excellent preservation. Above these two tablets, the commencement of others are traceable. Another monument of antiquity was discovered, by Morier and Sir R. Ker Porter, in the northern skirts of the city, consisting of the base of a column, with its broken shaft, of the same order as the columns found at Persepolis. Near this fragment is a large regular terrace, evidently the work of art, and perhaps the ground work of some great building. Some identify this with the palace of the Persian king, which, Polybius says, was below the citadel. The position of the ruins of the modern castle, which was probably the site of the ancient citadel, is more elevated than the platform, and sufficiently near the latter to be said to be below the former. On the site of the castle is a small platform, called Takht I. Afshir, which has an exterior of white square stones, backed by masonry of common stone and mortar. Besides these, Hamadan contains a great number of Mohammedan antiquities, as sepulchral stones, towers, mosques, old bazars, and Cufic inscriptions. Arsacidan and Sassanian coins are also to be found here; of which latter, nine were brought by Sir R. Ker Porter into England. Morier discovered a cylindrical stone, with Persepolitan figures and characters on it; and he supposes, that if excavations were permitted to be made on what he deems the site of the royal treasury, valuable discoveries would be made.

RAGES, OR RAY.

This city is called, by Isidorus, the largest city in Media. It is mentioned in the books of Tobit and Judith as a place of consequence, after the revolt of the Parthians against the dynasty of Seleucus. It was captured by Artabanus, the first of the Parthian dynasty of sovereigns, and made the capital of his empire. From him it was called by the new name of Armacia. It became a great and flourishing city in the days of the Mohammedan khalifs of Bagdad; and was at its acme of political splendour in the ninth century, when it contained, according to the romantic account of the Mussulman annalists, 16,600 baths, 15,000 mosques, 6,400 colleges, 12,000 mills, 1,700 caravansaries, and 13,000 iuna. It was ruined in the thirteenth century, partly by the intestine discord of its inhabitants, who were divided into the opposite sects of the Shites and Sunnites, and who contended with each other for sixty years; and, finally, by the Mongols, under the successors of Jenghis Khan. Nothing now remains of Rages but part of the ancient wall.

Rages lay upwards of two hundred miles east of Ecbatana, or Hamadan. It is remarkable in history for the defeat and death of Arphaxad, or Phraortes, son of Deioces, by Nabuchodonosor, king of Assyria, B.C. 641, in the plain of Ragau, or Rages.

Besides these cities of Media, there were several others, as Landica, of which appellation there were many towns; and Apamen, which is sometimes adjudged by Strabo to Media, and sometimes to Parthia. At a later date there were the cities of Zombis, Patigrai, Gazaca, Margasia, etc.; but these were all built, in after ages, by the Macedonians, and are therefore called by Strabo, Greek cities. These were succeeded by more modern cities; thus showing the ebb and flow of the tide of sublunary affairs; proclaiming that time sweeps away empires, nations, and cities from the face of the earth; and admonishing the reader to seek a mansion in the skies. A poet has well tuned his harp to the following strains:

- "This world is all a fleeting show,
For man's illusion given;
The smile of joy, the tears of woe,
Decentful shame, detrital flow,—
There's nothing true but heaven.
- "And false the light on glory's plume,
As fading hues of even;
And love, and hope, and beauty's bloom,
Ate blossoms gather'd from the tomb,—
There's nothing bright but heaven.
- "Pine wanderers of a stormy day,
From wave to wave we're driven;
And fancy's flash, and reason's ray,
Serve but to light the troubled way,—
There's nothing calm but heaven."

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF THE MEDES.

THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, ETC.

Our knowledge of the government of the Medes, in the early ages of the world, is very limited. Originally, however, it appears to have been monarchical, like that of other primitive

nations; and it is probable that they possessed kings of their own in the earliest ages. This state of things lasted till the date at which they were first brought under the yoke of the Assyrians. When under this yoke, they were governed by the absolute laws of the Assyrian monarchs; and when they had shaken it off, which they did about B.C. 710, they appear to have modelled their form of government upon the despotic principles of their former masters. Their kings became absolute, submitting to no law, and claiming equal respect with the gods themselves. Their own word was law; and, as they were thus the fountains of law, they were looked upon by their subjects as something more than mortal.

There is a reference to the royal prerogative of infallibility in the Median monarchs, Dan. vi. 8, where the conspirators against the life of the prophet Daniel are represented as praying thus to Darius: "Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

How tenacious the kings of Media and Persia were, in adhering to the principles of their decrees or laws, may be discerned in many transactions recorded in history, of which the chapter alluded to affords a notable instance. In the book of Esther, also, we find a king unable to recall an order which he had made for the massacre of the Jews. The only remedy he had, when he discovered the depths of iniquity which had brought it to pass, was to issue a counter order, allowing the people he had doomed to die to stand upon their defence; in other words, they were permitted to contend with and kill those who were, by his previous unjust decree, bound to kill them!

Sometimes these monarchs themselves suffered from the infallibility which attended their laws, as did also their subjects. Sir J. Malcolm relates a memorable instance of Aga Mohammed Khan, the last but one of the Persian kings, which well illustrates this. After alluding to the instances in the books of Esther and Daniel, he says: "The character of the power of the king of Persia has undergone no change. The late king, Aga Mohammed Khan, when encamped near Shiraz, said he would not move till the snow was off the mountain in the vicinity of his camp. The season proved severe, and the snow remained longer than was expected; the army began to suffer distress and sickness, but the king said, while the snow remained upon the mountain he would not move; and his word was law, and could not be broken. A multitude of labourers were collected, and sent to remove the snow: their efforts, and a few fine days, cleared the mountain, and Aga Mohammed Khan marched. This anecdote was related to me by one of his principal chiefs, and who told it to me with a desire of impressing my mind with a high opinion of Aga Mohammed Khan, who knew, he observed, the sacred nature of a word spoken by the king of Persia."

The crown of Media was hereditary, and the Medes paid their monarchs the greatest possible respect. Herodotus says, that they deemed it a very great offence to spit or to laugh in their

presence. They honoured them with the high sounding title of "Great king," or "King of kings," which was afterwards adopted by the Persian monarchs, and their proud successors, the Parthians. When they appeared in public, which was not often, they were attended by musicians and guards, consisting of the noblest in their kingdom. In the field of battle, their wives, children, and concubines formed part of their retinue, as is usual in an oriental camp.

WAR, ARTS, ETC.

The Medes were, in very early ages, a warlike people. This will appear from their history, and there is an interesting allusion to their warlike disposition in the prophecies of Isaiah. The Almighty, threatening to destroy Babylon by the Medes, says by his prophet:

"Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them,
Which shall not regard silver;
And as for gold, they shall not delight in it.
Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces,
And they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb,
Their eye shall not spare children."—Isa. xiii. 17, 18.

In war, the Medes poisoned their arrows with a bituminous liquor called naphtha, of which there was anciently an abundance in Media, Persia, and Assyria. The arrow being steeped in it, and set on fire, and shot from a slack bow, (for a swift and violent motion lessened its malignity,) burned the flesh with such violence, that water rather increased than extinguished the flame: dust alone could put out the flame, and alleviate the pain it occasioned. Their bows, which formed their principal weapon, were only exceeded in size and strength by those of the Ethiopians, and were well fitted to be used also as clubs. They measured about five feet six inches in length.

Herodotus attributes to the Medes the custom of confirming alliances with the blood of the contracting parties, which was practised among all the eastern nations, even in the Roman times. This is confirmed by Tacitus, who says, that when they were to form alliances, they used to tie together the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood, starting to the extremities, was, by a slight incision, drawn forth. Of this they mutually partook; and a league thus confirmed, was esteemed most awful, as being mysteriously solemnized with the blood of the parties.

This offers a sad picture of humanity; but prophecy points to the day when the blood of our fellow-creatures need not be even thus figuratively drawn to insure friendship and amity—when all nations shall look upon each other as the workmanship of one common Creator; as brethren, with whom they should sojourn on earth in peace. Glorious will that day be, when

"Love shall, in one delightful stream,
Through every bosom flow;
And union sweet, and fond esteem,
In every action glow."

With reference to the arts, learning, and trade of the Medes, very little is known. Whether they ever applied themselves to either is not, indeed, anywhere recorded. They seemed rather to have delighted, and to have aimed at excelling

in the merciless art of war. In the arts of managing the warlike steed, and handling the bow, they surpassed all other nations; as, in after ages, did their successors, the Persians.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF MEDIA.

THE kingdom of Media appears to have been erected about 704 years B.C. Hitherto it had been a province of the kings of Assyria; for we collect from Holy Writ, that in B.C. 719, Salmanser, king of Assyria, transplanted the captive Israelites into various districts of Media, 2 Kings xvii. 6. He must, therefore, have been, at that time, in full and undisturbed possession of that province. It was, indeed, in the year B.C. 710, that the Medians became first disaffected toward the Assyrian rule. In that year, they revolted from Sennacherib, and during the next six years they lived without a king.

During this time, the liberty the Medes had acquired by their valour degenerated into licentiousness, and their government not being well established, they fell into a kind of anarchy worse than their former subjection; injustice, violence, and rapine, prevailed everywhere, because there was no one possessed of power sufficient to restrain them, or authority sufficient to punish the offenders. These disorders at length induced the people to settle a form of government, which rendered the state more flourishing than before.

Herodotus gives the following account of the change: "There was a man among the Medes of the name of Dejoceus, son of Phraortes, of great reputation for his wisdom, whose ambitious views were thus disguised and exercised. The Medes were divided into different districts,* and Dejoceus was distinguished in his own, by his vigilant and impartial distribution of justice. This he practised in opposition to the general depravity and weakness of the government of his country, and while conscious that the profligate and the just must ever be at war with each other. The Medes, who lived nearest him, to signify their approbation of his integrity, made him their judge. In this situation, having one more elevated in view, he conducted himself with the most rigid equity. His behaviour obtained the highest applause of his countrymen; and his fame extending to the neighbouring districts, the people contrasted his just and equitable decisions with the irregularity of their own corrupt rulers, and unanimously resorted to his tribunal, not suffering any one else to determine their litigations.

"The increasing fame of his integrity and wisdom constantly augmented the number of those who came to consult him. But when Dejoceus saw the pre-eminence which he was so universally allowed, he appeared no more on his accustomed tribunal, and declared that he should sit

as a judge no longer; intimating, that it was inconsistent for him to regulate the affairs of others, to the neglect and injury of his own. After this, as violence and rapine prevailed more than ever in the different districts of the Medes, they called a public assembly to deliberate on national affairs. As far as I have been able to collect, they who were attached to Dejoceus delivered sentiments to this effect: 'Our present situation is intolerable, let us therefore elect a king, that we may have the advantage of a regular government, and continue our usual occupations, without any fear of danger or molestation.' In conformity to these sentiments, the Medes determined to elect a king; and, after some consultation about what person they should choose, Dejoceus was proposed and elected with universal consent." To such mean and discreditable shifts will the ambitious spirit resort, that it may obtain a crown. But,

"Not kings alone—

Each villager has his ambition too
No sultan prouder than his fettered slave
Slaves build their little Babels of straw—
Echo the proud Assyrian in their hearts,
And cry, 'Behold the wonders of my might!'
And why? because immortal as their lord
And souls immortal must for ever live
A something great, the glitter of the gold,
The praise of mortals, or the praise of Heaven."

YOUNG.

Reader, make thou thy choice of the praise and the favour of Heaven; for all else will fail thee in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment.

DEJOCEUS.

Dejoceus was no sooner invested with the supreme power, than he acted as a tyrant, though the rigour he practised might, to a certain extent, have been necessary to bring the nation into any order or discipline.

The first act of his government was the requisition of a life-guard, to secure his person, and maintain his dignity. He next required them to build him a strong and magnificent palace; and afterwards to build the royal city of Ecbatana, which is placed by Major Rennell on or near the site of Hamadan, in Al-Jebel. (See p. 51.) After the city was finished, he drew the main body of the people, who had hitherto lived in villages, to reside in its vicinity. Being persuaded, however, that the majesty of kings is most respected afar off, he withdrew himself from public view, in order to increase the public respect and veneration for his person and government. He was almost inaccessible, and invisible to his subjects, not suffering them to speak or communicate their affairs to him but through his official servants, by whom he regularly returned his own decisions.* "This," says Herodotus, "was the form which he observed in judiciary matters. His proceeding," he adds, "with regard

* At the time of their revolt from the Assyrians, the Medes consisted of the Susians, Parthians, Struchates, Araxatians, Budians, and Magas. These states were independent of each other, and governed by their own magistrates.

* A similar policy was adopted by our Norman kings. Henry II., instead of the immediate application for justice to the king himself in the *Aula Regia*, or "great court," that constantly attended his person, instituted two other courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, to be stationary at Westminster, where all judicial proceedings were thenceforth to be conducted by pleadings before the judges. By this regulation, justice was more orderly and more skillfully administered.

to penal offences, was thus: "Whenever he heard of any injury being perpetrated, (and for this purpose he appointed spies and informers in different parts of his dominions,) the offender was first brought to his presence, and then punished according to his offence."

Although Dejoces appears to have acted tyrannically during his rule, he was nevertheless a great and wise prince, and a blessing to his country. During his reign, his country enjoyed the profoundest peace and tranquillity; and he never carried war into the territories of his neighbours. According to Dr. Hales, he died A.C. 663, after a reign of forty years. He was succeeded in his kingdom, which had now become powerful, by

PHRAORTES,

who is the Arphaxad of Scripture.

Phraortes was a martial prince. Not being satisfied with the kingdom of Media, left him by Dejoces, he attacked the Persians, and, defeating them in a decisive battle, brought them under subjection to his empire. After this, strengthened by the accession of the Persian forces, he attacked other nations, and reduced them, one after another, till he made himself master of almost all Upper Asia.

Elated with this success, he invaded the Assyrians of Nineveh, who, though at this period weakened by the defection of their allies, were still very powerful in themselves. Nabuchodonosor raised a great army in his own country, and sent ambassadors to a great many nations in the east, to require their assistance. They refused to comply with his demand, and treated his ambassadors with ignominy; thus plainly declaring, that they no longer regarded the power of his once mighty empire, Judith i. 5—11.

Nabuchodonosor, enraged at such insolent treatment, swore by his "throne and kingdom," that he would be revenged of all these nations, and put them to the sword. He then prepared for battle, with his own forces, in the plain of Ragau†. This soon ensued, and it proved fatal to Phraortes. He was defeated, his cavalry fled, his chariots were overturned, and put into disorder, and Nabuchodonosor gained a complete victory. Then, taking advantage of the confusion of the Medes, he entered their country, took their cities, pushed on his conquest even to Ecbatana, forced the towers and the walls by storm, and gave it over to the rapine of his

* This, also, resembles the institution of itinerant judges of assize, who were sent on circuits, at stated periods, to take "cognizance of offences and misdemeanours;" corresponding to the "sying out, or obtaining information of such;" while Achaemida, or Ecbatana, the capital, became the established place of public records in after ages, Ezra vi. 2.

† Ragau is a large and extensive plain to the south of Tabarsa, the present capital of Persia. It extends east and west to a great distance, and is bounded on the north by the mountains of Masanderan, supposed to be those mentioned in the text as the "mountains of Ragau;" and south by an inferior range that separates it from the western limits of the Great Salt desert. The mountains of Masanderan are very difficult of access to cavalry, and therefore the fittest places to which Phraortes could have fled for refuge from his enraged pursuer. The city itself is mentioned in the books of Tobit and Judith, and the reader will find it described page 53 in this history.

army. The unfortunate Phraortes himself, who had escaped into the mountains of Ragau, fell at length into the hands of Nabuchodonosor, who caused him to be put to a cruel death. After that, he returned to Nineveh, and for four months feasted and diverted himself with those that had accompanied him in his expedition.

The death of Phraortes took place about A.C. 641, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by his son,

CYAXARES I., OR KAI KOBAD,

who was the most celebrated of the Median kings, and, according to Dr. Hales, the Ahazuerus of Scripture. The poet Æschylus, and the Persian historian Mirkhond, etc., agree in representing him as the founder of the second, or Kaianian dynasty. The former, who had fought against the Persians, in the battle of Marathon, and therefore had opportunities of information, introduces the ghost of Darius Hystaspes, in his tragedy of Persæ, thus describing the several kings of Persia, from their Median founder to his own son, Xerxes:—

"Asia's brave hosts
A Mede first led. The virtues of his son†
First form the empire: for his temperate zeal
Breathed prudence. Cyrus third, by fortune graced,
Adorned his throne, and blessed his grateful friends
With peace. He to his mighty monarchy
Joined Lydia and the Phrygians; to his power
Ionia bent reluctant, but the gods
With victory his gentle virtues crowned.
His son‡ then wore the regal diadem.
Next to disperse his country, and to stain
The splendid glories of the ancient throne,
Rise Mardus § II-m with righteous vengeance fired,
Artaphrenes, and his confederate chiefs
Crushed in his palace. Maraphis¶ assumed
The sceptre. After him Artaphrenes,**
Next, to the exalted eminence,
Crowning my great ambition fortune raised
In many a glorious field, my glittering spear
Flamed in the van of Persia's numerous hosts:
But never wrought such ruin in the dust
As Xerxes|| my son. He, in all the pride of youth,
Listens to youthful counsels, my commands
No more remembered; hence, my hoary friends,
Not the whole line of Persia's accepted lords,
(You know it well) so wasted her brave sons."
POTTER'S ÆSCHYLUS.

It is supposed that in the first year of the reign of Cyaxares, or A.C. 640, the army of Nabuchodonosor was defeated in the plains of Bethulia. Cyaxares, who had well established himself on the throne of Media, and was master of Upper Asia, knew how to turn this event to his account. Before they had recovered from the consternation into which they were thrown, eager to revenge his father's defeat and death, he marched upon and laid siege to Nineveh, defeating the Assyrian army who came out to oppose him.

The city was upon the point of falling into his hands, when he was obliged to raise the siege, by reason of a Scythian invasion and victory, as here related by Herodotus: "When Cyaxares was engaged in the siege of Nineveh, he was surprised by an army of Scythians, commanded by Madyas, son of Protothys. Having expelled

* Cyaxares. † Astyages. ‡ Cyrus.
* Cambyses. § Smerdis Magus. ¶ Maraphis.
** Artaphrenes. †† Darius Hystaspes. ‡‡ Xerxes.

the Cimærians* from Europe, the Scythians had found their way into Asia, and, continuing to pursue the fugitives, had arrived at the territories of the Medes.

"From the lake Mæotis an expeditionary traveller may pass to the river Phasis, among the Colchians, in the space of thirty days, [Major Rennell says twenty:] it requires less time to pass into Media from Colchis, which are only separated by the nation of the Sæpiarians. The Scythians, however, did not come by this route, but, leaving Mount Caucasus on the right, passed through the high country by a much longer one. Here they met with the Medes, who, in a fixed battle, lost not only the victory, but the empire of Asia."

The Scythians retained the dominion of Asia for twenty-eight years, when they lost it by their licentiousness and neglect. At a feast, to which they were invited by Cyaxares and the Medes, the greater part of them were cut off when in a state of intoxication, and the Medes thus recovered their possessions and ancient importance.

The Scythians, who were not at the feast, having heard of the massacre of their countrymen, fled into Lydia to king Alyattes, who received them with humanity. This gave rise to a war between the Median and Lydian monarchs, which raged more or less fiercely for five years.

The Lydian war commenced, B.C. 608, about which time, probably, Cyaxares, and his ally, Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, renewed the siege of Nineveh, and took it, B.C. 606, as related in the history of the Assyrians, page 40.

During the Lydian war, many battles were fought with equal success on both sides. In the sixth year, however, B.C. 603, it was brought to a crisis. During an obstinate battle, says Herodotus, the day suddenly became night. Thales, the Milesian, had foretold this alteration, or eclipse, to the Ionians. The Lydians and Medes, seeing darkness take the place of light, desisted from the sanguinary strife, and showed an inclination on both sides to come to terms of peace. Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, seeing this, acted as mediators, and they expedited the treaty, and confirmed it by a marriage, persuaded, that treaties cannot be lasting, without a powerful bond of union. They engaged Alyattes to give Aryenis, his daughter, in marriage to Astyages, the son of Cyaxares.

Two years after, B.C. 601, Cyaxares died, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by

ASTYAGES, OR KAI KATS,

who, according to *Æschylus*, *Herodotus*, and several oriental historians, was the son of Cyaxares, though others say the grandson.

The reign of Astyages was very extended, continuing for thirty-five years, or till A.C. 566.

* Larcher says: "The history of the Scythians is remarkably obscure. Justin, speaking of the incursions of this people into Asia, sometimes coincides with Herodotus; at others materially contradicts him. Strabo makes a slight mention of this expedition of *Madysæ*; but I am ignorant by what authority he makes him king of the Cimærians; I should rather think a mistake has been made here by some copyist."

But though his reign was thus long, there are no particulars handed down to us, worthy of credit, respecting it, except his repulsing the Babylonians, who, under the conduct of Evil Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, had made an inroad into his territories.

Astyages had two children, whose names are famous in history: these were, Cyaxares, by his wife Aryenis, and Mandane, by a former marriage. Mandane was married, during her father's lifetime, to Cambyses, the son of Achæmenes, king of Persia, from which union sprang the celebrated Cyrus.

Herodotus represents Astyages, during the course of his reign, as foolish, mad, and infatuated. His accounts of his actions, however, are a tissue of the greatest absurdities and contradictions, refuting themselves. They are, moreover, in opposition to *Æschylus*, *Xenophon*, *Josephus*, the Persian historians, and, above all, to Scripture; and therefore they are omitted in these pages. Astyages was succeeded in his kingdom by

CYAXARES II., FRABOZ, OR DANICE THE MEDE,

who came to the throne at the age of forty-nine years. Of this prince, Dr. Hales says, "Being naturally of an easy, indolent disposition, and fond of his amusements, he left the burden of military affairs, and the care of the government, to Cyrus, his nephew and son-in-law, who married his only daughter, and was therefore doubly entitled to succeed him." In his latter days, indeed, he seems to have been governed by his nephew and heir, Cyrus, "by that ascendancy which great souls have always over little ones."

In the thirteenth year of his reign, or B.C. 533, Belshazzar having been slain, Darius succeeded him on the throne of Babylon. The first act of his sovereignty, according to Herodotus, was the appointment of Nabonadus, a Babylonian nobleman, not allied to the royal family, to be king, or viceroy, under him, according to the established policy of the Medes and Persians, to conciliate the good-will of his new subjects, in leaving them to be governed by a native prince.

Borné, remarking on the truth with which the characters of kings are delineated in the book of Daniel, observes, that *Xenophon* "represents Cyaxares as weak and pliable, but of a cruel temper, easily managed for the most part, yet ferocious in his anger. Is not this Darius? the same Darius who allowed his nobles to make laws for him, and then repented?—suffered Daniel to be cast into the lion's den, and then spent a night in lamentation for him; and, at last, in strict conformity with *Xenophon's* description, condemned to death not only his false counsellors, but also their wives and children?"

This is one of the remarkable coincidences in which the writings of profane and sacred historians harmonize.

Daniel, who contributed so materially to the accession of Darius, was naturally in high favour with him. Accordingly, on his next appointment of the president of the provinces, he set

Daniel at their head, and designed, on account of his consummate wisdom, to set him over the whole united realm, Dan. vi. 1-3.

But worldly distinctions are not a bower of roses, under which the possessor, though pious and upright, may rest without fear of being disturbed. And so Daniel found. His elevation and integrity aroused the jealousy of those beneath him, (for it is a strong desire to be above, which makes people uneasy beneath,) and they confederated against him. At first, they sought for some occasion in his public conduct, that they might accuse him; but they sought in vain: his probity, diligence, and faithfulness to the duties of his function, were perfect. Having thus no fault against him, they determined to make his piety the matter of accusation, and for this purpose they plotted a very artful scheme. It was the practice of Daniel, amidst all the worldly cares that pressed upon him, to retire to his chamber, which looked towards Jerusalem, to pray, three times a day. This his enemies knew; and they were well assured, also, that he would not forego his practice, though death should stare him in the face. They therefore proposed a decree to Darius, to this effect—That whosoever should ask any petition of God or man for thirty days, save of the monarch himself, should be cast into a den of lions. To this proposal, so flattering to the vanity of an ambitious spirit, without suspecting their intentions, Darius consented. He signed the decree, and by that act it was made

"Irrevocable as the steadfast law
Of Medes and Persians, which can never change."
MOORE.

Human prudence would have dictated the expediency of refraining prayer till thirty days had passed away. But Daniel was not left to the guidance of so pitiful a taper as human prudence. On his soul the light of religion shed its refulgent rays; he well knew that God could protect him from danger, or, if he saw proper to permit him to suffer, would take him to himself. When he heard of the decree, he neither discontinued his

practice, nor made a secret of his devotion. This his adversaries soon discovered, and the report was laid before Darius. The misguided monarch now saw the error into which he had fallen, and he endeavoured to save his faithful minister: but it was too late; the edict could not be reversed, and his accusers were clamorous for his execution. The monarch, therefore, gave the order, expressing this assurance to Daniel, when he was thrown into the den of lions: "Thy God whom thou servest continually, he will deliver thee," Dan. vi. 10-17.

The next morning, after a night of mourning and fasting, the king arose very early, and went in haste to the den of lions; and when he came to it, he cried to Daniel: "O Daniel, servant of the living God, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the lions?" The prophet answered triumphantly in the affirmative: "My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the lions' mouths, that they have not hurt me: forasmuch as before him innocency was found in me; and also before thee, O king, have I done no hurt."

The king was exceeding glad; and he retaliated the same punishment upon his accusers, their wives, and their children; whom the lions instantly devoured, breaking their bones to pieces before they reached the bottom of the den, ver. 18-24.

Darius now made a decree in honour of the religion of Daniel, in which he acknowledged the God of Daniel to be the only living God in heaven and on earth, ver. 25-28.

Soon after this, B. C. 551, Cyaxares died, and the kingdom of Media, etc., became united to that of Persia, under the rule of "Cyrus the Persian."

"Thus kingdoms pass away, and kingdoms rise,
Casting their shadowy forms before our eyes:
So let them pass, for in the skies there's one,
That has no need of moon or of the sun,
And that will last for aye! To this fair seat
Turn, pilgrim wand'rer on this earth, thy feet,
Hark! from on high a gentle voice says, 'Come!'
It is thy Saviour's—make it then thy home."

THE HISTORY OF THE LYDIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF LYDIA.

WHENCE this country obtained the name of Lydia is not determined. According to a tradition of the people who inhabited it, as quoted by Josephus, it was from Lud, the fourth son of Shem. Ancient writers, however, tell us, that Lydia was first called Meonia, or Meonia, from Meon, king of Phrygia and Lydia, and that it was known by that name till the reign of Atys, when it was called Lydia, from his son Lydus. Bochart, finding in his collection of Phœnician words, the verb *Luz*, which signifies "to wind," and observing that the country is watered by the Meander, so famous for its windings, concludes that it was thence named Lydia, or Luidia. To support this hypothesis, he contends, that the Phœnicians, and after them Moses, who in the description of countries made use of their terms, gave the name of Lud, not only to Lydia on the banks of the Meander, but likewise to Ethiopia, where the Nile, according to Herodotus, has as many windings as the Meander itself. As these two countries, therefore, lying on the two most winding rivers known to the ancients, were named Lud, which signifies "to wind," who can doubt, says he, that they derived their common denomination from the rivers which watered them? With reference to the ancient name Meonia, he conceives it is a Greek translation of the Phœnician word Lud, which is partly borne out by Stephanus, who derives the name of Meonia from Meon, the ancient name of the Meander. Some imagine the word Meonia, to be a translation of a Hebrew word signifying "metal," because that country was, in ancient times, celebrated for its mines.

The country of Lydia was situated in Asia Minor. Its boundaries cannot be distinctly defined, they having differed at various times. Under the Roman empire, it was bounded on the south by Caria, from which it was separated by the river Meander; on the north, by a range of mountains known under the name of Sardene, which divided it from Mysia; on the east, by Phrygia; and on the west, by the Ægean; though the tract of country along the coast was more commonly known by the name of Ionia. What the ancients denominate the kingdom of Lydia was not, however, confined between these narrow boundaries, but extended from the river

Italy to the Ægean Sea. Pliny's description includes Ælia, lying between the Hermus and Caucas, a river of Mysia; but this does not appear to be correct.

Lydia was intersected by mountain ranges, running from east to west; of which the principal, called Messogis by Strabo, is a branch of Taurus, and forms the northern boundary of the valley of Meander. Another chain of mountains, known to the ancients under the name of Tmolus, runs parallel to the Messogis, through the centre of the country, and terminates on the western coast, opposite the island of Chios. A branch of Tmolus, called Sipylus, stretches north to the north-west, towards the towns of Cumæ and Phœcea. The chain of mountains separating Lydia from Mysia appears to be a continuation of the northern range, known in Bithynia by the name of Olympus, and in Mysia by Ida and Temnos.

Lydia was thus divided into two valleys; the southern between Messogis and Tmolus, through which the Caystrus flows, and the northern, between Tmolus and Sardene, watered by the Hermus and its tributaries, the Hyllus, Pactolus, and Coganus. The former of these valleys is of moderate extent, but the latter forms a plain of great magnitude.

MOUNTAINS.

The principal mountains of Lydia are the Tmolus, now called by the Turks, *Bouz Dag*, or, the Cold Mountain, and the Sipylus. The former is chiefly noted for its producing the herb saffron; the latter is celebrated in heathen mythology. It is said, that the goddess Sipyleus, worshipped anciently by the pagan inhabitants, derived her name from it; or rather it was Cybele herself who was so called, because here worshipped in a particular manner. Hence, on the reverse of almost all the medals of ancient Magnesia, Cybele is represented sometimes on the frontispiece of a temple with four pillars, and sometimes in a chariot. Plutarch says, that Mount Sipylus was also called *Cerranius*, or, the "Thundering Mountain," because it thundered more frequently there than on any other mountain of Asia. Hence, also, on the reverse of some of the Magnesian medals, is found Jupiter armed with thunderbolts. Pausanias declares that Jupiter was buried on this mountain, and that he saw his monument! He also climbed the mountain, in hopes of discovering the rock

into which Niobe had been turned! So much were the ancient writers given to the fabulous.

RIVERS.

Some of the rivers of Lydia demand a notice; though it must be said of them, that they are more celebrated in the pages of ancient writers than many other rivers more worthy of notice.

Meander.—This river had its rise near Celennus, in Phrygia, and flowed through Caria and Ionia, into the *Egean Sea*, receiving in its course the waters of the *Maryas*, *Lycus*, *Eodon*, *Lethæus*, etc. It is celebrated by the ancient poets for its windings, from whence it derived its name, and which amount to six hundred. Lucan, describing the nations that took part with Pompey, says:

"Then Strymon* was forsook, whose wintry flood,
Committed to warmer Nile his feather'd brood,
Then bands from Comæ, and from Pænet came,
Where later losses his divided stream:
From Idæia where cold Calvus flows,
And where Arisbe,† thin, her sandy surface strewa,
From Pytane and sad Celennus's walls,
Where now in streams the vanquish'd Maryas falls,
Still his lamenting progeny deplore
Minerva's tuneful gift and Phœbus' power:
While through steep banks, his torrent swift he leads,
And with Meander winds among the meads."
Book iii.

According to some authors, Dardanius owes the first idea of his famous labyrinth to the river Meander, to which we find a reference in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*:

"As soft Meander's wanton current plays,
When through the Phrygian fields he loosely strays:
Backward and forward rolls the dimpled tide,
Seeming, at once, two different ways to glide.
While circling streams his former banks survey,
And waters past surrounding waters see
Now floating to the sea with downward course,
Now pointing upward to its ancient source.
Such was the work, so intricate the place,
That scarce the workman all its turns could trace
And Dardanius was puzzled how to find
The secret ways, of what himself design'd."
Book viii.

Cayster.—This is a rapid river of Asia, rising in Lydia, which, after a meandering course, falls into the *Egean sea*, near Ephesus. Like the Meander, it is celebrated in the pages of the ancient poets, who say, that its banks and neighbourhood were the resort of the "stately sailing swan." Thus, in the story of Phaeton, Ovid says:

"Theswans, that on Cayster often tried
Their tuneful songs, now sung their last, and died."
Book i.

* Strymon was a river of Thrace, whose banks abounded with cranes. It is now called Icarus in the European Turkey.

† These were two islands amongst the mouths of the Lycus, or Danube.

‡ Commentaries explain the *Tellus Idæia* in this place, to be the territory about Mount Ida, which must be a mistake; for Calvus is a river in *Myra Major*, a great way distant from Ida.

§ A town in Troas.

¶ Pytane was a town near the river Calvus, and Celennus was a city near the head of the river Maryas; the fabulous story of which is, that Maryas, a celebrated piper of Celennus, found the pipes Pallas had thrown away in diadema, and pragmatically set up for as good a musician as Apollo, by whom he was first vanquished and then slayed. Some compassionate nymphs, however, who loved his music better than that of Apollo, turned him into a river, which falls into the Meander.

Hermus.—This river is thought to originate in the western extremity of the central plateau of Asia Minor. It flows near Sardes, and receives the waters of the Pactolus and Hyllus; after which it falls into the *Egean sea*. According to the poets, its sands were covered with gold. Thus, Virgil, celebrating the fertility of Italy, says:

"But neither Median woods, (a pleasant land,
Fair Ganges, Hermus rolling golden sand,
Nor Bactria, nor the richer Indian fields,
Nor all the gummy stores Arabia yields,
Nor any foreign earth of greater name,
Can with sweet Italy contend in fame."
GEORG. II.

Halys.—The Halys, now the Kizil-Ermak, is described as taking its rise by two branches in the higher ranges of the Taurus, in Cappadocia. It received the name of Halys from the saltiness of its waters before it enters the sea. It is now called the Kizil-Ermak, or Red River; but its true name is said to be *Auto-Su*. Where Kinnier crossed it, between Wovode and Vizir Kapri, it was about three hundred feet broad, and this, it must be remembered, was at a place where the stream was contracted, near the ruins of a fine old bridge. Tournefort describes it to be, at its mouth, about the width of the Seine at Paris. Its whole course was probably four hundred miles. According to a French authority, it falls into the Black Sea by one mouth, at the boundary of Pontus and Paphlagonia.

The Halys is the largest river of Asia Minor, and in the days of Cæsar it formed the western limit of the Median, and the eastern limit of the Lydian empires. It is celebrated for the defeat of Cæsar, who was deceived by this quibbling oracle: "If Cæsar passes over the Halys, he shall destroy a great empire." That empire was his own!

Pactolus.—The Pactolus is a tributary to the Hermus. Taking its rise in Mount Tmolus, it falls into that river after it has watered the city of Sardes. By Piny it is called Tmolus. The poets say that Midas washed himself in this river, when he turned into gold whatever he touched; and from that circumstance it ever after rolled golden sand, and received the name of *Chrysorrhous*:

"The king, instructed, to the fount retires,
But with the golden charm the stream inspires:
For while this quality the man forsakes,
An equal power the limpid water takes;
Informs with veins of gold the neighbouring land,
And glides along a bed of golden sand."
OVID. MET. XI.

It would appear, from history, that gold was anciently found both among the sands of the Pactolus and Hermus; and Lucan, in his *Pharsalia*, says truly:

"Proud Lydia's plains send forth her wealthy sons,
Pactolus there, and golden Hermus runs:
From earth's dark womb hid treasures they convey,
And, rich in yellow waters, rise to day."

Strabo observes, however, that the Pactolus had no golden sands in his age.

FERTILITY, ETC.

The fertility of Lydia, and the salubrity of its climate, are frequently mentioned by ancient

writers. The air, especially near Mount Tmolus, is much celebrated in their pages. It is said that it was so wholesome, that the inhabitants generally lived to the age of 150 years; and that the neighbouring country was very prolific, and produced an abundance of odoriferous flowers. Mount Tmolus itself was celebrated for the herb saffron, to which we find an allusion in the *Georgics* of Virgil:

"Thus Tmolus is with yellow saffron crown'd."

The account of ancient writers, concerning the fertility of the ground, and the salubrity of the air of Lydia, is confirmed by the reports of modern travellers. Chishall speaks of the country between Tmolus and Messogi, as a "region inexpressibly delicious." It would appear, indeed, that the soil of Lydia, by reason of its many rivers, was very fertile, and that the country abounded in all kinds of grain, and was celebrated for its excellent wines.

Some authors state, that Lydia was enriched with many mines, whence Cæsar obtained his immense wealth; but there is no proof that the Lydians ever carried on the operation of mining. It is most probable that they obtained their gold chiefly from the river Pactolus, which, according to Herodotus, washed it down from Mount Tmolus.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF LYDIA

THE most important towns of Lydia were, Sardis, Philadelphia, Thyatira, and Magnesia.

SARDIS.

Sardis was the capital of the kingdom of Lydia, in the days of Cæsar, who, when defeated in the plain before this city, by Cyrus, was master of all the nations within the river Halys. The dominion of this territory then passed into the hands of the Persians, and Sardis became the residence of the Satraps, to whom the government was committed; it was also the chosen resort of the Persian monarchs, when in this part of their empire. It surrendered to Alexander, after he had defeated the Persians in the battle of the Granicus; and it continued a great city under the Romans, until the terrible earthquake, which happened in the days of Tiberius. By that emperor's orders, however, it was rebuilt; but subsequent calamities of the same description, with the ravages and spoiliations of the Goths, Sarmatians, and Turks, have reduced it to a heap of ruins, in which, notwithstanding, some remains of its ancient splendour may be traced.

Sardis, which is now a miserable village, called Sart, is situated on the northern side of Mount Tmolus, having a pleasant and spacious plain before it, well watered with several streams, flowing from a neighbouring hill to the south-east. These streams fall into the Pactolus, rising to the east from the same hill, and which, with its collected waters, increases the stream of the Hermus, or Sarabat, into which it falls.

Sardis is celebrated in Christian history, as

one of the "SEVEN APOCALYPTIC CITIES," against which the evangelist John lifted up his warning voice: "And unto the angel of the church in Sardis write; These things saith he that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead. Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee. Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white: for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before my Father, and before his angels. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." Rev. iii. 1-6.

How literally this threatening has been accomplished, history and the testimony of travellers declare. "This once opulent city is now dwindled into an insignificant village, the houses of which are few and mean. The present inhabitants are mostly shepherds, who tend their flocks and herds as they feed in the spacious plains. "If I were asked," says Arundel, in his *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, "what impresses the mind most strongly in beholding Sardis, I should say, its indescribable solitude, like the darkness of Egypt, darkness that could be felt. So the deep solitude of the spot, once the 'city of the kingdoms,' produces a corresponding feeling of desolate abandonment in the mind, which can never be forgotten." The Rev. J. Hartley also remarks: "The ruins are, with one exception, more entirely gone to decay than those of most of the ancient cities which we have visited. No Christians reside on the spot; two Greeks, only, work in a mill here, and a few wretched Turkish huts are scattered among the ruins. We saw the churches of St. John and the Virgin, the theatre, and the building styled the palace of Cæsar; but the most striking object at Sardis is the temple of Cybele. I was filled with wonder and awe at beholding the two stupendous columns of this edifice, which are still remaining; they are silent but impressive witnesses of the power and splendour of antiquity." Southward of the village of Sart, at the bottom of a small hill, considerable ruins are discovered. Six pillars are standing there, twenty-one feet in circumference, and thirty in height; and there are several vast stones belonging to pillars now prostrate. In the standing pillars, the stones are so exactly enclosed, that they seem as if they were all composed, each of one stone. Eastward to these ruins, a castle in ruins speaks to the beholder of desolation. The ascent to this pile is so steep, that the approach must be made by a circuitous path. In ancient times, it was doubtless considered as inaccessible and impregnable. There is a Greek inscription within the castle, upon the chapter of a pillar, to the honour of the emperor Tiberius, who is considered its second founder, its breaches having been repaired by his directions. East-

ward to the castle are the ruins of a great church, and northward of these are other vast ruins; the walls still remaining having several divisions and apartments, all of which take up a large compass of ground. This is thought to have been either the palace of the governor, the seat of justice, or a public hall, as a place of meeting for the citizens; but it is impossible now to decide which. Other ruins are met with in this direction, from which circumstance, some conclude that the greatest part of the city lay in this quarter.

The Turks have a mosque at Sart, which was formerly a Christian church, at the entrance of which are several curious pillars of polished marble. A few Christians live amongst them in the capacity of gardeners and labourers; but they have no church, nor any one capacitated either to preach the glad tidings of salvation through a crucified Redeemer, or to administer the ordinances of the gospel. So awfully, so literally has the threat been verified, that because she had a name to live, while in reality she was dead, and because she attended not to the voice of warning mercy, the candlestick should be removed out of its place. A missionary, named Lindsay, who recently visited Sardis, states, that the very few Christians who lived in its vicinity wished to settle in the plain, and erect a church on the site of Sardis; but being prevented from this by Kara Osman Oglou, the Turkish governor of the place, they erected one on the plain, within sight of ancient Sardis. At this place, he says, which has gradually risen into a little village, named Tatar-Keny, they maintain a priest; and thither the few Christians, forming together a congregation of forty persons, resort for public worship. Another missionary, however, who visited Sart more recently, states, that there is not now in that place even one Christian family. All have defiled their garments by apostasy. Let us take warning by their example.

PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia was situated about twenty-five miles east by south of Sardis, upon a branch of Mount Tmolus; at which spot there are still to be seen the relics of a noble city, called, by the Turks, Allah Shehr, "the beautiful city," or "the city of God." It was built by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamum.

The voice of the evangelist was also directed to Philadelphia, but no thunders were heard in the sound: "And to the angel of the church in Philadelphia write; These things saith he that is holy, he that is true, he that hath the key of David, he that openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth; I know thy works; behold, I have set before thee an open door, and no man can shut it: for thou hast a little strength, and hast kept my word, and hast not denied my name. Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee. Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. Behold, I come quickly: hold that fast which thou hast, that no man take thy

crown. Him that overcometh will I make a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go no more out: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God, which is new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God; and I will write upon him my new name. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches," Rev. iii. 7-13.

The infidel Gibbon unwittingly bears his testimony to the fulfilment of this prophecy. He says, "Among the [inland] Greek colonies and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect; a column in a scene of ruins! At a distance from the sea, forgotten by the emperors, encompassed on all sides by the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and their freedom above four-score years; and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans."

The American missionaries, Fisk and Parsons, when they visited the place in 1820, were informed by the Greek archbishop Gabriel, that there were five churches in the town, besides twenty which were either old or small, and had fallen into disuse. The number of houses is estimated at 3,000, of which 250 are inhabited by Greeks, the rest by Turks. One of the present mosques was pointed out to the missionaries, as the church in which the primitive Christians of Philadelphia assembled, to whom St. John wrote.

Philadelphia, as it now exists, covers a considerable extent of ground, running up the slope of several hills. Travellers concur in describing the streets as filthy, and the houses mean; but the scenery around is represented as beautiful in the extreme. Before it lies one of the most extensive and richest plains in Asia. One of the most remarkable ruins of antiquity now seen there is a single column, which evidently belonged to another structure than the present church. "Which," says an elegant writer, "taken with the present name of the town, forcibly brings to mind that part of the message to the church of Philadelphia which we find in the 12th verse."

THYATIRA.

Thyatira was situated on the banks of a stream that runs south-west to the Hermus, or Sarabat, twenty-five British miles north-west of Sardis, and forty miles south-east of Pergamum. According to Strabo, it was a Macedonian colony, and it was the Pelopoeia and Euhippia of Pliny. By Ptolemy it is denominated, in his list of Lydian cities, Thyatira Metropolis. It is now called Ak-hissar, or "The White Castle," perhaps denoting the city of the Ak-Su-elencok, or "White River," on which it stands. It contains a population of 5,000 souls.

Thyatira was another of the Seven Churches addressed by the evangelist John, whose warning voice foretold its desolation in these emphatic words: "And unto the angel of the church in Thyatira write; These things saith the Son of God, who hath his eyes like unto a flame of fire, and his feet are like fine brass; I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first. Notwithstanding I have a few things against thee, because thou sufferest

that woman Jezebel, which calleth herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. And I gave her space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of their deeds. And I will kill her children with death; and all the churches shall know that I am he which searcheth the reins and hearts; and I will give unto every one of you according to your works. But unto you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, as many as have not this doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak; I will put upon you none other burden. But that which ye have already bold fast till I come. And he that overcometh, and keepeth my works unto the end, to him will I give power over the nations; and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; as the vessels of a potter shall they be broken to shivers: even as I received of my Father. And I will give him the morning star. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the churches." Rev. ii. 18-29.

At the present day, there is not one Christian among the inhabitants of Ak-hissar, all being Mohammedans; and the Christian churches which remained have long since been converted into mosques, and the columns of marble which once adorned the public buildings are now used for inns and bazars. Its ancient Pagan inhabitants were worshippers of the goddess Diana, as appears by several classic monuments, with Greek inscriptions, erected by Roman governors. The ancient remains of Thyatira are more meagre than any of the seven churches. The American missionary Fisk thus describes the place. "Thyatira is situated near a small river, a branch of the Cæsus, in the centre of an extensive plain. At the distance of three or four miles, it is almost completely surrounded by mountains. The houses are low; many of them of mud or earth. Excepting the Moteellim's palace, there is scarcely a decent house in the place. The streets are narrow and dirty, and everything indicates poverty and degradation. The Turks have destroyed all remains of the ancient church; and even the place where it stood is now unknown. At present, there are in the town 1,000 houses, for which taxes are paid to the government."

Gibbon has attempted to deny the existence of the church of Thyatira, and consequently the authenticity of the Apocalypse, on the authority of the Alogians and of Epiphanius. But the existence of such a church is proved by the learned Dr. Stoeck, whom Gibbon never attempted to refute. Lydia, moreover, who was converted at Philippi, is denominated a seller of purple of the city of Thyatira; evidently meaning, that that city was the place of her ordinary residence, and that the purple manufactured there was carried by her to the market of Philippi for sale, where she had a house during her abode there, till the article was disposed of at the annual fair, which continued many days. On this subject the Rev. J. Hartley observes: "The sacred writer of the Acts of the Apostles informs us, that Lydia was a seller of purple in the city of

Thyatira; and the discovery of an inscription here which makes mention of the dyers, has been considered important in connexion with this passage. I know not if other travellers have remarked, that even at the present time, Thyatira is famous for dyeing. In answer to inquiries on the subject, I was informed that the cloths which are dyed scarlet here, are considered superior to any others furnished by Asia Minor; and that large quantities are sent weekly to Smyrna, for the purpose of commerce." Now, there can be no doubt that Lydia returned to Thyatira, after she and her household had been baptized, and that, by the church in her house, others would be brought to the knowledge of that Saviour whom she had found so precious to her soul. Nor can there be any doubt that the zealous and great apostle of the Gentiles, in his travels through Mysia and Lydia, would visit Thyatira. As all Asia, indeed, both Jews and Greeks, heard the word of God from his lips, when he was two years (professedly) residing at Ephesus, it can hardly be imagined that those of Thyatira, which was only seventy English miles distant, would be excepted. The locality of Thyatira, also, with reference to Pergamum, Sardis, Philadelphia, and other places, where churches had been planted by the apostles, Paul and John, renders it probable that one was planted there. Finally, Tertullian, who wrote before the Alogians, admits its early existence; and it is also mentioned by Origen in his homilies. There is no ground, therefore, to call in question the existence of the church of Thyatira.

MAGNÉSIA.

Magnesia ad Sipylum, now Magnissa, is thirty-five miles due west from Sardis, and eighteen north-east of Smyrna. It is situated at the foot of a lofty and rugged mountain, (the ancient *Mons Sipylus*, now called the Sipuli Dagh,) that rises behind it, and abruptly terminates the vast plain, which runs from the north of Ak-hissar, the ancient Thyatira, to this place. It contains, at the least, twenty-seven mosques, and most of the houses are placed at the foot, and some on the sides of the mountain. It has been for eighty years, with all the territory from the Meander to the Propontis, under the equitable government of the family of Kara Osman Oglou.

On the slope of Mount Sipylus, and overlooking the city, are the ruins of an ancient castle, with its outworks. The bazar is well stored with fruits and vegetables, which shows the fertility of the country around. The site of the city itself, however, from the excessive heats and frequent floods of the Sarabat, generates malaria, whence fever and ague affect the inhabitants to an alarming extent.

Sir William Onslow represents the inn, or Turkish khan, at which he lodged in this place, as he journeyed from Constantinople to Smyrna, as the best he had met with in the east. It was a spacious building, forming a regular square, with an open court, where a richly ornamented fountain in the centre furnished a good supply of water. The chambers were numerous, and the one in which he slept was on the upper floor,

where the door of each chamber opened from a raised gallery, projecting into the square, and supported on pillars and arches. Between these arches, and over the colonnade, were receptacles, out with divisions and small holes, for the accommodation of sparrows, with which, he states, every compartment was fully tenanted; they being daily fed by the Turks, and never molested.

It may be mentioned, that there was another city of the same name seated on the Meander, and which was formerly a city of great note, as the ruins of many buildings demonstrate. At this place, the great Themistocles died, it being one of the three towns allotted to him by Artaxerxes for his subsistence, during his exile.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF LYDIA.

THE GOVERNMENT, ETC.

THE Lydians were ruled by kings in the earliest ages of the world. Their proper history, however, only commences, as will be hereafter explained, about B.C. 718.

The government of Lydia, so far as can be gathered from the conduct of their monarchs, seems to have been despotic in the highest degree, and the crown hereditary. This their brief history exhibits, and the reader is therefore referred to that section for further information on this point.

The character of the Lydians varied at different periods. Under Croesus, and some of his predecessors, they were evidently a warlike people; for they reduced all the neighbouring countries, and spread the terror of their arms far and wide. Afterwards, being subdued by the Persians, and enjoined by Cyrus, according to the advice given him by Croesus, to wear long vests, and apply themselves to such arts and callings only as had a natural tendency to corrupt their manners and enervate their courage, they became a voluptuous and effeminate race of people.

Herodotus gives the following account of the origin of this change of character. The Lydians, not long after they were subdued by Cyrus, at the instigation of one Pactyas, a Lydian, whom Cyrus had trusted with the gold which he had found in the treasury of Croesus, at Sardis, rebelled. News of this revolt being brought to Cyrus, as he was leading his army against the Babylonians, Bactrians, and Egyptians, he resolved to march back into Lydia, sell all the Lydians for slaves, and put an end to the existence of the nation. He imparted this resolution to Croesus, at that time his prisoner, who, deploring the utter ruin of his country, entreated him to forgive the Lydians, and to revenge himself on Pactyas alone, by whom they had been misled. At the same time, Croesus advised Cyrus, in order to prevent any future rebellion, to forbid the Lydians the use of arms, to encourage luxury and debauchery among them, to which they were naturally inclined, and to cause their children to be brought up to such callings only

as would ensure their enervation.* This evil advice, more ruinous in its results than that which Cyrus himself meditated, was followed, and in a short time the Lydians became the most corrupt and feeble nation under the sun.

"No coin grows smooth, in traffic current pass'd,
Till Cæsar's image is effaced at last."—*COWPER.*

Some have concluded from Jeremiah xli. 9, that the arms of the ancient Lydians were bows and arrows; but in this they err. The original from whence the word "Lydians" is translated in this verse, is *Ludia*, and the people denoted must not be confounded with the Lydians of Asia Minor, with whom the Egyptians and other African nations usually associated with them could have no connexion. There were two Lods, one the son of Shem, from whom these Lydians are descended; and the other, the son of Misraim, the settler of Egypt, whose descendants are supposed to have settled in Africa, and near Egypt. It is to these latter people that the prophet alludes, when he speaks of "the Lydians, that handle and bend the bow."

Like the bulk of mankind, in those ancient days, the Lydians were gross idolaters. It would appear that they worshipped Diana, as they did also Jupiter and Cybele at Magnesia, under the name of Syphilene. This is evident from the fact, that in the alliance concluded between the cities of Smyrna and Magnesia on the Meander in favour of Seleucus Callinicus, both parties swore, according to the Arundelian marbles, by the goddess Syphilene. In the same city there was a temple of Diana Leucophryna, which, it is said, equalled in magnificence the celebrated temple of Diana at Ephesus.

The Lydian mode of expiation nearly resembled that in use among the Greeks. Apollonius Rhodius has thus described the custom in his poem of the Argonautics:—

"On splendid seats the enchantress bade them rest;
But doubts and anxious thoughts her soul possess'd.
Their steps unsounding through the palace pass'd,
The veal'd hearth they sought with silent haste;
Then, motionless, with downcast eyes they sat.
As suits the humble suppliant's piteous state.
Stung with reproaches of the comeious mind,
Between her hands the maid her face inclin'd:
While leaning on the hilt, with grief profound,
The youth mix'd his falseton in the ground:
Nor lifts to vengeful Heaven his drooping eyes,
While gloomy thoughts for slain Aëtyus rise.
Fair Circe marked the deep desponding mood;
She recogniz'd the fugitives from blood;
Revered the suppliant's right with pious awe;
And bow'd submiss to Jove's imperial law,
Who makes the suppliant his pœthor care,
And e'en in punishment inclines to spare.
The atoning sacrifices she began,
That stains of blood remove from wretched man;
For refuge when he flies to Vesta's shrine,
And seeks remission from the powers divine.
High o'er their heads, the dale wine she held,
New from the dam, and pure with virture swill'd.
She pierc'd his throat, and cleansing blood with blood,
Her suppliants thither'd in the purple flood.
Then ceremonies fill'd the solemn hour,
To calm the wrath of every vengeful power;
And Iustial Jove was call'd, at whose command
Oblations pure absolve the slayer's hand.

* Xenox, it is said, compelled the Babylonians to adopt a similar conduct. He forbade their carrying arms, and obliged them to learn the practice of music, to have in their cities places of debauch, and to wear long tunics. Such are among the evil effects of tyranny.

This done, her traits, full many a Waid maid
The abutions from the splendid dome convey'd
Within to cover vows, and whisper'd prayer
That bid the furies drop the scourge, and spare,
The flames with salted cakes the enchantress fed;
And sweet intonations o'er that offering shed.
Of mighty pow'r, to soothe the gliding dead:
Whether a stranger's death their hands emur'd,
Or the dire stain from kindred blood accrue'd,
The solemn expiations were complete
She coiled each suppliant to the polished seat
Full in her view and near."

PRESTON'S TRANSLATION.

This is one of the many instances to be met with in profane history of men acknowledging their guiltiness before their heathen gods, and seeking to divert Divine displeasure by the offer of a representative victim. And the question has been asked, Whence did the ancient heathen derive this institution? The question is natural, for the slaughter and burning of an inoffensive animal does not seem a very obvious process, to the first exercise of natural reason, for diverting the Divine vengeance. It is, however, easily answered. As mankind descended from one common parent, and as the patriarchs from Abel downward, by Divine command, offered up such sacrifices, the practice was doubtless derived traditionally from them. But, unhappily, the design of the institution was unknown to the heathen world. Originally, it was intended to shew forth the atonement which, at the appointed time, should be made for the sins of the world by Jesus Christ. This was hidden from their sight, and hence they conceived that a poor dumb animal was able to stand between them and offended Deity. A notion of vicarious punishment—that sin might be acknowledged, and the Divine indignation against the sinner be appeased by sacrifice—was prevalent among all nations of mankind; but one nation only possessed the true knowledge of the purport of the institution, namely, the Jews, who were taught in the Mosiacal dispensation to look through types and shadows to the bleeding sacrifice of the Lamb of God. Hence it was, that good old Simeon, who devoutly waited for this "consolation of Israel" in the temple of his God, exclaimed, in the spirit of prophecy, as he held the infant Jesus in his arms, "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all people; a light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel," Luke ii. 29-32. This Light is now shining around us in all its glory. The sacrifice has been made; and we are daily directed to the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world. Have we, or have we not, accepted his sacrifice! Reader, let conscience reply.

One law among the ancient Lydians deserves to be mentioned, and to be cherished in the memory. This was the punishment of idleness as a crime, and their inuring their children, from their very infancy, to hardships. In the former clause of this law, they deserve to be imitated, even by a Christian people. If the youth of our own country were generally brought up to habits of industry, how much vice and misery would be avoided. Suffered to be idle, as they are in too many instances, they become the prey of the

designing, a curse to their parents, and a pest to society. This is a crying evil in our day, and demands correction. Restraint over our offspring is required at our hands, and the parent who neglects it inflicts a moral injury upon his child and his country, while he exposes himself to the wrath of his Maker. If heathen parents appreciated the results of industrious habits, surely Christian parents ought not to undervalue them.

They should keep their offspring employed in their learning and other occupations, suited to their tender age, that they may be preserved from temptation and ruin. All nature teaches the lesson of industry. The sun, moon, and stars, are constant in the performance of their Creator's will. The earth, also, on which we live, unweariedly travels onward in its course, and the very insects teach us a lesson of industry. Shall man disregard the lesson?

It may be mentioned, that the Lydians are said by the Greeks to have been the first people who put a stamp upon gold and silver, and that they claimed to be the inventors of the games which were prevalent in Greece in the days of Herodotus, and which were called *Ludi* by the Romans.

COMMERCE.

The Lydians appear to have enjoyed great commercial prosperity, and to have possessed an abundance of the precious metals. Their gold, as before intimated, is said to have been obtained from the rivers Hermus and Pactolus, which washed it down from the mountains, whence they derived their sources. The splendour of the monarchy of Lydia, and the commodious situation of the country, would indicate that commerce once flourished in Lydia to an eminent degree. So, also, would the riches of their princes, and of private individuals, the accounts of which seem to border on the fabulous. Herodotus says, that one Pythius not only entertained Xerxes and his army, while he was marching with his great army to invade Greece, but made him a proffer of two thousand talents of silver, about 700,000*l.* sterling, and 3,993,000 pieces of gold, bearing the stamp of Darius, to defray the charges of that war. The same Pythius, he says, had presented Darius, father of Xerxes, a plane-tree and a vine, or imitations thereof, of massive gold; and he was reckoned, next to the kings of Persia, one of the richest men in the world.

CHAPTER IV.

THE HISTORY OF THE KINGDOM OF LYDIA.

THE early history of Lydia is related by Herodotus, who informs us that three dynasties ruled in that country—the Atyads, or descendants from Atya, from the earliest times to *a. c.* 1533; the Heraclidas, or descendants of Hercules, from *a. c.* 1223 to 718; and Mermanidas, from *a. c.* 718 to 548, at which date the country was con-

quered by Cyrus. The proper history of Lydia can only be said to begin with the last of these dynasties, since the first two are almost entirely fabulous.

The first monarch in the dynasty of the Mermonades was

GYGES.

Herodotus relates a tale concerning the rise of Gyges to the throne of Lydia, which is too romantic to be here related. Divesting his account, however, of all fable, it may be stated, that he appears to have waded to it through blood. With the knowledge of the wife of Candaulus, the last of the race of the Heraclids, he killed that monarch, and grasped his sceptre. In this particular, Plato's story of Gyges is confirmatory of that of Herodotus.

The murder of Candaulus raised a sedition among the Lydians. The two parties, however, instead of coming to blows, agreed to refer the matter to the decision of the Delphic oracle, which declared in favour of Gyges.

As soon as he was established in his authority, Gyges sent various presents to Delphi, a considerable quantity of which were of silver. Among other offerings of value, Herodotus mentions six golden goblets, weighing thirty talents, the value of which was about 48,000*l.* sterling.

As soon as he was in peaceable possession of the throne, Gyges carried his arms against Miletus, Smyrna, and Colophon, three powerful cities belonging to the neighbouring states, the latter of which he appears to have conquered. These are all the actions recorded of Gyges. He died after a reign of thirty-eight years, or *B.C.* 680, and was succeeded in his kingdom by his son Ardyes.

ARDYES.

Herodotus says, this prince vanquished the Prieniens, and attacked Miletus. During his reign, the same historian tells us, that the Cimmerians being expelled their country by the Nomades of Scythia, passed over into Asia, and possessed themselves of all Sardis, except the citadel. Ardyes reigned forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son

SADYATTES.

who declared war, immediately after, against the Milesians, and laid siege to their city. In ancient times, sieges, which were little more than blockades, were carried on very slowly, and sometimes lasted many years. Sadyattes died before he had finished that of Miletus. His death occurred *B.C.* 619, after a reign of twelve years, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by

ALYATTES.

his son, who reigned fifty-seven years.

Alyattes, as before recorded, made war against Cyaxares, king of Media. He likewise drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, and attacked and took the cities of Smyrna, and invaded Claromannus, in his designs upon which he was greatly disappointed.

Herodotus relates, that Alyattes resumed the war against the Milesians, which his father had

commenced, and which he conducted in this manner: "When the time of harvest approached, he marched an army into the country to the sound of the pastoral pipe, harp, and flutes masculine and feminine," (or, perhaps, to the Lydian and Phrygian flutes, the sound of one of which was grave, the other acute.) "On his arrival in their territories, he neither pulled down nor burned, nor in any respect injured their edifices which stood in the fields; but he totally destroyed their trees, and the produce of their lands, and then returned. As the Milesians were masters of the sea, the siege of their city would probably have proved ineffectual. His motive for not destroying their buildings was, that they might be induced again to cultivate their lands, and that on every repetition of his incursions he might be secure of plunder. In this manner the war was protracted during a period of eleven years, in which time the Milesians received two remarkable defeats; one in a pitched battle at Limeneum, within their own territories; another on the plains of Meander."

This war was ended at length in the following manner. Alyattes, upon an answer he had received from the Delphic oracle, had sent an ambassador into the city, to propose a truce for some months. Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, having notice of his approach, ordered all the corn and other provisions, collected by him and his subjects for their support, to be brought into the public market; and commanded the citizens, at the sight of a signal which was agreed upon, to enjoy a general feast, and to exhibit convivial mirth.* The deed was executed according to his orders. The Lydian ambassador, at his arrival, was surprised to see such an abundance in the market, and such joy in the city; and Alyattes, to whom he gave an account of what he had seen, concluding that his project of reducing the place by famine would never succeed, immediately raised the siege.

Alyattes had two sons, Croesus and Pantaleon. The former, who was the younger, and the offspring of his second wife, who was a Carian, succeeded him on his throne, *B.C.* 562.

It may be mentioned, that near the Lake Gyges, which is a few miles north of Sardis, now Sart, the immense mound of earth, which his subjects raised to his memory, is still to be seen. Herodotus, who first makes mention of it, says, that the circuit round the base was 3,600 Greek feet, and the width 2,600 feet. The lower part of it was composed of stone, which is now covered by the earth that has fallen down; but the mound still retains its conical form, and rises up like a natural hill. Its dimensions are much larger than those of any similar monuments in Great Britain. The circuit of Silbury hill, which forms so striking an object on the road between Marlborough and Calne, is inconsiderable, when compared with this mound. Dr. Chandler conceives, that a considerable treasure

* Beloe, in his translation of Herodotus, says, "A similar artifice is recorded of one of the Roman generals, who, though reduced to the extremest want, ordered all the bread remaining, after a long siege, to be thrown over the walls amongst the enemy. The besiegers, fatigued and exhausted, imagined that their opponents were prepared to hold out much longer, and hastily retired."

might be discovered if the barrows were opened. Other mounds, of various sizes, are found near this, which are conceived to have been raised in memory of the ancient kings of Lydia.

CROESUS.

This prince, whose name imports riches, and which is become a proverb, is celebrated in history for the immense wealth which he possessed. Some idea may be formed how great it was, from what Herodotus tells us of his magnificent offering to the temple of Delphi. He collected, says he, a great number of couches, decorated with gold and silver, many goblets of gold, and vases of purple. All these he consumed together upon one immense pile, thinking by these means to render the deity more auspicious to his hopes; and as, at the conclusion of this ceremony, a considerable quantity of gold had run together, he formed of it a number of tiles. The larger of these were eighteen inches long, the smaller nine; but none of them were less than three inches in thickness, and they were 117 in number: four were of the purest gold, weighing each one talent and a half; the rest were of inferior quality, but of the weight of two talents. He constructed also a lion of pure gold, which weighed ten talents.* It was originally placed in the Delphian temple, on the above gold tiles; but when this edifice was burned, it fell from its place, and now stands (about a.c. 450) in the Corinthian treasury; it lost, however, by the fire, three talents and a half of its former weight.

Croesus, moreover, sent to Delphi two large cisterns, one of gold, and one of silver, that of gold was placed on the right hand, in the vestibule of the temple; that of silver was placed on the left. These also were removed when the temple was consumed by fire. The golden goblet weighed nearly nine talents, and the silver was of similar dimensions. The Corinthian treasury also possessed four silver casks, which were presented by Croesus to Delphi. He presented, also, two basins, one of gold, another of silver; and many other minor presents, among which were some silver dishes, and the figure of a woman in gold, three cubits high, who, according to the Delphians, was the person who made bread for the family of Croesus.†

Many other offerings are said to have been made by Croesus to the temples of Thebes, Ephesus, Miletus, etc., all tending to show how vast his riches were. The sources of his wealth, according to Strabo, were certain mines, situated between Pergamus and Atarus, as also from the river Pactolus, whose sands, as they rolled onward, were mingled with gold. But Solomon has well observed,

* These tiles, the lion, and the statue of the bread-maker of Croesus, were, at a subsequent period, seized by the Phœacians, to defray the expenses of the holy war.

† Plutarch says, that Croesus honoured this person from a honest emotion of gratitude. Altiades, the father of Croesus, married a second wife, by whom he had other children. His first wife wished to remove Croesus out of the way, and gave the female baker a dose of poison, charging her to put it into the bread which she made for Croesus. The woman informed him of this, and gave the poisoned bread to the queen's children, by which means he succeeded his father; and thus acknowledged the fidelity of the woman.

"Riches certainly make themselves wings;
They fly away as an eagle toward heaven."

Prov. xxiii. 4.

So Croesus found. In one day he was stripped of all his treasures. His history, indeed, strikingly exemplifies another truth which issued from the golden mouth of the wise man.

"For riches are not for ever:

And doth the crown endure to every generation!"

Prov. xxviii. 24.

How vain, then, is the pursuit of the riches of this world; and how happy is it for those who can adopt the language of the poet, and say, in Christian sincerity,—

"I am not concern'd to know
What, to mortals, fate will do
'Tis enough that I can say,
I've possess'd myself to day
Then, it haply midnight death
Seize my flesh, and stop my breath,
Yet to-morrow I shall be
Heir to the best part of me.

"Glittering stoves, and golden things,
Wealth and honours, that have wings,
I could never call my own
Riches that the world bestows,
She can take, and I can lose;
But the treasures that are mine
Lie all beyond her line.
When I view my spacious soul,
And survey myself a while,
And enjoy myself alone,
I'm a kingdom of my own."—WATTS.

Croesus was thirty-five years old when he began to reign. He shared the throne at first with his elder brother, till a Lydian related the following apologue: "The sun procures mankind all the fruits of the earth, and without his heat it would produce nothing; but if there were two suns, there would be reason to fear that every thing would be burned and destroyed." After this, he deposed his brother, and put to death his principal adherent, which was probably the murderer of Pantaleon, who had sought his life.

During the first nine years of his reign, Croesus seems to have progressively subdued almost all the nations which were situated on this side the river Halys. Among these, Herodotus enumerates the Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thracians, Thyrrians, Bithynians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Æolians, and Pamphylians. The Cilicians and the Lycians escaped his yoke.

The first act of hostilities in which Croesus was engaged, was with the Ephesians, whose capital he besieged. While engaged beneath its walls, the inhabitants of Ephesus committed an act which shows the debasing nature of ancient idolatry. They made a solemn dedication of their city to Minerva, connecting their walls with a rope to the temple of their goddess! The object of the ancients, by thus consecrating their towns, was to detain their deities by force, and prevent their departure. It was believed, that when a city was on the point of being taken, the deities abandoned it. This belief seems to have been very general. Thus Æschylus makes Eteocles say,

"The gods, they say, prepare
To quit their seats, and leave a vanquish'd town."

The poet Virgil, also, makes *Æneas* leave the city of Troy, and settle his household gods in another country :

"He said, and brought me, from their blest abodes,
The venerable statues of the gods,
With ancient Vesta, from the sacred choir,
The wreaths and relics of the immortal fire."

Happy are our eyes, that they are not left in such darkness as this! Thrice happy are we, inasmuch as we know that our God is not confined to temples made with hands—that, as Milton expresses it,

"..... his omnipresence fills
Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
Fomented by his virtual power, and warmed."

and that he is ever present to those that seek him in sincerity and truth, to deliver them out of all their troubles.

About the tenth year of his reign, B.C. 552, and in the height of his grandeur and prosperity, *Croesus* was visited by several sages. Among the rest, *Solon*, the celebrated Athenian legislator, presented himself at his court. He was received on his arrival with hospitality, and entertained in the palace. In a few days, the king directed his servants to attend *Solon* to the different repositories of his wealth, and to show him their contents. When he had examined them all, *Croesus* thus addressed him: "My Athenian guest, the voice of fame speaks loudly of your wisdom. I have heard much of your travels, that you have been led by a philosophic spirit to visit a considerable portion of the globe. I am hence induced to inquire of you, what man, of all whom you have beheld, seemed to you most happy?"

This inquiry of *Croesus* was prompted by vanity. He expected that *Solon*, having observed his wealth, and seeing so much grandeur around him, would have pronounced him to have been the happiest man. But *Solon*, though a heathen, knew the human heart better than this, and, scorning flattery, he replied: "I think that *Tellus*, the Athenian, best deserved the appellation of happy."

Croesus was astonished, and asked on what the claims of *Tellus* to this distinction were founded?

"Because," the sage replied, "under the protection of a most excellent form of government, *Tellus* had many virtuous and amiable children; he saw their offspring, and they all survived him; at the close of a prosperous life, we celebrated his funeral with every circumstance of honour. In a contest with some of their neighbours at Eleusis, he flew to the assistance of his countrymen; he contributed to the defeat of the enemy, and met death in the field of glory. The Athenians publicly buried him in the place where he fell; and his funeral pomp was magnificently attended."

At this point, *Croesus* interrupted the sage, and desired to know, whom next to *Tellus* he esteemed most happy, expecting that the answer would now be favourable to himself.

Solon replied thus: "Cleobis and Biton. They were Argives by birth, fortunate in their circumstances, and so remarkable for their bodily

prowess, that they had both of them been crowned as conquerors in their public games. It is further related of them, that on a certain festival of *Juno*, their mother was to have been carried to the temple in a chariot drawn by oxen. The beasts were not ready* for the purpose, but the young men instantly took the yokes upon themselves, and drew their mother in the carriage to the temple, through a space of forty-five furlongs. Having performed this in the presence of innumerable spectators, they died, and thus their lives in a manner may be accounted singularly happy. In this event, the deity made it appear that death is a greater blessing to mankind than life. The surrounding multitude proclaimed their praise; the men commended their prowess; the women envied their mother, who was delighted with the deed itself and the glory which attended it. Standing before the shrine, she implored the divinity, in whose honour her sons' exertions had been made, to grant them the greatest blessing man could receive. After her prayers, and when the succeeding sacrifice and festival were ended, the young men retired to rest within the temple; but they rose no more. The Argives have preserved at Delphi the figures of *Cleobis* and *Biton*, as of men deserving superior distinction."

Croesus was mortified at this reply, and impatiently demanded whether he might not be reckoned among the number of the happy?

"*Croesus*," the sage replied, "you inquire of me my sentiments of human nature; of me who consider the divine beings, as viewing men with invidious and malignant aspects." (Pause for a moment, Christian reader, and contrast this response of the ancient sage with what is taught in the Bible: there we learn that "God is love.") *Solon* proceeded: "In the space of a protracted life, how many things occur, which we see with reluctance, and support with anguish. I will suppose the term of human life to extend to seventy years; which period, if we except the intercalary months, will amount to 25,200 days; or, if we add this month to each alternate year, we shall then have thirty-five additional months, or 1,250 days. The whole seventy years will, therefore, consist of 26,450 days; yet of this number, every day will be productive of some new incident. Thus, *Croesus*, our nature appears a continued series of calamity. I see you as the sovereign of many nations, and possessed of extraordinary affluence and power. But I shall not be able to give you a satisfactory answer to the question you propose, till I know that your scene of life shall have closed with tranquillity. The man of affluence is not more happy than the man of poverty, unless, in addition to his wealth, his end of life be fortunate. We often discern misery in the midst of splendid plenty, whilst real happiness is found in humbler stations. The rich man who knows not happiness, surpasses but in two things the humble but more fortunate character with whom we may compare him. Yet there are a variety of incidents in

* Servius, in his commentaries on the works of Virgil, says, that the want of oxen on this occasion was on account of a pestilential malady, which had destroyed all the cattle belonging to Argos.

which the latter exceeds the former. The rich man can gratify his passions, and has little to apprehend from accidental injuries. The poor man's condition exempts him entirely from these sources of affliction. He, moreover, possesses strength and health, is a stranger to misfortune, is blessed with children, and is amiable in himself. If, at the end of such a life, his death be fortunate, this, O Croesus, is the truly happy man, the object of your inquiry. "All no man happy till you know the nature of his death;" he is at best but fortunate. All these requisites for happiness it is in no man's power to obtain; for no one region can supply them: it affords, perhaps, the enjoyment of some, but it is remarkable for the absence of others. That which yields the more numerous sources of gratification, is so far the best; such, also, is the imperfection of man, excellent in some respects, weak and defective in others. He who possesses the most advantages, and afterwards leaves the world with composure, he alone, O Croesus, is entitled to our admiration. It is the part of wisdom to look to the event of things; for the deity often overwhelms with misery those who have formerly been placed at the summit of felicity."

Croesus was mortified at this speech, and afterwards dismissed the philosopher with indifference.

Many of the sentiments which the sage uttered are worthy to be treasured up in our memories; but fall very far short, indeed, of the lessons taught in the Divine system of Christian philosophy. By this we are taught that,

"He is the happy man, whose life e'en now
Shows somewhat of that happier life to come,
Who, doom'd to an obscure, but tranquil state,
Is pleas'd with it and, were he free to choose,
Would make his fate his choice, whom peace, the fruit
Of virtue, and whom virtue, fruit of faith,
Prepare for happiness; bespeak him one,
Content indeed to sojourn while he must,
Below the skies, but having reach'd his home."

COWPER

At this period, the celebrated Æsop was also at the court of Croesus, where he was much respected. He was grieved at the discharge of Solon; and, conversing with him as a friend, "You see, Solon," said he, "that we must not come nigh kings, or we must entertain them with things agreeable to them." "That is not the point," rejoined Solon; "you should either say nothing to them, or tell them what is useful;" on which Æsop remarks: "I confess, that this caution of Æsop argues a man well acquainted with the

* This idea seems to have been a favourite one with ancient heathen writers. Thus Sophocles, in his *Œdipus Tyrannus*, says:

"Let mortals hence be taught to look beyond
The present time, nor dare to say, a man
Is happy till the last decisive hour
Shall close his life without the taste of woe."

In the *Andromache* of Euripides, the idea is also met with:

"We never ought to call
Fool mortals happy, at their latest hour,
Till we behold them to the shades descend."

court and great men; but Solon's answer is the true lesson of divines, who direct the consciences of princes."

After Solon's departure, Croesus, about the eleventh year of his reign, was, according to Herodotus, visited by a judgment from God, in the untimely death of his second and favourite son Atys. The historian concludes, that he was visited with this judgment because he thought himself of all men the most happy.

The after-life of Croesus was, indeed, disastrous, and ended in his own captivity. Having spent two years in mourning for the loss of his son, his grief was at length suspended by the increasing greatness of the Persian empire, as well as by that of Cyrus, son of Cambyses, who had succeeded to the rule of the Persian dominions. To restrain the power of Persia, therefore, before it became too great, was the object of his solicitude. Before he entered, however, upon his expedition, he determined to make trial of the most celebrated oracles of antiquity: at Delphi, Phocis, Dodona, and those of Amphiaraus, Prophonus, the Milesian Branchides, in Greece; and of Ammon in Libya; in order to form a judgment of the best, before he consulted them as to the fitness, or unfitness, of an expedition against the Persians.

* The trial was as follows. He sent different messengers from Sardis, to these different oracles, to inquire what Croesus, the son of Alyattes, was doing on the day they were actually consulted; which he appointed to be the hundredth day after their departure. On this day he cut into pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together himself, in a brazen pan with a brazen cover, an employment equally unaccountable and difficult to divine.

The responses of the other oracles are not recorded; but Apollo's, of Delphi, were very apposite. The Pythian priestess replied in heroic verse:

"I know the number of the Lybian sand,
The ocean's measure, I can penetrate
The secret of the silent, or the dumb,
I smell the ascending odour of a lamb,
And taste, in a brazen caldron boiled;
Brass lies beneath, and brass above the flesh."

LITTLETON

A similar answer was given by the oracle of the hero Amphiaraus, and Croesus approving of them as the most sagacious, sent them abundance of the richest and most magnificent offerings, some of which are mentioned on page 67.

The various oracles mentioned by Herodotus in the course of his history, and their numerous responses, form the most curious and valuable portion of it, in a religious light. Many of them were doubtless ambiguous and delusive, originating in the frauds and impostures of the priests. Such was that which induced Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to invade Italy, which was given thus: "Either you may conquer the Romans, or the Romans may conquer you." On the other hand, several of the responses were so determinate, explicit, and wonderfully fulfilled, that, if the facts be well ascertained, they cannot be ascribed solely to priestcraft. Such was the response concerning the dumb son of Croesus:

"that in an evil day, he first should speak." This exactly came to pass. In the experimental test of the boiled lamb and tortoise in a brazen vessel, the failure of other oracles to answer seems to affirm the account of the two that succeeded. The oracle of Apollo at Delphi, in the territory of Phocia, and of Amphiaras, in that of Boetia, could not possibly have had any intercourse on the same day and hour. Lucian, indeed, ridicules the tricks played to make trial of Apollo's sagacity; but ridicule is no argument, and the oblations of Cræsus seem to leave no room for doubting either the fact or the secrecy of Cræsus; who, in so important a case, would not be likely to entrust his scheme of trial to any one, before the day the experiment was to be made. Pullen and Dr. Hales, therefore, consider that there was some supernatural agency in such cases.

Rollin ascribes the responses to demons; God, says he, permitting them sometimes to tell truth, in order to punish the blindness of their votaries. From their supposed knowledge of futurity, indeed, the demons chiefly derived their name *Daimones*, from *Dau*.

Dr. Hales says, the Pythian Apollo seems to have been the old serpent himself, Acts xvi. 16; deceiving the whole heathen world by his lying oracles, especially before the coming of Christ. He was called Baalzebub at Ekron, in Palestine, where he delivered oracles, as may be seen from 2 Kings i. 1-4; and he was called in our Lord's time, "Beelzebub;" or, "the Prince of Demons," Matt. ix. 34. It is remarkable that our Lord did not undeceive the Jews, nor correct their error, if it were such; rather he assumed the fact, and refuted their malignity upon their own principles.

The established credit of oracles among the heathen, could only have been formed on experimental knowledge of their veracity in particular cases. This argument is urged by Cicero, in favour of the Pythian Oracle; and the Libyan oracle of Ammon derived its name from *Amoun*, "Truth."

The total cessation of oracles about the birth of Christ (a fact confessed by their greatest advocates, Cicero, Plutarch, etc.) forms the opinion that all the preceding responses could not have been the result of mere priesthood, or human imposture. Why these lying oracles, however, which generally sheltered themselves under ambiguities and obscurities of expression, should sometimes tell remarkable truths, as in the case of the Scripture demoniacs, who confessed the Divinity of Christ, of the damsel at Philippi, of the responses to Cræsus, etc., may be ascribed to the control of Almighty God, on particular occasions of consequence, compelling them to utter truth. The prophecies of Isaiah show that bad men were sometimes commissioned to deliver true prophecies, as we learn from his words to Balak: "Behold, I have received commandment to bless; and he hath blessed; and I cannot reverse it." Num. xxiii. 20.

After Cræsus had presented his offerings to the oracles of Delphi, and the hero Amphiaras, he consulted them again, whether he should invade the Persians; and whether he should procure an army of auxiliaries? Both agreed in

the purport of their answer, that "if he invaded the Persians, he should destroy a great empire;" and they advised him to make friends of the most powerful of the Greeks. The reply of the Delphic oracle was as follows:

"By crossing the Helix, Cræsus will destroy a great empire."

This reply was at best but ambiguous, and Cræsus does not appear to have been satisfied with it; and therefore, after making the inhabitants of Delphi a present of two staters of gold each,* he consulted the oracle again, "whether his monarchy could last long." The Pythian gave this response:

"When o'er the Medes, a mule shall reign as king,
Learn thou the name of coward to despise;
Then on thy soft feet, Lydian, thou must fly,
The pebbly Hermus, and no longer stay."

LITTLEBURY.

Although this oracle was as ambiguous as the former, Cræsus now prepared for war. He seems, indeed, to have been satisfied that this was a definite declaration in his favour. He was confident, says Herodotus, that a mule would never be sovereign of the Medes, and that consequently he could have nothing to fear for himself or his posterity.

In prosecuting the war, the first object of Cræsus was to enter into an alliance with the Athenians, who at that time had Pisistratus at their head; and with the Lacedæmonians; who were the two most powerful states of Greece.

Thus, deluded by these ambiguous and fallacious oracles, Cræsus prepared to lead his forces into Cappadocia, in full expectation of conquering Cyrus, and of becoming master of Persia.

While he was employed in preparing for this expedition, a certain Lydian, says Herodotus, held in high repute among his countrymen for wisdom and prudence, thus addressed Cræsus: "You meditate, O prince, an attack upon men who are clothed with the skins of animals; who, inhabiting a country but little cultivated, live on what they can procure, not on what they wish; strangers to the taste of wine, they drink water only; even figs are a delicacy with which they are unacquainted, and all our luxuries are entirely unknown to them. If you conquer them, what can you take from such as have nothing? but, if you shall be defeated, it becomes you to think, of what you, on your part, will be deprived. When they shall once have tasted our delicacies, we shall never be able to get rid of them. So far, therefore, from beginning a war with them, we ought to be thankful to the gods for not inspiring the Persians with the wish of invading Lydia."

* The gold Attic stater was equal to twenty drachms, or fifteen shillings and five pence.

† Larcher observes that Xenophon, as well as Herodotus, inform us that the Persians drank only water; nevertheless, the former, in another place, says, that the Persians were addicted to wine. In this, however, there is no contradiction: when these Persians were poor, a little satisfied them; rendered rich by the conquests of Cyrus and his successors, luxury and all its concomitant vices were introduced amongst them.

Croesus heard this admonition, but regarded it not. He now assembled his forces, crossed the river Halys, which formed the boundary of the Lydian and Median dominions, invaded Cappadocia, in Syria, ravaged the country, and took Phœria, the capital city, not far from Sinope. Near this place he was met by Cyrus, and a sanguinary battle took place; but without any decided advantage on either side. Croesus, however, finding that his army was inferior in number, and that Cyrus, nevertheless, did not seem disposed to renew the engagement the next day, retreated without molestation to Sardis, determined to apply for assistance to his confederates, Amasis, king of Egypt, the Lacedæmonians, and Labyrinthus, or Nabonadus, king of Babylon, with whom he entered into an offensive and defensive alliance. The date of this battle is fixed by Dr. Hales at A.C. 548.

About this time, the king of Babylon joined Croesus, and brought with him a considerable treasure, for the purpose of hiring mercenaries. They raised a great army from Asia Minor, Ionia, Thrace, and Egypt, and assembled at the river Pactolus, waiting for the Lacedæmonians.

Intelligence of these events reached Cyrus, and with his usual promptness and expedition, he marched forward to meet them. The hostile forces met at Thybarræ, or on the plains of Thymbra, near Sardis, the capital of Lydia. Croesus, availing himself of his immense superiority, extended his wings, consisting of cavalry and light troops, to outflank the Persians, while the Egyptians and the other heavy armed soldiers attacked them in front. But when the Lydian cavalry came to the charge, their horses took fright at the camels* on which the Persian archers were mounted, and fell into disorder. Cyrus seized the decisive moment to charge in turn, and after a faint resistance, the cavalry of Lydia were seen flying in disorder over the plain.

The charge of the Persian war-chariots completed the rout of the Lydian wings, and Cyrus, believing the victory won, hastened forward in pursuit of the fugitives; but this movement had nearly changed the fate of the day: the Persian war-chariots failed to make any impression on the close ranks and large shields of the Egyptians; they were driven back, indeed, with great slaughter, and the Egyptians, advancing in their turn, compelled the central division of the Persians to give way. Cyrus returned from the pursuit, just in time to save his centre from destruction. He at once attacked the Egyptians in the rear, but these brave men faced about, and maintained the unequal combat with great valour. They were at length induced, however, to surrender on honourable conditions, and they entered into the service of Cyrus, with the stipulation that they should not be compelled to turn their arms against Croesus.

The Lydians, with their monarch, retreated to their capital city, Sardis. The next morning, Cyrus also marched thither, bringing with him his machines and scaling ladders, in appearance

as if he intended to assault the city in form. The strength of Sardis afforded Croesus ground for hope, that if a siege could be protracted until winter, the Persians might be compelled to quit the field, and thus time might be gained for summoning his allies to his aid. But his hopes were fallacious. The next night, according to Xenophon, Cyrus sent a chosen band of Persians and Chaldeans, to climb the steepest and most rugged part of the ascent, under the conduct of a Persian guide, who knew a by-path leading from the citadel to the river. As soon as they showed themselves in possession of the heights, the Lydians fled from the walls, and Cyrus entered the city, took Croesus prisoner, and humanely protected the city from pillage, upon the surrender of their wealth and treasures.*

Herodotus records, that during the storming of the city, a Persian meeting Croesus, was, through ignorance of his person, about to kill him. The king, overwhelmed by his calamity, took no care to avoid the blow; but a son of Croesus, who was dumb, overcome with astonishment and terror, exclaimed aloud, "Oh, man, do not kill Croesus!" This was the first time, he adds, he had ever articulated, but he retained the faculty of speech from this event as long as he lived.

This event also is, by Herodotus, made to fulfil the prediction of an oracle, which Croesus had consulted. Whether his son should ever come to the use of his tongue, and which has been thus translated:

"Oh, too imprudent Lydian, wish no more
The charming sound of a son's voice to hear;
Better far than could things rest as they are;
For in an evil day he first shall speak."

LITTLEBURY.

The story, as handed down to us by the historian, has been happily turned to account by one of our poets, in the rebuke of infidelity. Hayley, in his "Essay on History," thus reproaches the irreligious spirit in which Gibbon has penned his history:

"My verse
Breathes forth an honest sigh of deep concern,
And pities genius, when his wild career
Takes faith a wound, and innocence a fear
Humility herself, divinely mild,
Noble religion's meek and modest child,
Like the dumb son of Croesus, in the strife
Where force assailed his father's sacred life,
Breaks silence, and with filial duty warm,
Bids thee reverse her parent's hallowed form."

According to Herodotus, the conqueror ordered Croesus to be bound in fetters, with fourteen young Lydians, and to be burnt alive, on a great pile of wood; from which death he was rescued, by thrice invoking the name of Solon in his distress, which occasioned Cyrus to relent; and by a miraculous shower of rain, which

* The natural antipathy of the horse to the camel is affirmed by the ancients, but it is disproved by experience, and by the testimony of orientals. It may be observed, however, that the horses of Croesus had never before seen that animal.

* Herodotus says, that the city was taken by the means of a Median, who had, on the preceding day, observed a Lydian descend to recover his helmet, which had fallen down the precipice. So much of the marvellous, however, surrounds his history in this section, that it is difficult to follow him. The account, moreover, which Xenophon gives, seems perfectly consistent with truth. These remarks are made, because historians generally have followed Herodotus in this matter, apparently without any effort to distinguish between fiction and facts.

extinguished the flames, when all human efforts had proved vain. But all this must be looked upon as fabulous.* Cyrus was a merciful prince, and he does not appear to have acted contrary to this character on this occasion. How kindly disposed he was, indeed, toward the captive, with whom he was connected by affinity, appears from Herodotus himself. He relates, that before the battle, Cyrus issued orders to put to death all who should resist, "Cressus himself excepted," who, whatever opposition he might make, was to be taken alive. Immediately after he says, that Cyrus promised to grant all his wishes; that he treated him with the utmost kindness and familiarity; consulted him, and kept him constantly about his person; and that before his own death, he recommended Cressus to the protection of Cambyses, who succeeded him in his empire.

Xenophon relates an interesting conversation between the conqueror and the captive, immediately after he was taken, which seems to exhibit the true nature of the treatment which Cressus received at the hands of Cyrus. Alluding to the sage response of the oracle he had consulted, about two years after the death of his favourite son Atys, which reads thus:

"Know thyself, Cressus, and thou shalt happily pass through life."

Cressus exclaimed, "For my ignorance, then, of myself, and of you, am I now justly punished. Now, indeed, at length, I know myself! But do you think Apollo told truth? that I shall be happy in knowing myself? I ask you this question, because you seem to me best qualified to form a judgment on this subject in the present posture of affairs, for you are able to effect it."

Cyrus answered, "Give me rather your advice on this subject, Cressus, for when I consider your former happiness, I really pity you,

* The historian may have related this from his knowledge of the ancient usages, for that such sacrifices were made, we gather from the poets: thus Achilles, in the *Iliad*, sacrifices twelve Trojan youths at the funeral pile of Patroclus.

"Then last of all, and horrible to tell,
Sad sacrifices, twelve Trojan captives fell."

Again—

"And twelve sad victims of the Trojan line,
Hunted to vengeance, instant shall expire,
Their lives thus round thy funeral pyre."

and I now restore to you your wife and your daughters, for I hear you have some; and your friends, and your attendants, and your table to be kept as usually; but I prohibit you from wars and battles."

"In truth," rejoined Cressus, "you need not desire to give any farther answer about promoting my happiness, for if you only do what you say, I tell you that I shall continue to enjoy in future what others counted the happiest life, and in which I concur with them."

"Who, then," said Cyrus, "holds this the happiest life?"

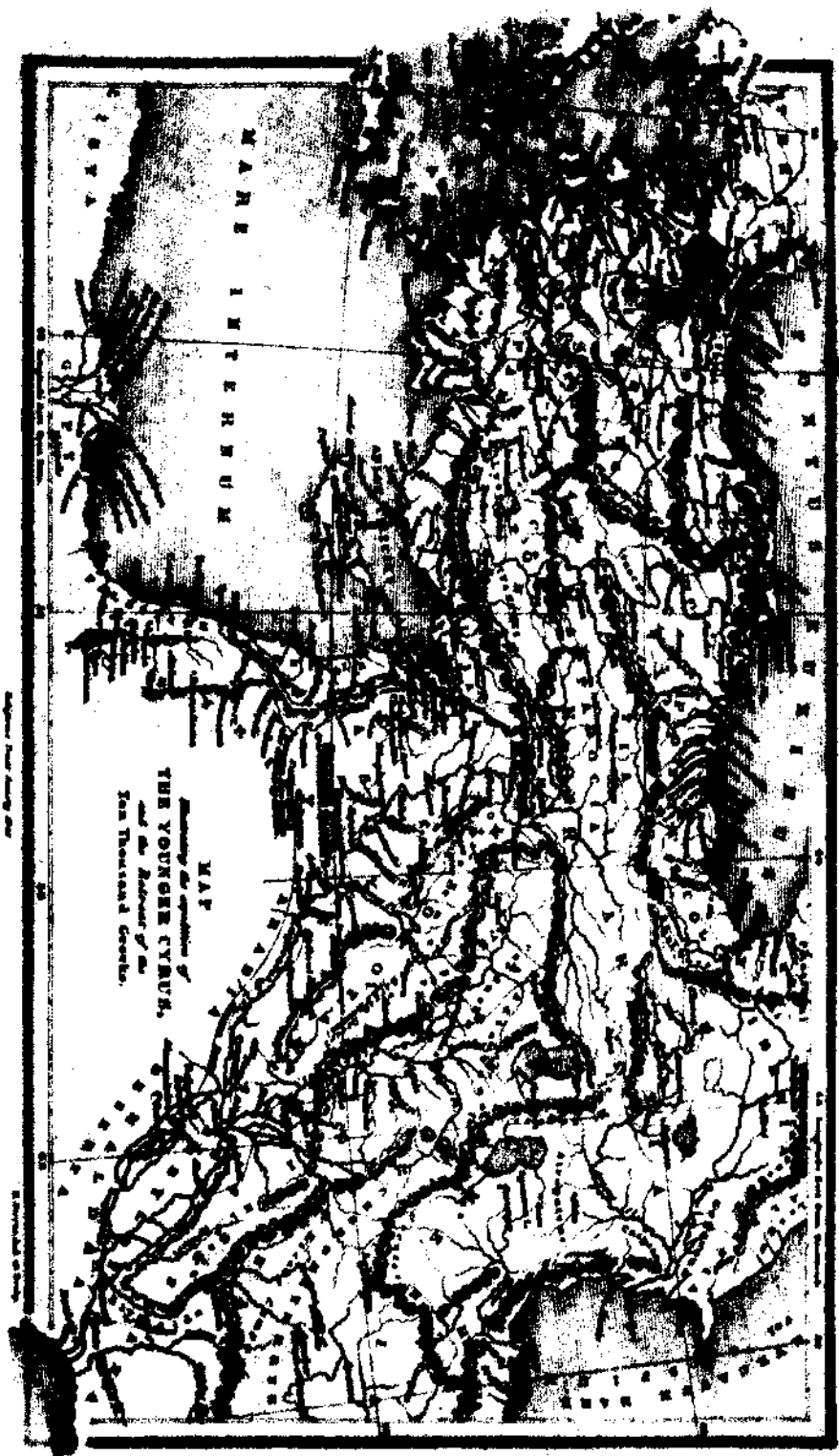
"My wife," said he, "Cyrus; for she shared alike with me all my goods, luxuries, and delights, while she was freed from the cares of procuring them and from war and battle. Thus, you are now disposed to treat me, as I treated her whom I loved best in the world. So that I consider myself as owing Apollo some further offerings, expressive of my gratitude."

When Cyrus heard this, he was surprised at his equanimity, and for the future took him along with himself wherever he went; either thinking that Cressus might be of some use to him, or judging this the safer procedure.

Thus ended the career of Cressus. It reads to us a lesson of the vanity of riches, and the mutability of the grandeur of this world. In one hour, his immense wealth passed into the hands of another, and his grandeur was rudely plucked from his brow. Seek not, therefore, reader, after these bubbles, for if they should fall into thy possession, thy will burst, if not before, at the touch of death. Rather let thy thoughts be carried backward in reflection upon thy past life, and forward to a better and a more enduring world than this in which we live, the fashion of which passeth away, and that swiftly:

"Tis greatly wise to talk with our past hours,
And ask them what regret they bore to heaven,
And how they might have borne more welcome news
Their answers form what men experience call
If Wisdom's friend, her best if not worst foe
Oh, reconcile them, kind experience cries
There's nothing here, but what as nothing weighs,
The more our joy, the more we know it vain;
And by success are tutor'd to despair.
Not us it only thus, but must be so
Who know, then, from earth the grasp of fond desire,
Weigh anchor, and some happier clime explore."

YOUNG



MAP
Showing the distribution of
THE YOUNGER CYNURE,
and the Habitat of the
Ten Thousand Geese.

Scale of Miles

Scale of Feet

ANCIENT HISTORY.

HISTORY

THE PERSIANS.

FROM

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN

WITH TWO MAPS.

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THE HISTORY

THE PERSIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.

PERSIA, called in the Old Testament Paras, and by Arabic and Persian writers, Fars, or Farsistan, is used in two significations: first, it is applied to the country originally inhabited by the Persians; and, secondly, to the various Asiatic countries included in the Persian empire founded by Cyrus, which empire extended from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and from the Black and Caspian Seas to the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

Herodotus says, that the Persians were once called Cephenees by the Greeks, but by themselves and their neighbours Artrei, or heroes; which is a proof of that national vanity in which people of different countries are prone to indulge. The latter word, probably, contains the same root as Arii, the original name of the Medes, and Arya, by which the followers of the Brahminic religion are designated in Sanscrit. The same root occurs in Aria and Ariana, from the latter of which the modern Persian name Iran, seems to be derived.

Commentators on the Sacred Scriptures are generally agreed that Elam is the Scripture name of Persia till the days of the prophet Daniel. Modern historians also write to this effect. Ancient historians and geographers, however, distinguish Elam or Elymas from Persia, and Media, and even Susiana; and it is difficult to reconcile this with their opinion who hold that Elam and Persia are the same, and that wherever we meet, in Scripture, with the name Elam, it signifies Persia. Besides, from Xenophon's account, before the time of Cyrus, Persia was comparatively an insignificant and thinly populated region, containing only 120,000 men fit for war, which would not make the population more than half a million of persons. The Scripture account of Elam represents it as a powerful monarchy in ages before the empires of Nineveh and Babylon had begun to rise. How

can these accounts be reconciled? The invasion and conquest of Elam is noticed Jer. xxv. 25, 26; xlix. 34-39, the latter of which prophecies is very remarkable, and reads thus:—

"The word of the Lord that came to Jeremiah the prophet against Elam in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts;

"Behold, I will break the bow of Elam,
The chief of their might
And upon Elam will I bring the four winds
From the four quarters of heaven,
And will scatter them toward all those winds;
And there shall be no nation
Whither the outcasts of Elam shall not come,
For I will cause Elam to be dismayed before their
enemies,
And I will bring them that seek their life.
And I will bring evil upon them,
Even my fiercest anger saith the Lord,
And I will send the sword after them,
Till I have consumed them;
And I will set my throne in Elam,
And will destroy from thence
The king and the prince, saith the Lord.
But it shall come to pass in the latter days,
That I will bring again the captivity of Elam, saith
the Lord."

"Here," says a modern writer,* "the dispersion of the Elamites is foretold, and their eventual restoration. But who are these outcasts, and when is their restoration to be dated?" It is a question too difficult for solution, but it is certain that it does not refer to the Persians. This will be manifest upon a review of its confirmation by the prophet Ezekiel. That prophet, enumerating the various nations conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, as, the Egyptians with Pharaoh-Hophra, or Apries, Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude, Edom with her kings and princes, the princes of the north and the Sidonians, says of Elam:—

"There is Elam, and all her multitude round about her
grave,
All of them slain, fallen by the sword,

* See the "CAPTIVITY OF THE JEWS," published by the Religious Tract Society.

Which are gone down uncremated into the nether parts of the earth,
Which caused their terror in the land of the living;
Yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit.
They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain
With all her multitude: her graves are round about him:
All of them uncremated, slain by the sword:
Though their terror was caused in the land of the living,
Yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit:
He is put in the midst of them that be slain."

Ezek. xxxii. 24, 25.

Now, the former of these nations was conquered by the united forces of Nebuchadnezzar and Cyaxares. Elam, therefore, was either a province of the Assyrian empire, and, therefore, also became the prey of the conquerors, or it was an independent kingdom, which fell before these conquerors, and became a province of Media, in conformity to Jeremiah's prediction. But the passage in Ezekiel does not harmonize with Xenophon's account of the Persians before the days of Cyrus, nor with that of Herodotus, who represents Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, though descended from an ancient Persian family, as inferior to a Mede of the middle rank. Then again, by Daniel the prophet, Shushan the palace, and the river Ulai, are placed in the province of Elam; or, in other words, in Susiana. And in the Acts of the Apostles, the Elamites are mentioned along with the Parthians, Medes, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, (chap. ii. 9,) in a sense which conveys the idea that they dwelt to the west of the Medes. It would, perhaps, be safer, therefore, to understand by Elam, not Persia, but the province of Elymais, which extended to the south and south-east of Ecbatana, as far as Susiana, or the whole mountainous region of south-western Media, of which Corbiano, or the Carbiata of Strabo, now called Khorremabad, was the capital. Strabo makes Massagetae, Gabiani, and Cyrbiana provinces of the Elymeans, and conjoins Elymais with Susiana on the north and north-west. He also says that Elymais was joined to Media, and was a very mountainous country, and that the Elymeans were great robbers. This description agrees with the mountaineers of the modern Looristaun, in the south of Media, and harmonizes with sacred history, which represents Chedorlosomer the Elamite, making a predatory inroad, with other rulers, as robbers, as early as the patriarchal era. According to Pliny, Elymais was inhabited by the Uxii, Mismi, Parthusi, Mardi, Saitae, Hyi, Cossaei, Parastaceni, and Mesabatae. The Cossaei here are represented as inhabiting part of Media, but by the ancients, generally, they were considered as a people of Media. The Mesabatae, also, inhabited the district of Mesobataene, which is a Greek appellation, meaning the midland country, or tract between Media and Susiana, and which is probably derived from the Chaldee *Misa*, or middle.

The facts respecting Elymais and the Elymeans appear to be these: that a number of tribes were included together under that denomination, as being either the principal tribe that gave name to the tract so called, or that they were collectively thus denominated, and that it (Elymais)

included the whole south-west part of the modern Irac Ajemi, bounded by the alluvial district Susiana on the south, and comprehending all the mountain ranges, called the Looristaun and Bactiari mountains, a tract almost unknown to Europeans, and terminated by Fars or Persia on the south-east. The terms Elymais and Elymeans, do not occur in the writings of ancient historians till after the Macedonian conquest, when they are spoken of as an independent and ferocious nation, neither subject to the Syro-Macedonians, nor the Parthians, and altogether distinct from the Persians properly so termed.

Persia proper was bounded on the north and north-west by Media or Irac Ajemi; on the south by the Persian Gulf; on the east by Carmania or Kerman; and on the west by Susiana or Khuisian. The extent of this country, according to Chardin's estimate, is as large as France: this, however, forms but a small portion of what is now denominated Persia.

This extent of country contained the tribes of the Persae, Pasagardae, Arctae, Maraphii, and Maspians. Of these the Pasagardae were the noblest, and to the chief clan of which, called the Achæmenides, the royal family of Persia belonged. In addition to these tribes, Herodotus mentions three agricultural tribes, called the Panthiatae, Derusii, and Germanii; and four nomadic tribes, denominated the Dai, Mardi, Dropici, and Sangartii. The Persae and Pasagardae inhabited the middle part, or what Strabo has happily denominated Cava, or Hollow Persia, corresponding to the vale of Istakher, and the celebrated plain of Shiraz. It is not known what part the Arctae inhabited, but the agricultural tribes probably inhabited the quarter near Kerman or Carmania; the others were mountain tribes.

Such was Persia proper: the empire of Persia, as before stated, was of far greater limits. How great it was will be seen in the following masterly geographical arrangement of the Western, Middle, and Eastern provinces of the empire, by Major Rennell, who compiled it from a curious original document, furnished by Herodotus. In it will be discerned, also, the annual revenue of this once potent empire, an empire that was master of almost all the then known world.

I. WESTERN PROVINCES.

- | | |
|---|------------|
| | S. Talents |
| 1. The Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Æolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans,* and Pamphylians | 400 |
| These occupied an extent of 450 geographical miles of sea coast in Asia Minor, from the Gulf of Adramyttium, and the Troad, on the north, round by Cnidus to Cilicia on the east. | |
| 2. The Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygenians | 500 |
| The greatness of the tribute paid by this, the smallest of the twenty satrapies, was the result of the gold and silver mines of Lydia, | |

* These people were probably the same with the Milyans, of whom Herodotus speaks. Sometimes they were called Milyans, from Miletus, king of Crete.

† Reckoning each talent at 1934. 16s. See p. 4.

and the gold sands of the river Pactolus. The riches of Croesus were proverbial.

3. On the east side of the Hellespont, the Phrygians and the Thracians of Asia, the Paphlagonians, Maryandinians,* and Syrians or Cappadocians 360

4. The Cilicians 500

These four provinces composed the whole of Asia Minor.

5. Phœnicia, the Syrian Palestine, and the isle of Cyprus; from the city of Posidæum, on the frontiers of Cilicia and Syria, as far as Mount Casius and the Sirbonic Lake, bordering on Egypt 350

6. Egypt, and the Africans, bordering on Egypt, as far as Cyrene and Barca 700

This tribute was exclusive of the produce of the fishery of the lake Mœris, amounting to 240 talents per annum, which was a perquisite to the queen of Persia, says Diodorus, for dress and perfumes; and also of 700 talents, for the value of Egyptian corn, to supply 120,000 Persian and auxiliary troops, in garrison at Memphis, etc.

7. [9.] Babylon, including Assyria Proper, and Mesopotamia 1000

This was one of the most extensive, as it was the richest of the provinces of the empire. Before the time of Cyrus, it was reckoned, in point of revenue, equal to the third part of Asia.

8. Susa, and Susiana, or Chusistan 300

Next to the Lydian satrapy, this was the smallest of the whole; but it contained Susa, at that time the capital of the empire, where the king's treasures were deposited.

II. CENTRAL PROVINCES.

9. [10.] Ecbatana, the rest of Media, the Parycanii, and the Orthocorybantæ 450

Media Proper occupies the midland and elevated tract between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. It was then the central part of the great Persian empire, and from climate, verdure, and richness of soil, the most beautiful of its provinces. It is now the most western province of modern Persia, Mount Zagros forming the common boundary between Persia and Turkey. Isfahan, the present capital, is situate in the north-east corner of ancient Media.

10. [11.] The Caspians, Pansicæ, Pantiimithi, and Daritsæ, (including Hyrcania) 200

11. [18.] The Matieni, Saspirians, and Alarodians 300

The Saspirians occupied the eastern part of Armenia.

12. [13.] Paçtycæ, the Armenians, etc. 400

* These people lived on the coast of Bithynia, where was said to be the Acherusian cave, through which Hercules dragged Cerberus up to the light, whose foam then produced acorns.

"That sacred plain, where, as the fable tells,
The growing dog of Pluto, struggling hard
Against the grasp of mighty Hecules,
With dropping foam impregnating the earth,
Produced a poison to destroy mankind."—
Diogenes Laertius.

† The numbers included in the brackets were the original numbers of Herodotus.

The Armenia of Herodotus extended westward to the Euphrates, and southward to Mount Masius in Mesopotamia, including the sources of the Euphrates northwards, and Mount Ararat eastwards. This province, though mountainous, abounded in mines of gold and silver, copper and iron, at Argana and Kelban, which will account for its high tribute.

13. [19.] The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mosynæci, and Mardians 300

This satrapy is a narrow strip of land, between the Armenian mountains of Caucasus and the Euxine Sea. It abounds in iron mines.

III. EASTERN PROVINCES.

14. The Sangartians, Sarangians, (of Sigistan,) the Thamasians, Utians, and Mencians, (of Carmania,) with the islands of the Red Sea, or Persian Gulf, to which the king banished state offenders 600

The intermediate country of Persia proper, whose principal tribes were the Artacæ, Persæ, Pasagardæ, Maraphii, and Muspians, were not compelled to pay any specific taxes, but only presented a regular gratuity.

15. [16.] The Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians 300

These occupied the mountainous tract between Hyrcania, Margiana, Asia, and the desert of Chorasmia.

16. [7.] The Sattagydiæ, the Gandarii, Dadicæ, and Assarytæ of Margiana 170

17. [12.] The Bactrians, as far as Agios Or from Balk to Khilan or Ghilan 360

18. [15.] The Sacæ and Caspii, (or, rather, Casians of Kashgur) 250

19. [17.] The Paricanii, and long-haired Ethiopians of Asia 400

These were the Oritæ of Alexander and Nearchus, and inhabited Haur, Makran, and other provinces in the south-east angle of Persia towards India.

The sum total 7740

20. The Indians.

These inhabited the extensive provinces of Kabul, Kandahar, and Scindia, west of the Indus, and the Panjah, that rich stripe of coast east of the Indus. They paid (600) 360 talents in gold ingots, differing, in this respect, from the other satrapies, whose payments were in silver talents.

Such was the extent of the empire of ancient Persia, which is now no more. It spread terror to, and worked desolation in the nations around; but those who wielded its power have long since mouldered in the grave.

Concerning the financial statement in the foregoing extract, Dr. Haies remarks after Herodotus: "If the standard of the Babylonian talent, in which the tribute from the first nineteen provinces was paid, be reduced to the standard of the Eubœic talent, the amount will be 9880 silver talents. And if the tribute from the Indians, of 360 gold talents, be estimated at

thirteen times the value of the silver, it will amount to 4480 Euboic talents more. So that the sum total of the tribute paid to Darius was 14,560 Euboic talents."

This number of talents, reckoning with Arbutnot, the Euboic or Attic talent at 193*l*. 1*s*., would amount to 2,821,000*l*., which was a very moderate sum for so extensive an empire. There were, however, a few minor tributes, both from these provinces and other nations, which Herodotus did not reckon: probably these might have made the sum total 3,000,000*l*. sterling, which is still a moderate sum compared with the revenues of modern states.

This leads to a review of the several provinces into which the country of Persia was anciently divided, as mentioned by Strabo, Pliny, and other writers, and as marked on the best modern maps. Geographers, indeed, at the present day, from the frequent changes of the limits of the provinces of modern Persia, preserve the ancient division, though, in this respect, also, some changes have been introduced. In our notice of these provinces, much information concerning the condition they are now in, will be blended with that in which they once were.

GEDROSIA.

Gedrosia, or Mekran, including the district of the Ormuz, extends from the eastern range of the Brahooick mountains that separate it from Sindh to Cape Isak on the frontiers of Laristan, or, from the sixty-eighth degree east longitude, to the fifty-eighth degree of the same, a space containing 120,000 miles. In the eastern part this province does not exceed 100 miles, it being separated between 62 and 66 *n*. longitude from the desert of Beloochistan by the northern branch that projects from the Brahooick mountains in 28 *n*. latitude, called Washutee, and, also, Much, or the Palm, as that tree grows in great abundance there. The northern extremity of the Kohistan may be called a northern inland projection of this province, reaching to 30 *n*. latitude. This northern district has the desert of Beloochistan on the east, that of Kuran on the west, and the sandy waste of Bampur on the south-west. This seems to be the only sandy waste in Gedrosia, but it is of considerable extent. It is of an oval form, and is 155 miles long by eighty in its greatest breadth. The mountainous district of Boshkurd, to the east of Laristan, is also of an oval form, being 110 miles long by eighty-five in its greatest breadth. There does not appear to be any rivers of note in Gedrosia: there are some torrents, deep and rapid in the rainy season, but almost all dry in summer.

Gedrosia may be divided into the coast and the interior; the former being a narrow tract, varying in breadth, and running the whole way to Cape Isak, in a wavering direction, but never receding further inland than 100 miles. This province is represented as very barren. Ptolemy places here a celebrated emporium, called, "The Haven of Women," which Arrian says was so called because it was first governed by a woman. He also mentions two islands dependent on this province, Asta and Cudane.

CARMANIA.

Carmania, now Kerman, occupies the south-eastern part of Persia, extending along the Persian Gulf, from Cape Isak to a place opposite the island of Kishm, and thence northward to the borders of the desert, of which the adjacent southern part is considered as included in this province, and is denominated Kerman, or Carmania the Desert. This part of the province is sandy, and impregnated with salt, being occasionally intersected by short ridges. The remainder of this province, extending more than 200 miles from south to north, but less from east to west, is nearly unknown, except the tract along the shores of the Gulf, and another tract in the interior, between 29° and 30 *n*. latitude. That part of the coast east of 57 *e*. longitude, which lies along the narrow entrance of the Gulf, is extremely mountainous, and the rocks approach the sea, where they form a lofty coast. The valleys among these mountains are well watered, and afford fine pasturage for the flocks. They contain also fine plantations of date and other fruit trees. This is more especially the case where the coast runs south and north, between the modern towns of Sereek and Minah, or Minaw. Between these two places, the mountains recede from the shores, and thus a plain is formed, which, for its fertility, is termed by the natives the Paradise of Persia. The mountains then run northward, and form as it were a large gulf, receding above fifty miles from the sea, and then returning to it to the north of Bunder Abassi, or Gombroon. The plain thus formed resembles the sandy tracts called Garmair, being sterile, and producing nothing except dates. That portion of the interior of Kerman which has been visited by modern travellers comprehends the Nurmanshur, a district about ninety miles in length, and from twenty to thirty miles wide, in which are extensive cultivated grounds and comparatively small sterile tracts. Two mountain ranges enclose this district on the south and the north, the former of which is of considerable elevation, and covered with snow during the greater part of the year. Between the Nurmanshur and the town of Kerman is a desert, with a few oases of moderate extent: about the town itself there is a large tract of fertile country. West of the town, reaching to the boundary of Farsistan, there are numerous rocky ridges with difficult passes, but they are surrounded with much cultivated ground. In the unknown country, between Kerman and the harbour of Gombroon, and on the road connecting these two towns, there is said to be a large place called Sultanabad. In the more cultivated parts of Kerman there are several rivers, particularly the Andanis, mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy. According to the accounts of the ancients, its mountains have mines of copper and iron. Pomponius Mela said that the province of Carminia did not sustain any cattle; at the present day, however, it is remarkable for producing sheep which bear some of the finest wool in the world.

Dependent on this province is the small, but famous island of Ormuz, which lies at the en-

trance of the Persian Gulf, near 27° N. latitude, and 56° 30' E. longitude. The form of this island is nearly circular, and its appearance from the sea is broken and rugged. The whole is a mere barren rock, without the slightest trace of vegetation. The surface exhibits the singular stratification of the island; and the conical shape and isolated position of the various small hills of which the island consists would convey the idea that it owes its origin to volcanic agency. The hills along the eastern shores of the island are covered from their base upward with an incrustation of salt, in some places transparent as ice. In other places, the surface is covered with a thin layer of dusky red-coloured earth, which owes its colour to the oxide of iron with which the entire surface of the island is impregnated. The very sand on the sea-shore is composed of the finest particles of iron pulverized by the waves. The island contains no fresh water springs, to remedy which, the inhabitants use tanks to collect the rain water as it distils from the clouds. Tavernier says that the air in summer was so sultry that the inhabitants were forced to live in grots, and lie in water. Anciently, it seems only to have served as a place of retreat to the inhabitants of the adjacent shores in times of invasion or civil commotion. At the present day, there is a fortress garrisoned by 100 men, under the direction of the imam of Muskat, who farms the island from the king of Persia. His revenues are derived from the salt, which he exports in large quantities. The fortress is situated about 300 yards from the shore, on a projecting point of land, separated from the island by a moat.

DRANGIANA.

This province, in the days of its prosperity, was one of the richest inland tracts in the whole Persian empire, being a vast hollow space, surrounded by mountains and hills; having on the east those of Arachosia; on the north, the mountains and tracts of Sebzwar, probably the Mons Bagous of Ptolemy in the ancient Aria; on the south, a district of ancient Gedrosia, now the eastern part of Kerman, from which it is parted by a chain of lofty mountains, covered with perpetual snow, and which is denominated by Ptolemy Montes Bacti; on the west, it has the great desert of Kerman. In the centre of this alluvial hollow is the celebrated lake of Durrah, which in the Persian books is sometimes called the sea of Loukh, and by the inhabitants, the sea of Zoor, or Khanjek. According to Elphinstone, this lake is 150 miles in circuit, but Rennell and other geographers make it 100 miles long, and twenty broad. In its centre stands an insulated hill, called the Collee Zoor, which tradition declares to have been anciently a fort, and which, as it is steep and lofty, and surrounded by a ditch of great depth, is still a place of refuge for some of the inhabitants of the opposite shores.

The edges of the lake of Durrah are for a considerable breadth choked with rushes and reeds. The shores, also, are overgrown with this kind of vegetation; and being liable to inundation, they are full of miry places and pools of standing water. Immediately beyond these woods

of reeds and rush, the country produces grass, and grain, and tamarisks. The same may be said of the narrow valley through which the Helmund flows. The rest of the country is now almost a desert, affording only forage for camels, and here and there a well for the wandering Beloochees, who tend these animals. For the most part, this country is surrounded by wide and dismal deserts, whence every wind brings clouds of a light shifting sand, which destroys the fertility of the fields, and gradually overwhelms the villages. From this cause, the once rich and alluvial tract of Drangiana, which comprehended a surface double that of ancient Susiana, is reduced to a small compass; and it may be asserted that in process of time the lake will be dried up, and the whole of Drangiana be merged in the growing desert.

This province, which was denominated Drangian by Ptolemy, Pliny, and Strabo; Drangini, and its inhabitants, Drangi, by Diodorus Siculus; was called Zarang, and its inhabitants Sarangens, by Herodotus, in his account of the Persian Satrapies. Subsequently it was called Nimrooz, and it is now called Nigistan, a term derived from the Sacer, as Sacastana signifies the region of the Sacer, who possessed it about the time when the Scythians passed the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and overthrew the Greek empire of Bactria, about 150 years a.c.

ARACHOSIA.

Respecting the position of this province, little is known, except that it lay to the south of Candarian, and the valley of the Urghundab, and the Turning, or Turnuk; it is impossible, therefore, to say what were its physical or political limits. The accounts of ancient writers on this subject, and the researches of modern geographers, are alike meagre, vain, and unsatisfactory.

PAROPANISUS.

The Paropaninus, Parapaninus, Parapanis, and Paropaninus of the ancients, is the Paropanis of the Sanscrit; signifying the mountain of springs, or hills, compounded of Pahar, a hill, and Panir, or Pan, water. The province took its name from these mountains, by which it was bounded.

According to Ptolemy, the province of Paropaninus extended east from Aria or Herat, to the Indus, having Arachosia to the south. The ancients, indeed, generally extended Persia to the Indus, and made the provinces of Paropaninus, Arachosia, and Gedrosia extend in a meridional line along the western bank of that stream. Paropaninus was bounded north by Bactria, and on the east by the dominions of the Mogul. Ancient writers relate, that when Alexander passed this country in his celebrated march, he found the country for the most part open and plain, destitute of trees, and covered with snow, from the reflection of which the Macedonians were exposed to great inconvenience, it grievously affecting their eyes: many of them, it is also said, perished from the excessive cold, which seized those who walked slowly, or ventured to sit down to rest. This description accords with the elevated upland of Ghazna, to which Rennell in his map conducts the conqueror. Elphinstone

says of this climate, "Ascending the valley of the Turuk from Candahar, the cold increases at every stage, and the heat of the summer diminishes in the same proportion. Even at Kelant Ghiltee snow falls often and lies long, and the Turuk is often frozen so as to bear a man. Now this place is in N. lat. 32° 30', and Kelantee is in the lowest part of the valley of the Turuk. In the high tract south of that valley, the cold appears to be as great as in any part of Afghanistan. At Kelanee Abdorchem the snow lies four months annually, and all that time the rivers are frozen, so as to bear a man. Ascending still higher, we at last reach the level of Ghuznee, or Ghazna, which is generally mentioned as the coldest part of the plain country in the Cabul dominions. The cold of Ghuznee is spoken of as excessive, even by the inhabitants of the cold countries in its vicinity. For the greatest part of the winter, the people seldom quit their houses; and even in the city of Ghuznee the snow has been known to lie deep for some time after the vernal equinox. Traditions prevail of the city having been twice destroyed by falls of snow, in which all the people were buried."

HYRCANIA.

Hyrcania, now called Mazanderan, comprehends the largest and widest portion of the low plain along the shores of the Caspian Sea. It is one of the most fertile provinces of the Persian empire, whether the mountains or the plains are considered. Travellers passing through the forests of Mazanderan, pass through thickets of sweetbriar and honeysuckle; and are surrounded with acacias, oaks, lindens, and chestnut trees. The summits of the mountains are crowned with cedars, cypresses, and various species of pines. So beautiful is this district, that in the hyperbolical language of the orientals it is styled, *Belad-al-Irem*, or, the Land of the Terrestrial Paradise. Sir W. Ouseley relates, that Kaikus, the Persian king, was fired with ambition to conquer so fine a country, through the influence of a minstrel, who exhausted all his powers of music and poetry in the praise of its beauties: his strains read thus:—

"Let the king consider the delights of Mazanderan, and may that country flourish during all eternity; for in its gardens roses ever blow, and even its mountains are covered with hyacinths and tulips. Its land abounds in all the beauties of nature; its climate is salubrious and temperate, neither too warm nor too cold; it is a region of perpetual spring; there, in shady bowers, the nightingale ever sings; there the fawn and antelope incessantly wander among the valleys; every spot, throughout the whole year, is embellished and perfumed with flowers; the very brooks of that country seem to be rivulets of rose water, so much does this exquisite fragrance delight the soul. During the winter months, as at all other seasons, the ground is enamelled, and the banks of murmuring streams smile with variegated flowers; every where the pleasures of the chase may be enjoyed; all places abound with money, fine stuffs for garments, and every other article necessary for comfort or luxury. There all the attendants are lovely damsels, wearing golden

crowns; and all the men illustrious warriors, whose girdles are studded with gold; and nothing but a wilful perversity of mind, or corporeal infirmity, can hinder a person from being cheerful and happy in Mazanderan."

Such were the delights the oriental poet held out to his rulers in Mazanderan, in all the force of oriental exaggeration. The province of Hyrcania or Mazanderan was doubtless a delightful province; but there appear to have been some drawbacks upon its loveliness. Strictly speaking, Hyrcania comprehended the small tract denominated Gurgan in ancient Persia, which signifies, the land of wolves, from the superabundance of these animals. From this word D'Anville supposes the Greeks to have formed the name of Hyrcania. Sir W. Ouseley states that on entering Mazanderan, he was informed that he would find a *babr*, tiger; a *garaz*, boar; *rubah*, foxes; *sheghal*, jackals; and a *qury*, or wolf. Accordingly, the very first thing that he saw, on entering a village of Hyrcania, was the carcass of a large wolf, which had been shot just half an hour before his arrival, and which looked terrible in death, "grinning horribly a ghastly grin;" thus proving the truth of the poet, that, "every where the pleasures of the chase may be enjoyed," if such may be termed pleasures. In ancient times, Hyrcania was infested with panthers and tigers, so fierce and cruel, as to give rise to a proverb concerning fierce and unrelenting men, that they had sucked Hyrcanian tigers. The poet Virgil refers to this in his *Æneid*. Representing Dido chiding Æneas, he puts into her mouth these words:

"False as thou art, and more than false, forsworn,
Not sprung from noble blood, nor goddess's born,
But born from harden'd entrails of a rock!
And rough Hyrcanian tigers gave thee suck!"

Strabo, who extends Hyrcania as far north as the river Ochnus, says from Aristobolus that Hyrcania was a woody region, producing oaks and pines, but not the pitch pine, which abounded in India. It has been mentioned as a curious circumstance, that in Mazanderan an axe used for cutting is called *tabr*. Now the Tapyri, or Tabari, inhabited a district in Hyrcania, and if this name be derived from *tabr*, an axe, it will signify hatchet-men, or wood-cutters, a name very appropriate to the inhabitants of a country covered with forests like Hyrcania, and, though restricted by the Greeks to the western inhabitants of that province, is equally applicable to those of the eastern part. According to Sir W. Ouseley, the name of the part in which the Tabari lived, namely, Tabristan, or Zabaristan, signifies the country of wood.

According to Morier, Mazanderan is a modern Persian phrase, signifying, "Within the boundary or limit of the mountain." This is confirmed by Sir W. Ouseley, who says, from Hamdallah, an eminent Persian geographer, that Mazanderan was originally named *Mawz-andaran*, or within the mountain *Mawz*. He says, "The Coh-Alburs is an immense mountain adjacent to Bab-al-abwah, (Derbend,) and many mountains are connected with Alburs; so that from Turkestan to Hejas, it forms a range extending in length 1000 farsangs, about 180 miles, more or less; and on this account some regard it as the

mountain of Kaf, (Caucasus.) Its western side, connected with the mountains of Gurjestan, (Georgia,) is called the Koh Lagzi, (Daghestan,) and the *Sar a Jaksim* relates, that in the Koh Lagzi there are various races of people; so that about seventy different languages or dialects are used among them; and in that mountain are many wonderful objects; and when it reaches Shemahat and Malasiah, (Samosata Melitene,) it is called Kali Kala. At Antakia and Sakeliah, (Antioch and Seleucia,) it is called Lekam; there it divides Sham (Syria) from Room, (Asia Minor.) When it reaches between Hems (Emesa) and Demishk, (Damascus,) it is called Lebnan, (Lebanon,) and near Mecca and Medina it is called Arish. Its eastern side, connected with the mountains of Arran (Eastern Armenia) and Aderbijan, it is called Keik, and when it reaches to Ghilan, (the Gelae and Cadusians,) and Irak, (Media,) it takes the name of Terkel-dix-cuh; it is called Manz when it reaches Kurnish and Mazanderan; and originally Mazanderan was named Mawz-enderan; and when Alburz reaches Khorassan, it is called Iarray. From this it appears that Mazanderan signifies all the region within the mountain Mawz and the Caspian Sea, which lies east of Ghilan and the Kizil Ozun.

Unlike the rest of Persia, Mazanderan is watered by numerous rivers, or mountain torrents, all running from the mountains to the sea. The German traveller Gmelin, who visited this country A. D. 1771, says that in the space of eight miles, on the road from Resht to Amot, 250 of such streams are to be seen, many of them being so exceedingly broad and deep, that the passage across is sometimes impracticable for weeks together. In this respect Mazanderan furnishes a striking contrast to the waste and barren shores of southern Persia, where for many hundred miles there is not a stream to be met with deep enough to take a horse above the knee. Hence arises the fertility of Mazanderan. So mild and humid, indeed, is the climate of Mazanderan, that it permits the growth of the sugar cane, and the production of good sugar, and that in perfection four months earlier than in the West Indies. From the lack of art and care, however, this gift of nature is not turned to account by the inhabitants of that province.

BACTRIANA.

The province of Bactriana comprehended what is now called Eastern Persia, or Khorassan, in addition to the country beyond the Paropamisus. Khorassan, or "the rising sun," extends over a large part of the great desert, and nearly the whole of the mountainous region north of it. According to the Persian geographers, it once comprehended the whole of northern Persia, as far as the neighbourhood of the Indus; that is, nearly the whole of the country subject to the King of Afghanistan. At the present time, its eastern boundary lies near 62° east longitude; and even the town of Herat is subject to the Afghans, who, however, acknowledge that it belongs to Persia, and annually send a present to Teheran in token of this acknowledgment. In that portion of the desert which lies between Herat and Yazd, many oases occur, some of which are of considerable extent,

and contain large towns. The wide valleys which lie between the desert and the desolitude that form the descent between the table-land of Iran to the low sandy plains of Turan, possess a considerable degree of fertility. This is proved by the existence of numerous and populous villages, which are frequently ravaged by the Turkomans and Kurds. The latter people are settled in a very wide and fertile valley, extending from the town of Mushed in a north-western direction for more than 100 miles, for the purpose of protecting the country against the invasion of the Turkomans; but notwithstanding this, they frequently themselves lay waste the most fertile portion of Khorassan. The vicinity of Herat supplies asafoetida, saffron, pistachio nuts, mastic, manna, a gum called *birzand*, a yellow dye called *aspirack*, and caraway seeds. The wide and fertile valley which runs from Mushed northwards, and which is in the possession of the Kurds, is also well cultivated, and contains some places of note. Westward of Mushed, near Nishapoor, is the celebrated fortress of *Kilut Nadir*, "the fortress of Nadir." This fortress is situated, according to Fraser, in a valley from fifty to sixty miles in length, by twelve or fifteen in breadth, surrounded by mountains so steep that a little assistance from art has rendered them impassable; the rocks being scarped into the form of a gigantic wall. A small river runs through this valley, and the only points of access occur where the stream leaves it, and these are fortified by towers and walls, which form no mean barrier.

ARIA.

Aria is the modern Herat, sometimes pronounced without the aspirate. This province lay to the east of Parthia and the desert of Kerman, to the north of Drangiana, to the south of the western prolongation of the Paropamisus range, called the mountains of Saraphi by Ptolemy, and to the west of the province of Paropamisus. This province is sometimes called Ariana, but whether this latter name included more than the province of Aria is by no means agreed among geographers. The situation of Aria corresponds to that of the modern Sejestan, and the southern part of Khorassan. Strabo calls this province and Margiana, the best in the whole country. They are, he says, watered by the rivers Arius and Margos; the former of which is described by Arrian as a river not less than the Peneios of Thessalia, yet losing itself in the ground, and which answers to the present Heri-Rud. Strabo also remarks that Aria is about 160 miles in length, and twenty-five in breadth; but this can only be understood as applying to the principal part of the province, or probably the valley of the river Arius, which seems to have been early celebrated for its fertility. In this plain Herat is situated, and captain Grant, who spent a month there in 1810, describes it as watered by an ample stream, as covered with villages, and as teeming with corn. "The rich landscape," he says, "receives additional beauty and variety from the numerous mosques, tombs, and other edifices by which it is embellished, and the mountain slopes by which it is surrounded." The country of Aria is not mentioned by Hero-

dotus, but he enumerates the Arii with others, as constituting the sixteenth satrapy into which Darius divided the Persian empire. See page 3.

PARTHIA.

It is difficult to define the boundaries of Parthia proper, as they differed at various times. In the days of Strabo, however, it extended on the west as far as Rhagæ and the Tapuri, to the Caspian passes, and included the districts of Komisene (Kumis) and Choarene (Khvar.) According to Pliny, it was bounded on the east by the Arii, on the south by the Carmanii and Ariani, on the west by the Pratini Medi, and on the north by the Hyrcanii. In this latter statement Ptolemy agrees. But the original Parthia, as described by Herodotus, was much less than that described by Pliny and Ptolemy. It contained, indeed, nothing more than the mountainous tract that lay south of Chorastina and Margiana, east of Hyrcania, and north of the districts of Meschid and Naisabour. Afterwards it included the district of Comisene, mentioned by Ptolemy, in which district Hecatompylos, its capital, was built, and which is supposed to be the modern Damghan. Nasr-oddin-al-Tossi, and other Persian writers as cited by Golius in his notes on Al-Fargan, state, that this is a vast plain encompassed by mountains, and watered by a multitude of brooks of clear salubrious water, which issue from these mountains. These streams were called the waters of Khoern, because that monarch caused them to be conveyed by aqueducts into the city, and would drink no other water in any part of his empire. In the orchards and gardens of Damghan apples are produced, which, from their beauty, size, fragrance, and taste, were placed on the tables of the Parthian sovereigns.

It is supposed by some writers that the ancient Parthia corresponds to the modern Irak Ajemi. But this is erroneous. Irak Ajemi corresponds to the ancient Media Magna, and is at present the most western province of the Persian empire, Aderbigan and Persian Armenia excepted. It is a larger province than the ancient Parthia, occupying the middle space between the Caspian Sea and the Persian Gulf. Orosius says that the Media of Scripture was that country generally called Parthia.

PERSIA.

This province, which is the modern Fars or Farsistan, comprehends almost one half of the Duastistan, or "stony district," a low, hot, sandy strip extending along the shores of the Persian Gulf, the northern portion of the mountain region of Farsistan and Kerman, and the hilly plain which extends north-eastward to the lake of Bahktegan and the great desert. According to Ptolemy, it was anciently bounded on the north by Media, on the west by Susiana, and on the south by the Persian Gulf, now called Phars. The mountain ranges, which separate the table-land of Iran from the Persian Gulf, are little more than thirty or forty miles wide, but they are exceedingly steep towards the sea. Between Kazerun and Shiraz, the Kotuls Dokhter and Pirazun are to be traversed; for though Kazerun is situated on this table-land, several ridges of considerable elevation intervene, especially in

the northern districts. That portion of the table-land which lies southward is less mountainous, and contains several salt lakes. For the most part, this province, though containing many well-cultivated districts, is nearly a desert, especially towards the north. Near the boundary line of Khuzistan is an extensive and highly-cultivated plain. Ainsworth says of the plain of Shiraz, that it is chiefly formed of silt and mud, deposited by waters of inundation.

SUSIANA.

This province was bounded on the north by Assyria, on the west by Chaldaea, on the east by Persia, and on the south by the Persian Gulf. Thus defined, Susiana nearly corresponds with the modern Khuzistan, which comprehends the southern part of the mountains of Kurdistan, and that part of the plain of the Tigris belonging to Persia, and which is, therefore, naturally divided into two portions. The plain, which is in the possession of the wandering Arab, contains good pasturage in the northern and western districts, on which the Bedouin feeds his cattle. The southern and eastern portion of the district is a sandy desert, occasionally intersected by extensive morasses, and only cultivated in some places on the banks of the rivers, where rice, wheat, and barley are raised. There are also some plantations of date trees. The mountainous part of the country contains several plains and extensive valleys, among which the valley of Ram Hormuz, which is forty miles long, and from six to eight miles in breadth, is distinguished for its fertility and picturesque beauty. All these valleys and plains are fertile, but they are only partially cultivated. Between the higher ranges of the mountains and the level plain there is a hilly tract several miles wide, which contains the most fertile soil in the province; only the borders of the river, however, are under cultivation. The high mountain ranges in the eastern part of Khuzistan are in the possession of Larish tribes, which cultivate the ground very extensively, growing large quantities of tobacco.

There were two other provinces of ancient Persia, namely, Kurdistan and Schirwan; but as the former corresponds to the ancient Assyria, and the latter to Media, the reader is referred to those histories for their geographical details.

MOUNTAINS.

There is no country more mountainous than that of Persia. From the one end of it to the other, these stupendous monuments of the omnipotence of Jehovah point their summits toward the skies. Some of these have passed under notice in the description of the several provinces; for the rest we refer the reader to the map, whereon they are distinctly delineated. It will be sufficient to state here, that many of them are situated on the frontiers, and serve as natural ramparts to this vast region, and that it is very probable they may contribute in the interior to make the country wholesome, by sheltering the valleys under them from excessive heat. At the same time, they are far from being advantageous; for many of them yield neither springs of water nor metals, and but a

few are shaded with trees. Besides, they make travelling a most laborious and difficult task. This may be seen by the following passage from Pottinger's Journal, which refers to a branch of the Brahooick mountains. "Being unprovided with a barometer," he says, "or other instrument calculated to mark the perpendicular height of Kelat, as the most elevated spot of the Brahooick mountains, it is only by a comparison of facts that I am prepared to offer my sentiments on this head. Although the obliquity be not visible in the immediate vicinity of that capital, yet to the southward we found a very marked one in places amounting to steep defiles and hills for a day's journey at a time, after ascending the Kohunwat, or southern pass from Luz to Kelat, passing by Khosdar and Soherah, until we reached Rodinjo, twenty-five miles south of Kelat. Hence to Gurruck, seven miles north of Kelat, the slope is undistinguishable. But in travelling from Gurruck to Nooshy north-west, we crossed six lofty lukhs, or passes, whose descent to the northward was invariably double, and, on one or two occasions, fourfold the ascent on the southern face. The accumulated differences of these alone would be equal to a very great declension; and yet after we had got to the bottom of them, and came in sight of the great sandy desert, we found ourselves prodigiously elevated above its surface, and a seventh lukh, or pass, remained to be descended, the declivity of which was apparently double to that of all the others. Even then we were on an elevated plain, (when arrived at the foot of this last pass,) the waters of which, when augmented by the rains or melted snows amongst the neighbouring mountains, escape towards the sea by various outlets in the province of Mekran (the ancient Gedrosia) with excessive velocity. The temperature of Kelat, also, serves to prove its amazing elevation. That city, and the neighbouring district, though scarcely more than five degrees and a half removed from the summer solstice, or the torrid zone, are subjected to a most rigorous winter, and snow lies, even in the vales, from the end of November till the beginning of February. Snow has been known to fall fifteen days successively in the month of March at this place. Rice, and certain other vegetable productions that require warmth of climate, will not thrive here; and wheat and barley do not ripen so soon as in the British isles. From a philosophical estimation of all these concurrent particulars, it is inferible that the extreme altitude of the Brahooick mountains is not inferior to that of some ranges esteemed the highest in Europe. Recent discoveries teach us to look to Asia as the seat of the most sublime and stupendous piles on the face of the globe. Judging from the eye of the lukh, or pass, nearest the sandy desert, and comparing its apparent altitude, length, and steepness, with some of the ghauts, or passes of India, of whose ascertained height I am apprised, I should pronounce its height to be 5000 feet above the sandy desert. If we add to this one half for the other six passes between that spot and the city of Kelat, and grant the desert, as the base of the whole, to be elevated of itself 500 feet above the level of the sea, it will produce an aggregate of 8000 feet." From this the reader will gather an

idea of the great altitude of Persia. Pottinger says that it is here 8000 feet, but there are other geographers who think his estimate too low, and add 2000 more, making it 10,000 feet above the level of the sea. Nor does this appear to be exaggeration, for 300 feet of descent, at least, should be allowed for each of the six passes, and that number is by far too low an estimate for the level of the desert.

Another passage from Pottinger's Journal offers itself as still more illustrative of the mountainous features of Persia. "After quitting Gurruck," says he, "seven miles north-west of Kelat, our road lay through a mountainous and barren country, and we ascended two lukhs, or defiles, one of them particularly hazardous, the rugged path not exceeding two feet wide, and, on the left, an abyss at least a quarter of a mile deep. Next day, we passed a miserable night from the cold, which was so intense, that, unprovided as we were with warm clothing or beds, it was impossible to sleep; and we were unable to make the least attempt to move, until nine o'clock, when the sunbeams began to operate, and, literally speaking, renovated us. We then mounted, and by five o'clock had proceeded thirty-one miles, the intermediate country being, if possible, more bleak and barren than that we had passed yesterday, and the path equally winding. We had several lukhs, or passes, to surmount, the list of which I conceive worthy of a minute detail, as it would seem, from its situation, on the edge of the desert, to have been intended by nature as an insurmountable barrier to these elevated regions, and is, beyond all comparison, the most difficult defile I have ever seen in any country. It is separated on the south-east side from Kelat, or from the other mountains, by a deep and narrow ravine, the sides of which are solid black rock, and nearly perpendicular. Emerging from this part by a rugged path, we ascended the south-west face of the pass, from the top of which the desert burst upon our view, extending as far as the eye could reach, with the resemblance of a smooth ocean, from the reflection of the sun on the sand. The emotions of my fellow-traveller and myself were, at this instant, of the most enviable nature. On descending the north-western side of the lukh, which cost us nearly five hours, it being eleven miles long, and extremely steep, we entered the bed of a river between the mountains, and on a level with their bases, which led us out into the desert by innumerable mazes. The last half mile of our route was through the bed of the river Kyser, which, though deep and rapid during the rains, is often quite dry in the hot months of May, June, and July. At this time, when we crossed it, it was from two to three feet deep, and six or seven yards across. The only shrubs we saw to-day were some scraggy bushes of the Farnesian mimosa, here called the babul tree, and in the river great quantities of tamarisk. One of the mountains which we crossed was literally studded with bulbous roots, similar to those of tulips, that were beginning to bud, whose fragrance, as I was assured, would, in another month, be perceptible to a great distance. The grass called by the natives kushput, or desert grass, also abounds here, and is collected by the

brushwood, as winter food for their cattle. It grows in bunches, or tufts, with thick coarse stalks, leaves long and serrated, and is very sweet and nutritious. The camel-thorn, called by the Persians *khare choobor*, is also to be seen here, but not so plentifully as in the lower tracts."

Ainsworth, speaking of the general geological features of the rocks in Persia, says: "The most remarkable feature in the rocks of Kurdistan is, the invariable compactness and hard texture of the limestone rocks; but this only obtains in the mountain districts; for, as the indurated limestone of Rum-Kalah, on Euphrates, becomes a soft chalk, with many fossils, so the limestone of the westerly ranges of the Persian Apennines becomes, on the plain of Musul, soft, pliable, and redolent with the shells of *Trachelopodus Molassus*, and *Menomyia*, and *Dimysirus Conchifera*."

RIVERS.

Persia, it has been said, is subject to two great inconveniences, which more than counterbalance the excellence of its climate, and the fertility of its soil; namely, the want of trees and water. There is not a navigable river in the wide range of country between the Tigris and the Indus, and, in many parts, even a well is a rare and valuable possession. The table-land of Iran, with the mountain ranges which surround it on the north and south, is very sparingly watered. The southern mountain ranges are too bare and low to attract sufficient moisture to form perennial streams, except in a few places. The northern mountains give rise to a great number of water courses; but as soon as they enter the plain, the small volume of water which they pour down is absorbed in irrigation, and only a few streams reach the desert, where they are quickly lost in the dry and thirsty soil. It is only in the table-land of Azerbaijan, and in the mountains of Kurdistan, that there is a good supply of water. The rivers of Ghilan and Mazanderan are very limited in their courses. The most considerable river in Azerbaijan is the Sefi Rud, or White River, which is also known by the Turkish name of Kizil Ozien. This river rises within the mountains of Kurdistan, south of 36° N. lat., and traverses the most mountainous district of Azerbaijan; running a circuitous course, first east-north-east for about one hundred miles, and then about the same distance northward. When near 37° 30' N. lat., it breaks through the western chain of the mountains of Massula, and turns to the south-east for about eighty miles, draining the valley between the two ranges of the Massula mountains. At the western extremity of the Elburz range, it is joined by the river Shahrud, which drains the valleys in the western portion of the Elburz mountains, and flows onward about one hundred miles. After its junction with this river, the Kizil Ozien flows about thirty miles in the narrow valley separating the Elburz mountains from the Massula ranges on the east, and enters the plain of Ghilan, through which it passes to the Caspian sea. On the table-land of Azerbaijan, the bed of the Kizil Ozien is generally many hundred feet, and sometimes a thousand feet below the adjacent country; hence its streams can nowhere be used for the

purpose of irrigation. Besides this river, the Aji and the Jaghatu demand a passing notice. These rivers, each running about one hundred miles, fall into the lake of Uramiyeh. Both of them are extensively used in the irrigation of the valleys through which they flow, and also the plain of Uramiyeh. There are many rivers which drain the mountains of Kurdistan, and its numerous valleys. Three of these, the Diyalah, which joins the Tigris below Bagdad, the Kerk-hah, which falls into the Shat-el-Arab, and the Karoon or Kuran, flowing into the same, run between two and four hundred miles. "The rivers," says Ainsworth, "which may be considered as forming the hydrographical basin of Khuisistan are, the Kera, the Ab-i-sal, the Kuran, the Jerahi, and the Indigan. These rivers, however, are, like most of the rivers of Persia, insignificant when compared with the Tigris, or Euphrates. They were but as pools of water, thinly scattered over the landscape."

To remedy this defect, as necessity is the mother of invention, extraordinary efforts were made in ancient times to irrigate the lands by artificial means. Wheels were so constructed as to draw up the water from such streams as lay nearest, and conveyed it over the fields; and an ingenious contrivance was formed of connecting successive wells by subterranean conduits, called *khanats* in Persia, and *cauzees* in Afghanistan. Polybius says of such, as constructed in Media: "There are rivulets and springs underground; but no one except those that know the country can find them." But the frequent revolutions to which Persia has been subjected, have from time to time demolished these useful contrivances; and these water courses, of which there were not less than 15,000 in the inner district of Nishapoor, are now in a state of comparative neglect. Zoroaster's precepts to plant "useful trees," and to "convey water to the dry lands," have long been unheeded, though he annexed salvation to the pursuit. "He," says this founder of the Magian faith, "who sows the ground with care and diligence acquires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by repeating ten thousand prayers." This it was that inspired the ancient Persians, under the Sassanian dynasty, to perform these great works, the result of which was a flourishing state of agriculture, and great national prosperity, as recorded by Curtius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and other ancient writers. But the Mohammedan faith, under which the Persians now live, inculcates far different principles to these. Under its withering influence, the Persians, like other Mohammedans, are satisfied with what good things they find, and care not to labour for posterity. They look upon life, it has been said, as a great road, wherein men ought to be contented with such things as fall in their way. Reposing in carnal ease, they forget the duties of life; and hence it is, that the flourishing state of agriculture which once existed in Persia is nowhere to be traced at the present day; so much depends, even in temporal matters, upon the principles of the religion a nation professes. Chardin thinks, that if the Turks were to inhabit this country, it would soon be more impoverished than it is; whereas, if the Armenians or Parsees were to

become its masters, it would be restored to its ancient fertility.

The manner in which these subterranean water courses were constructed, may be discerned in the following account which Elphinstone gives of those in Afghanistan, which are precisely the same as in Persia: "The next contrivance for obtaining water," he says, "is the sort of conduit which is called a *cauraz*, or *cahrees*. It is known by the same name in Persia, but is there most frequently called a *kausat*, or *Akanat*. It is thus made:—The spot where the water is to issue must be always at the foot of a slope extending to a hill, and the ground must be examined, to ascertain whether there are springs, and in what direction they lie. When the spot is fixed, a very shallow well is sunk, and another of greater depth is made at some distance up the slope. A succession of wells is made in this manner, and connected by a subterraneous passage from well to well. The wells increase in depth as the ground ascends, but are so managed, that the passage which connects them, has a declivity towards the plain. Many springs are discovered during this process, but the workman stops them up, that they may not interrupt his operations, until he has finished the last well, when he opens the springs, and the water rushes through the channel, rises in the wells to the height of its source, and is poured out from the lowest into a water course, which conducts it over the fields. When the *cauraz*, or conduit is completed, the wells are of no further use except to allow a man to descend occasionally to clear out the channel. The distance between the wells varies from ten yards to 100. It is usually about fifty. The dimensions of the channel are generally no more than necessary to allow the water to work, but some are much larger. I have heard of one near Subzawaur, in Persian Khorassan, through which a horseman might ride with a lance over his shoulder. The number of wells, and, consequently, the length of the *cauraz*, depend on the number of springs met with, as the chain is generally continued, either till water enough has been obtained, or till the wells become so deep as to render it inconvenient to proceed. I have heard of various lengths, from two miles to thirty-six, but I should suppose the usual length was under the shortest of these measures. It may be supposed that the expense of so laborious a structure must be great; but the rich are fond of laying out their money on these means of bringing waste land into cultivation, and it is by no means uncommon for the poor to associate to make a *cauraz*, and to divide the land which it irrigates amongst them. *Caurazes* are common in all the west of the country, and their numbers are on the increase. I know but of one on the east of the range of Solimaun, which is at Tattore, in Damann. They are in use over all Persia, as they have been in Toorkistann; but they are now neglected in the latter country, even their name is not known in India."

LAKES.

The most considerable of the lakes of Persia is that of Urumiyeh, or Shabee, which is more than eighty miles long, and about twenty-six in

extreme breadth. The water, in the deepest part, is four fathoms, but the average depth is only two fathoms. The shores of this lake shelve so gradually, that this depth is rarely attained within two miles of the land. The water is much saltier than that of the ocean, and its specific gravity is such, that a vessel of 100 tons burden is said not to draw more than from three to four feet. A gale of wind, moreover, raises the waves only a few feet, and they subside into a calm as soon as the storm has passed. This lake receives many streams, but it has no outlet.

Besides the lake of Urumiyeh, there is another of great note, namely, that of Bakhtegan. By some geographers, the lake of Bakhtegan is confounded with the salt lake of Shiraz, whereas the western extremity of the Bakhtegan lake is full thirty-six miles north-east of the south-east extremity of that of Shiraz. The lake of Bakhtegan is the reservoir of all the streams of Hollow Persia, or those that irrigate the vales of Morraub, Istaker, and Kurbal. At the present day, it is generally called *Deria Niriz*, or Lake of Niriz: by ancient geographers it was called the lake of Bakhtegan, from a ruined village east of Kheir. Ebn Haukel says of it: "Among these is the lake of Bakhtegan. Into this flows the river Kur, which is near Hhekan, or Khafan, and it reaches nearly to Zabek in Kirman (Armenia.) The extent of this lake is twenty farsangs, nearly eight miles, in length; and the water of it is bitter, and on the borders are wild beasts of various kinds, such as lions, leopards, or tigers, and others; and the region of this lake, which belongs to the *kueh* (district) of Istaker, (Persepolis,) comprises several villages." Hamdallah Mastowfi says, that in its vicinity are tracts of soil impregnated with salt; that its length is twelve, its breadth seven, and its circumference thirty-four farsangs. These accounts were written about A. D. 950. To the ancient writers the lake seems to have been unknown, for it is neither mentioned by Strabo nor Curtius, nor others who mention the expedition of Cyrus; nor is it spoken of by the Greek or Roman geographers. On this account it is marked on some of the maps of ancient countries as "unknown to the ancients." The same may be said of the lake of Shiraz, or, as it is called by Hamdallah 'Azvini, *Mahluiah*. This latter lake, it may be added, extends to within six miles south-east of Shiraz, being from twenty to twenty-five miles long, and twelve farsangs, or nearly forty-eight miles in circumference.

CLIMATE.

As might be expected, in so vast an extent of country as Persia, the climate is very varied: some parts, indeed, are wintry cold, while others are parched with heat at the same time of the year. The plain of Ghilan and Mazanderan possesses a climate peculiar to itself. This arises from the circumstances that it is below the sea level; that it has a vast expanse of water to the north; and that it is enclosed on the south by a high range of mountains. The plain has a rainy and dry season. In the month of September, heavy gales commence, which impel the clouds against the mountain wall of Elburz, and the rain

descends in torrents, accompanied by appalling thunder-storms. The rain continues in the plain to the middle of January, but on the slopes of the mountains it is converted into snow about the beginning of November, and the quantity that falls is enormous. It is said to rise in many places from one to two fathoms, and to carry away houses and even villages. In summer, though rains are not so frequent, the air is very moist, and the plain is generally enveloped in vapour and fogs, which engender fevers and other diseases. The heat at this season is oppressive. One very remarkable feature in the climate of this plain is, that sometimes in winter a hot southerly wind springs up, which changes the temperature in an instant to such a degree, that wood and other inflammable substances are dried up, so as to render them liable to ignite from the smallest spark. Sometimes this wind lasts only a quarter of an hour, but, generally, twenty-four hours. It is followed by a gale from the north-east, which brings snow and rain; by the natives it is called the Bagdad wind. It is probably to this air that Tavernier alludes, when he asserts that the Persians are sometimes destroyed instantly by a hot burning south wind.

But notwithstanding this climate is so extraordinary, it produces a luxuriance of vegetation, rarely met with even between the tropics. The swampy tracts along the shores of the Caspian sea abound with saline plants and canes, which are employed in building and for domestic purposes. Not far from the shores begin the forests, which cover the whole plain, and extend to a considerable elevation up the slopes of the hills. These forests are surrounded by orchards, plantations of mulberry trees, and fields of rice. The orchards produce figs, peaches, apricots, pears, apples, plums, and cherries. The vine is also cultivated here, and the pomegranate tree grows wild. The principal occupations of the peasants of Ghilan are the raising of silk, and the cultivation of rice.

The climate of the low sandy tract along the Persian Gulf is distinguished for its great heat and aridity. On this account it abounds with date trees, which only bear edible fruit where these circumstances concur. During the summer heat, it is extremely unhealthy. So oppressive is the heat, indeed, that the inhabitants generally retire to the adjacent mountains, leaving only a few poor creatures to watch their effects, who do so at the expense of their health.

In the interior of the table-land of Persia, the climate is hot in summer, and cold in winter. In this part however, the air is dry, and the sky cloudless. This produces great purity of element, which is the chief blessing the Persians enjoy in this part of the country. They derive from thence a clear and florid complexion, and an excellent habit of body. In the summer, it seldom rains; but the heat is mitigated by a brisk wind, which blows during the night, so that the traveller may proceed on his journey by the light of the glittering stars without inconvenience. In the winter, the air is not so dry in these parts. A considerable quantity of snow falls; and yet not so much as to render the soil fit for maintaining constant vegetation. Near the mountain ranges the fall of snow is much

greater, which is supposed to occasion the superior fertility of those districts, especially where the vegetation can be promoted by irrigation. The lack of this moisture renders the central part of the table-land of Persia a desert, and from this cause, the oases within the desert are more fit for plantations of fruit trees, than for the cultivation of grain.* The plain surrounding Teheran, which is near the northern edge of the table-land, and not far from the foot of the Elburz range, was, when Frazer visited it in November, covered with snow; and when Morier was there in March, ice was still to be seen. The mild weather does not commence before April, when the transition from cold to heat is very sudden. At sunrise the thermometer stands between 61° and 64°, but at noon it rises to 75°, and in the afternoon a hot south-eastern wind generally blows, which renders the heat oppressive.

The great dryness of the air in this part of Persia exempts it from thunder and earthquakes. In the spring, indeed, occasionally showers of hail fall, but they do not appear to be common, or of a severe nature. The rainbow, that grand ethereal object, that

"Shouts up immense, and every hue unfolds,
In fair proportion, running from the red
To waite the violet tules into the sky,"

THOMSON.

is rarely seen in Persia, because there are not vapours sufficient to form it. By night, however, there are seen the phenomena of rays of light shooting through the firmament, and followed by apparent trains of smoke. The winds, though frequently brisk, seldom swell into storms, but they are sometimes extremely infectious on the shores of the Gulf.

PRODUCTIONS.

Much may be gathered from the foregoing pages concerning the productions of Persia: as, however, many have not yet been mentioned, it is deemed desirable to enumerate the whole, as far as our information extends, under their different kinds.

Trees.—The fruit trees of Persia are managed with considerable skill, and in many places they are distinguished for their excellent fruit, which furnishes no mean article of internal trade. These fruits are apricots, peaches, apples, plums, pears, nectarines, quinces, figs, pomegranates, mulberries, currants, cherries, almonds, walnuts, and pistachio nuts. Vine plantations are extensive, but wine is only made by the Christian population. Dates ripen only in Gurmair, and some of the lower valleys in the mountains of Kerman. Forest trees do not occur, except on the northern declivity of the Elburz mountains. The oak covers large tracts of the mountains of

* Tavernier remarks, that the Persians are so sensible of the fertilizing influence of the snow, that they examine very curiously how high it rises every year. This is done by setting a stone on the top of a mountain four leagues from Spauhsen, between two and three feet high, over which if the snow rises it causes much joy. The peasant who first brings the news of such an event to court, is rewarded for his pains by a considerable present.

Kurdistan; but it does not give the beholder an idea of a

"King of the forest;
Majestically stern, sublimely great;
Laughing to scorn the wind, the flood, the flame;
And e'en when withering, proudly unscathed."

It does not even grow to the size of a common timber tree. The most common trees of Persia are the plantane, willow, fir, and corail, called by the Arabs, *seder*, and by the Persians, *corail*. The tree which bears gall nuts, grows abundantly in Kurdistan; and those which produce gums, mastich, and incense, are common in most parts of Persia; the latter more especially in Carmania Deserta. The tree bearing manna, is also frequent, and so is the tamarisk, a species of which likewise produces manna.

Grain.—The most usual crops in Persia are rice, wheat, and barley; but there are also millet, (*Holcus sorghum*), maize, tel, or sesamum, a species of vetch, and several kinds of peas and beans. Rice is the general aliment of the Persians, for which reason they are very careful in its cultivation. It is, indeed, in that country, softer, sooner boiled, and more delicious to the taste, than that grown in any other part of the world.

Cucumber Plants.—Under this head only two plants occur, namely, the cucumber and the melon. The melons of Persia are distinguished for their size and flavour. There appears to be about twenty kinds of them, and, like all other orientals, the Persians seem to have a passion for this fruit. They take great pains to preserve them in repositories when they are out of season; and when the season is in, they live almost entirely upon them.

Vegetable Productions.—The chief culinary vegetables of Persia are turnips, carrots, cabbages, lettuce, cauliflowers, celery, radishes, garlic, parsley, and onions.

Flowers.—Conspicuous among this class of plants in Persia, stands the rose. The size of the Persian rose trees, and the number of flowers on each, far exceeds any thing we are accustomed to witness. Sir Robert Ker Porter, describing the rose of Persia, says: "On first entering this bower of fairy-land, I was struck with the appearance of two rose trees, full fourteen feet high, laden with thousands of flowers, in every degree of expansion, and of a bloom and delicacy of scent that imbued the whole atmosphere with the most exquisite perfume: indeed, I believe, that in no country of the world does the rose grow in such perfection as in Persia; in no country is it so cultivated and prized by the natives. Their gardens and courts are crowded with its plants; their rooms ornamented with vases, filled with its gathered branches; and every bath strewn with the full-blown flowers, plucked from the ever replenished stems. Even the humblest individual, who pays a piece of copper money for a few whiffs of a *haloua*, feels a double enjoyment when he finds it stuck with a bud from his dear native tree. But in this delicious garden of Neganistan, the eye and the smell were not the only senses regaled by the presence of the rose; the ear was enchanted by the wild and beautiful notes of the multitude of nightingales, whose warblings seemed to increase

in melody and softness with the unfolding of their favourite flowers; verifying the song of their poet, who says: 'When the charms of the bower are passed away, the fond tale of the nightingale no longer animates the scene.'

The roses of Persia are of various kinds. There is the usual rose-coloured flower, white, red, or deeper red and yellow are mixed, that is, red on one side, and yellow or white on the other. Sometimes one tree produces flowers of three colours, red, red and yellow, red and white.

Besides the rose, most of the varieties of flowers in Europe are also known in Persia. Many, also, unknown to Europeans, are abundantly scattered abroad. From September to the end of April, the province of Mazanderan is covered with flowers as with a rich embroidered carpet. Towards Media, also, and on the southern frontiers of Arabia, the fields are adorned with tulips, anemones, ranunculuses, etc., all growing spontaneously. In other places, as in the neighbourhood of Spaulawn, jonquils grow wild all the winter. The province of Hyrcania, however, for the beauty, variety, and quantity of its flowers, exceeds the rest of Persia, in this respect, as much as Persia does the rest of the world; an idea of which has been given in the notice of that province.

Herbs and Drugs. As in flowers, so in its herbs, does Persia excel all other countries; especially such as are aromatic. For drugs, also, it is celebrated, producing as many as any country in Asia. Besides manna, cassia, sena, the *nut romani*, gum ammoniac, by the Persians called *ouzer*, is found in abundance on the confines of Parthia, towards the south. Rhubarb grows commonly in Khorassan, the ancient Sogdiana; and the poppy of Persia, which produces opium, is esteemed the finest in the world, as well for its beauty, as the strength of its production. In many places saffron is cultivated. One of the most remarkable vegetable productions of Persia, is the plant from which assafetida is obtained. This plant is called by the Persians *hiltet*, and it is supposed to be the *aliphum* of Dioscorides. There are two kinds of it, the white and the black, which latter is the most esteemed, as possessing greater strength than the white. This drug has a stronger odour than any other known. It is said, that places where it has been preserved, will retain this odour for many years. There are two kinds of gum called *mummy* in Persia, which is in great request. This article is found in Carmania the Desert, and in Khorassan, where it distils from the rocks. It possesses great healing virtues. Its name is derived from the Persian word, *mum*, which signifies literally, an unguent. Galbanum is likewise common in Persia, together with the vegetable alkali, and many other drugs of minor importance. Cotton is common all over Persia, and there is a tree resembling it, but which is more rare, producing a fine and soft substance like silk, of which many uses are made.

Metals and Minerals.—In ancient times there were silver mines in Persia, but at present there are none open. The expenses attending the working of them seems to have equalled their produce, which is represented as the cause of

their abandonment. Iron is abundant in many places, especially in Hyrcania, but it is not much worked. Chardin represents it as not worth above sixpence a hundred weight, and he says, that it is so full of sulphur, that if flings of it be cast into the fire, they make a report like powder. Too fierce a fire will also destroy the substance altogether. Copper has been discovered in Azerbajan, and other places; but, like the iron, it is of little use unless it is mingled with copper from the mines of other countries, as Sweden and Japan. Rock salt is very abundant in Persia, and large tracts of the plain are covered with salt incrustations. In some places it is said to be as firm and hard as fire stone, and to be used as such in Carmania Deserta, in the erection of houses. In Hyrcania, and Mazandaran, naphtha of two kinds is met with, black and white. The richest mine in Persia, however, is the turquoise. There are also two kinds of this precious stone; one in Khorassan, the other between Hyrcania and Parthia in Mount Phirous, which mountain derived its name from an ancient king of Persia. Other mines of this precious stone have, at a later date, been discovered, but they are by no means so valuable, the stone being less beautiful in colour, and waning by degrees, till at length it is colourless. Marble, fire stone, and slate are found in great quantities about Hamadan. This marble is of four colours, white, or statuary, black, red and black, and white and black. The best is discovered about Taurus. This is almost as transparent as crystal; its colour is white, mingled with a pale green, but it is so soft that some have doubted whether it is a stone. In the neighbourhood of Hamadan, azure is found, but it is not equal to that of Tartary, and therefore is not held in repute.

Such was and is Persia. Anciently it possessed the blessings of this life in rich abundance, and even now its inhabitants can rejoice in the gifts of nature. But Persia has ever lacked the richest blessing that can be bestowed on a country, that of the Christian religion. For many an age they were led astray by the Magian faith, and now they bend under the yoke of the arch impostor Mohammed. But

"The groans of nature in this nether world,
Which Heaven has heard for ages, have an end.
Foretold by prophets, and by poets sung,
Whose fire was kindled at the prophet's lamp,
The time of rest, the promised sabbath comes."

Then shall

"The dwellers in the vales and on the rocks
Shout to each other, and the mountain tops
From distant mountains catch the flying joy,
Till nation after nation, taught the strain,
Earth rolls the rapturous howanna round.
See Salem built, the labour of a God!
Bright as a sun, the sacred city shines.
All kingdoms, and all princes of the earth
Flock to that light: the glory of all lands
Flows into her; unbounded is her joy,
And endless her increase. Thy name are there,
Nebaloth, and the flocks of Kedar there.
The looms of Ormus, and the mines of Ind,
And Baha's spicy groves pay tribute there.
Praise is in all her gates; upon her walls,
And in her streets, and in her spacious courts,
Is heard salvation. Eastern Jave, there,
Kneels with the native of the furthest west;
And Ethiopia spreads abroad the hand,
And worships. Her report has travelled forth

Into all lands. From every clime they come
To see thy beauty, and to share thy joy,
Oh Sion! An assembly such as earth
Saw never, such as heaven stoops down to see."
COOPER.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF PERSIA.

IN the various provinces of the vast empire of Persia, there were a great number of important cities and towns; but concerning many of them, no detailed information has been handed down to us by ancient writers. All, therefore, that can be done in these pages, is to notice those of which any account, and any remains, have survived the wreck of ages, and which were of the greatest note. Among these stands pre-eminently forward, the city of

PERSEPOLIS,

which stood within the province of Persia.

The city of Persepolis is mentioned by Greek writers, after the era of Alexander, as the capital of Persia. The name, however, does not occur in the writings of Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, or Nehemiah, who were well acquainted with the other principal cities of the Persian empire, and who make frequent mention of Susa, Babylon, and Ecbatana. But this may be accounted for by the fact, that Persepolis never appears to have been a place of residence for the Persian kings, though it was regarded as the capital of their empire in the remotest ages.

There has been much dispute respecting the Persian name of Persepolis. According to oriental historians, it was Istakher, or Estekhar; and many modern authors suppose that Persepolis and Pasagardæ, the common burial-places of the kings of Persia, are only different names for the same place, and that the latter word is the Greek translation of the former. Their views do not seem to be correct: there are strong reasons, indeed, for believing that they are different places.

The city of Persepolis was situated in an extensive plain, near the union of the Araxes (Bendemir) and Cyrus (Kur). In the time of Alexander, there was at Persepolis a magnificent palace, full of immense treasures, which had been accumulating from the time of Cyrus. Little is known of its history. When Alexander, however, subverted the Persian empire, Persepolis fell a prey to the maddered rage of the conqueror. Instigated by a courtesan, he issued from a banquet, and accompanied by a band of other bacchanals, as cruel and as mad as himself, with flaming torches in their hands, like so many furies, they fired the palace of the Persian monarch, after which his army plundered and devastated the city.

But it was not Alexander alone that reduced Persepolis to its present mournful state. It existed, but not in its pristine glory, in the days of Ammianus Marcellinus; and in the Greek chronicle of Tabari, who flourished in the ninth century, it is said, that Pars, or Persia, composed a number of districts, each governed by a petty king, one of whom ruled in Istakher. The

chronicle further states, that Artaxerxes Babagan commenced his ambitious career by putting to death the king of Istakher, after which he rendered himself master not only of Pars, but of Kirman, and finally became ruler of all Iran, or Persia, by the defeat and death of Adavan. The same authority states, that Shapoor II., having recovered Nisibin, in Diyarbekr, he sent 12,000 families from Istakher to reinhabit the deserted city. About A.D. 639, the Arabs made an unsuccessful attempt on Istakher, and two years after the decisive battle of Nehavend was fought, the result of which was, the future capture of Persepolis, or Istakher. This battle, also, decided the fate of Persia, and the religion of Zoroaster. The blaze of the eternal fire was extinguished by the superior radiance of the crescent; and the sceptre of empire, wielded by the successors of Artaxerxes for more than four centuries, dropped from the hands of the unfortunate Yasdijerd, while the sun of the house of Sassan went down to rise no more. Persepolis underwent another vicissitude in 644, when the Arabs, under the command of Abu Musa al Ashari, defeated Shuhreg, who lost his life and the city of Istakher, which paid a contribution of 300,000 silver dirhems to obtain a respite. In 648, the inhabitants of Istakher revolted, and slew the Arabian governor, in consequence of which the khalif Othman sent Abdallah Ebn Amer with troops from Basrah to Istakher, where they encountered the Persians, commanded by Mahek, son of Shahreg, who had been slain by Abu Musa al Ashari "from the dawn of day till the time of the meridian prayer." Mahek fled, and the city of Istakher was taken by storm; after which the city declined daily, so that in 950 it was not above a mile in length, and was finally destroyed in 982 by the Dilemite prince Samas'm Ad'doulah. It exists only, says Hamdallah Casvini, who wrote in 1339, under the reduced form of a village.

It has been well said, in deprecation of the destruction of cities, which history lauds as the work of heroes, "How many monuments of literature and science, of taste and genius, of utility, splendour, and elegance, have been destroyed by the ruthless hands of sanguinary heroes, who have left nothing but ruins as the monuments of their prowess." The ruins of Persepolis respond to these sentiments, while at the same time, in the ear of reason, they discourse of the mutability of all things below the skies.

The ruins of Persepolis, which are usually called by the inhabitants, "Tehil-Minar," (the forty pillars,) and sometimes "Hesa Sature," (the thousand columns,) are very grand.

"——— The piles of fallen Persepolis
In deep arrangement hide the darkest pain.
Unbounded waste! the mouldering obelisk,
Here, like a blasted oak, ascends the clouds.
Here Persian domes their vaulted halls disclose,
Horrid with thorn, where lurks the un pitying thief,
Whence fits the twilight-loving bat at eve,
And the deaf adder wreaths her spotted train,
The dwellings once of elegance and art!
Here temples rise, amid whose hallowed bounds,
Spire the black pine; while through the naked street,
Once haunt of tradeful merchants, springs the grass.
Here columns, heap'd on prostrate columns, torn
From their firm base, increase the mouldering mass.
Far as the sight can place, appear the spoils

Of such magnificence! A blended scene
Of molet, fane, arches, domes, and palaces,
Where, with his brother Horror, Ruin sits."

WARTON.

Those who have visited the ruins of Persepolis concur in one unanimous verdict, that the city represented by them, must have been the most magnificent ever seen on earth; and that the Persian empire, in all its glory, could not boast of any thing more grand, nor have left to wondering posterity any thing more astonishing, than these venerable ruins. The present inhabitants of the vale of Merdasht, the plain of Persepolis, ignorant of the glories of their ancestors, deem them the work of demons, or of the Prædilectite sultans, now immured in the rocky caverns of the mighty Caucasus, or of the great Solomon, the son of David, who, in eastern romance, is said to have had all the demons and genii under his control. Unconscious that he is treading on classic ground, the wandering band tends his flock amid the tenantless waste; and the music that once called up the spirit of mirth in the breast of monarchs, is exchanged for the howl of wild beasts. In the halls of a Xerxes, in the palace of Chosroes, the fox takes up his abode, and the spider weaves her web; while from the towers of Istakher the screech owl nightly takes up its doleful note. Such is the end of human greatness!

The plain where these awful representatives of Persepolis stand, is one of the most extensive in Persia, and the finest in the east. According to Chardin, it extends eighteen leagues from east to west, by a diversified breadth of from six, to twelve, and eighteen miles. It is watered by the Araxes, and many minor streams. It is bounded on the north by the western branch of the Kur-ah; on the south by the south branch of the Kur-ah; and on the west by the Araxes, thus describing an oval figure. On the north-west is the junction of the Parvaub and the Araxes; and on the north-east is the point where the Kur-ah diverges into the two branches which bound its two sides. On every side it is surrounded with mountains, which give as much natural grandeur to the vale, as the city contained could receive from industry and art; nay, more, for the works of the Creator far surpass those of the creature.

The principal ruins of Persepolis are those of the Takht-i-Jemshid, which is identified with the palace set on fire by Alexander, and which stands at the base of the abruptly rising rock of Istakher. The first object that meets the eye of the traveller is the platform, which is an artificial plain of a very irregular shape, but facing the four cardinal points, like the bases of the Egyptian pyramids. The dimensions of the three faces of the platform are these; to the south 802 feet; to the north 926; and to the west 1425 feet. The level of the building at this date is very uneven, which is occasioned by the increasing accumulation of falling ruins, and the soil, which, from various causes, successively collects over these heaps. On the north-west, large masses of the native rock show themselves without incumbrance, still retaining marks of the original hammers and other instruments by which the higher portions of the rock had been cut down to

the required level. Beyond the face of the platform, the rock protrudes in vast abrupt cliffs; and in deeper cavities the progress of a quarry is visible, part of the rock being half hewn through, and in other places lying in completed slabs, ready for removal. This would indicate that the structure was not considered complete. It was the work of ages, and every succeeding monarch added to its grandeur. What, however, had been done could scarcely be exceeded. Its steep faces are formed of dark grey marble, cut into huge square blocks, and exquisitely polished. These are fitted to each other with such closeness and precision, that when first completed, the platform must have appeared as part of the solid mountain itself, levelled to become the foundation for a palace. The height of the platform is evidently considerably lower than it once was, owing to the masses of ruin and vegetative matter at its base. These have raised hillocks against all the sides, making rough slopes; whereas originally they were perpendicular. Ker Porter says he measured them, and that he found, at a spot near the group of columns, the perpendicular depth to be thirty feet; but he adds, that were all the rubbish to be cleared away, an additional depth of twenty feet would be discovered. The south side does not exceed twenty feet, and to the north it varies from sixteen to twenty-six feet. The platform embraces three terraces. The first and lowest embraces the southern face, by 183 feet broad; the second is more elevated, and the third more elevated still. Along the edge of the lowest terrace there are masses of stone which apparently are fragments of a parapet wall; and on the edge of the third, or highest terrace, to the south, are decided remains of a strong stone railing, or range of palisades. These cease at the top of the staircase connecting this with the lower terrace. At the top of this flight of steps, are two large holes cut deeply into the stone, which received the pivots of the gates that closed this ingress. There is only one way by which this platform can be ascended, and that is by a staircase situated on its western side. A double flight of stairs rises very gently north and south, the base of which is sixty-seven feet by twenty-two. On ascending these, there is an irregular landing-place of thirty-seven feet by forty-four, whence springs a second flight of steps covering fifty-nine feet by twenty-two. Two corresponding staircases terminate on the grand level of the platform, by a landing-place occupying sixty-four feet. So easy of ascent is this staircase, and so grand is it likewise, that six horsemen may ride abreast to the summit of the platform. On reaching the platform, the lofty sides of a magnificent portal meet the eye of the traveller. The interior faces of the walls of this portal are sculptured out into the forms of two colossal bulls. These animals look westward; their heads, chests, and fore legs, occupying nearly the entire thickness of the wall in that direction; the rest of their bodies being left in relief. They stand on a pedestal elevated five feet above the level of the platform. Considerably above the backs of these animals are three small compartments filled with cuneiform inscriptions. Each bull is twenty-two feet long from its fore to its hind leg, and fourteen and a

half feet high; their heads are gone. Round their necks are beautifully carved collars of roses; and over the chest, back, and ribs, extends a decoration resembling hair, short and curled, the execution of which is exquisite. Their proportions are admirable; and there is a corresponding grandeur which is in perfect accordance to the prodigious scale on which all around them is executed. The broad ornamented chest and the position of these animals are full of pondrous majesty; and the whole is combined with such spirit in the attitude and action that the sculpture seems ready to walk from the mass to which it is attached. It is supposed that these figured animals were symbolical representations of the attribute of power, and that as such they were placed as symbols at the gate of the kings of Persia. This is very probable; for throughout all Pagan mythology the bull is designated the emblem of power, as the lion is the emblem of royalty. The bull was, indeed, a favourite divinity in Egypt, Syria, and India; and the lion and bull, either singly or in compound forms, are found connected with almost all the ancient Persian structures. The body of the bull is indicative of power, and his horn of force exerted by that instrument. Every symbolical animal of this kind which Sir Robert Ker Porter saw in Persian architecture had but one horn; hence he conjectures that these animals were thus represented originally.

A little distant from the portal to the east, when Sir John Chardin visited Persepolis, (A.D. 1674.) there were four columns; two of these now only remain, and the base of these is nearly buried by an accumulation of ruins. These columns are of white marble, fluted, and exceedingly beautiful as to their capitals and other ornaments. Le Brun says they are fourteen feet round. The shaft gradually narrows towards the top, and it is varied by thirty-nine flutings, each four inches wide. Le Brun makes their height, exclusive of their bases, to be fifty-four feet, in which Ker Porter nearly agrees. The surface of the top is smooth, without the slightest remains of any loose fragment; hence the latter traveller supposes that when the four were united they sustained the plane or pedestal of some sculptured symbolical image.

About twenty-four feet from these columns stands another gateway, in all respects similar to the first in proportion, except that it is eighteen feet in length, instead of twenty-one. The inner sides of this portal are also sculptured, but the animals represented are of extraordinary formation. They have the body and legs of a bull; but an enormous pair of wings project from the shoulders, extending high over the back, and covering the breast, whence they appear to spring, as the entire chest is cased with their plumage. The feathers which compose the wings are exquisitely wrought. The heads of the animals look east to the mountains, and exhibit the faces of men, severe in countenance. A long curled beard adds to the majesty of their appearance. The ears are like those of the bull, and they are ornamented with large pendant earrings of an elegant form. On the head is a cylindrical diadem, on both sides of which horns are clearly represented, winding upwards from

the brows to the front of the crown, the whole being surmounted by a coronet of lotos leaves, and bound by a fillet of exquisitely carved roses. The hair is ranged over the forehead in the style of the ancient Persian kings, and the beard is also disposed after the fashion of royalty; but the hair behind differs essentially from all the bas-reliefs in other parts of the ruins. The animal measures nineteen feet from the top of the crown to the hoof, and three compartments of cuneiform inscriptions are cut in the wall over his body.

This is the only specimen known to exist in Persia of the human and bestial form combined. Hence much learned speculation has been put forth to the world upon this subject. It is an enigma, however, which no one has yet solved satisfactorily; and which, unless the cuneiform characters cut over the body could be deciphered, must ever remain unsolved.

On the south of the portal, there is a capacious cistern, eighteen feet long, by sixteen feet broad. This was filled with water by subterranean aqueducts, and it appears to have been hewn out of the solid rock. To the south of this is the magnificent terrace that supports the Hall of Columns. This hall, peculiarly denominated *Chekilmar*, or Palace of forty Columns, is exceedingly magnificent. They are approached by a double staircase, projecting considerably before the northern face of the terrace. The ascent, like that of the great entrance from the plain, is very gradual; each flight containing only thirty steps, each four inches high, fourteen broad, and sixteen feet long. The whole front of the advanced range, as soon as the landing-place is gained, is replete with sculptures. The place immediately under the landing-place is divided into three compartments, on which, except the middle one, are inscriptions. To the left of it are four standing figures, five feet six inches high, habited in long robes, with brogues like buskins on their feet, and holding each a short spear in an upright position. Their heads are covered with flute flat-topped caps, and a bow and quiver hang from the left shoulder. On the right are three figures, looking towards these four, in every respect similar, the bow and quiver excepted. Instead of these, they carry a large shield on the left arm, in the form of a Median buckler. The dress of these corresponds to the description which Herodotus gives of the Persians. He says: "The Persians wore small helmets on their heads, which they call *tearæ*; their bodies were covered with tunics of different colours, having sleeves, and adorned with plates of steel, in imitation of the scales of fishes; their thighs were defended, and they carried a kind of shield, called *gera*, beneath which was a quiver. They had short spears, large bows, and arrows made of reeds; and on their right side a dagger suspended from the belt." This dress is what they called the Median, and it was introduced by Cyrus into Persia. The angular space on each side of these groups of spearmen are filled with representations of a combat between a lion and a bull. What this represents is unknown; for the Persians were not accustomed, like the Romans, to enjoy the combats—if such be enjoyments—in an arena fitted up for that purpose: these sculptured

combats are therefore allegorical representations, of which nothing is known. Of the sculpture, Sir Robert Ker Porter says: "The fire, beauty, and truth with which these quadrupeds are drawn, will hardly appear credible but to one who has appeared on the spot; for no artist, whether in Greece or Rome, could have been more faithful to the proportions of nature, or shown more knowledge of the anatomy of their forms. But it must be observed that animal forms are given there with much more nicety in their limbs, muscles, and actions, than when the sculptor attempts the human form. This holds good in the antiquities of Egypt, Syria, and India."

On the inclined plane, corresponding to the slope of the stairs, there is a line of dwarf figures, answering in number to the steps, each of which appears to form a pedestal for a figure. A similar range appears on the opposite side. Both of these are thought to represent the *Doryphores*, or body guards of the great king.

Having ascended the second flight of stairs, the traveller finds a triangular space formed by the slope of the steps, which is filled up with the combat of the lion and the bull, occupying a length of twenty-three feet. The space is divided by a tablet, on which are three rows of mutilated figures, covering an expanse of sixty-eight feet, and ending at the top of the stairs of the outward approach. The upper row of figures begins with a chariot drawn by two bulls; then a second; then a horse, with the feet of a man, on the opposite side, as its attendant; then two other horses; then five figures habited in short vests; and then with a succession of forty-four long-robed spearmen. The second row commences with a range of thirty-two figures, clothed alternately in long and short robes, the former of which represents the Median, and the latter the genuine Persian habit. After these figures, there are twenty-eight robed Persians, armed with spears, each bearing the same attitude, and having a fillet round his head, on which are the traces of leaves. Twelve sculptured cypress trees complete this bas-relief, and end near the stairs. The lowest row of figures is a line of robed and tiara-capped personages, to the number of thirty-two. These are alternately arranged with their brethren in tunics, and followed by a train of twenty-one guards, in the same uniform as those described. This last row is more perfect than the upper ones, inasmuch as it has been preserved from the hand of the Gothlike destroyers, by the heaps of ruin at its base.

The wing on the opposite side of this magnificent approach is like the one described, divided into three lines of bas-relief, each subdivided into compartments by a large cypress tree. These bas-reliefs are adorned with figures of men with offerings, warriors, horses, chariots, colossal bulls, dromedaries, lions, the ibex, serpents, the gorkur, or wild ass, etc.; on all which Ker Porter remarks, "Here, when comparing the colossal proportions of the structure, and its gigantic sculptures, with the delicacy, beauty, and perfection of the execution of the ornaments, I might say with the poet,

Here the Joves play on the bosom of Minerva."

Like the former bas-reliefs, this latter is also

destroyed by time, combined with the destructive malice: thus does man destroy the works of his brother man. Revenge, envy, and the lust of power have no regard for art and industry; and their mighty and beautiful works perish under their evil influences.

This last bas-relief is supposed to represent the feast at the vernal equinox, or feast of Nauroose, when the Persians presented their annual gratuities to the monarch, and the governors of their provinces, with their delegates, brought in the annually collected tax from each, with a due proportion of other offerings. Such a practice is still prevalent in Persia at the feast of Nauroose.

The traveller now gains the platform itself. And here nothing can be more sublime than the view of its ruins; so vast, magnificent, mutilated, and silent. Every object is beautiful in desolation! This pile is in length, from east to west, about 308 feet, and from north to south 350 feet. The greater part of it is covered with broken capitals, shafts of pillars, and fragments of building. The distribution of the pillars stood in four divisions, and consisted of a centre phalanx of six deep every way, with an advanced body of twelve in two ranks, and the same number flanking the centre. One only is now standing, and the shattered bases of nine only now remain, but the places of the others which completed the colonnade may still be traced. To the westward of these appear another double range of columns, five of which are still erect. From hence to the eastern range of a similar number, is 268 feet. Four of these columns are still standing, and the pedestals of four more are yet entire; but the rest lie buried under masses of ruin. On the appearance of these three colonnades, Ker Porter writes: "I gazed at them with wonder and delight. Besides the admiration which the general elegance of their form, and the exquisite workmanship of their parts excited, I was never made so sensible of the impression of perfect symmetry, comprising that of perfect beauty also. The columns are each sixty feet high, the circumference of their shaft sixteen feet, and in length from the capital to the tor forty-four feet. The shaft is finely fluted in fifty-two divisions: at its lower extremity begin a cincture and a torus, the first two inches deep, the latter one foot; whence devolves the pedestal in the form of the cup, and leaves of a lotus, or lily. This rests on a plinth of eight inches, and in circumference twenty-four and a half feet: the whole, from the cincture to the plinth, being five feet ten inches in height. The capitals, which yet remain, though much injured, are yet sufficient to show that they were surmounted by the demi-bull. The heads of the bulls forming the capitals look to the various fronts of the terrace."

About sixty feet from the eastern and western colonnades stood the central phalanx of pillars, in number thirty-six. Five of these now only remain. They are similar to those described, except that they want five feet of the height. Their fluted shafts are thirty-five feet high; but their capitals are the same with those of the great portal, where the crowned and winged bull appears so conspicuous. This phalanx of pillars is supposed to have supported a roof connected with the colonnades. The nearest building to

these pillars is approached from the west by a double flight of stairs in ruins, which have been decorated with sculptured guards and other figures. This building is 170 feet by ninety-five. The eastern side is covered with fallen remains and earth, so that it is impossible to discover a corresponding flight of stairs in that quarter. On the south, the entire face of the terrace supporting this building is occupied with another staircase, whose landing-place is forty-eight feet by ten wide. Its front is divided by a tablet with a cuneiform inscription, on each side of which stand sparrows of gigantic height. North of this is an open space of sixty-five feet, on which appear the foundations of some narrow walls. On each side of this, forty feet to the south, are two lofty entrances composed of four solid upright blocks of marble, nearly black. Within these portals are bas-reliefs of two guards, each habited in the Median robe, and armed with a long spear. On the verge of the landing-place from the western staircase, there is a portal of these long shielded guards; and a little onwards there is another leading into a room of forty-eight feet square. This room had formerly seven doors leading into it, but of these five only now remain. These have all on their several sides duplicate bas-reliefs of a royal personage, attended by two men, one of whom holds an umbrella. Compartments of inscriptions are over the heads of these groups. To the south is another division of the same edifice, forty-eight by thirty feet, and terminating on each side, southward, on the landing-place, by a couple of square pillars of one entire piece of marble, twenty-two feet high, and covered in different ranges with inscriptions in different languages, (Usc, Arabic, and Persian. The traces of a double colonnade are visible along the open space, between the western face of the greater terrace and the western face of this edifice. Thus there are three terraces from the level of the plain. A fourth lies ninety-six feet south of the third, their summits being on a level with each other. Three of the sides of the fourth terrace are obscured by rubbish. Along the northern verge, however, rises the heads of a line of figures, equal in size to those on the stairs of the terrace of the double chamber. They are armed with the bow and quiver. A flight of ruined steps is found at the north-west angle, on which are the remains of fine bas-relief decoration. The plane of this terrace is a square of ninety-six feet, thirty-eight of which on the western side are occupied by the depth of the approach. In this latter space there are the bases of ten columns, three feet three inches in diameter, and standing ten feet equi-distant from each other. Fifty-eight feet of this terrace, at its south-west angle, is surmounted by an additional square elevation, the whole depth of which, from summit to base, is sixty-two feet. Along its lower surface are the lower parts of twelve pillars of the same diameter and distance from each other as in the neighbouring colonnade. Beyond the terrace of the double pillars rises another and more extensive elevation, apparently a part of the royal residence itself. On the north of this is an immense heap of ruins, between which and the terrace a spacious open area intervenes. Ker Porter imagines that this mound is the ruins of

the banqueting house, from which Alexander issued forth with his drunken companions to desolate the palace. The fifth terrace is the most conspicuous on the whole platform, being at this date twenty feet above its level; it is also the most ruinous of the whole building. The several faces of the building, indeed, are now marked by their foundations alone, one window to the west and three to the east excepted. These faces open from two corresponding wings, each subdivided into three spacious apartments, the outer ones of which communicate with several pillared quadrangles. In the centre of these quadrangles stands the plinth of four small columns, each having a diameter of two feet and a half, and sixteen feet from a door which leads into a noble hall of ninety feet square. A door on the opposite side corresponds with this, and both lead into quadrangles, similarly open, of four pillars. Another portal leads to the south, and a fourth and fifth to the north, into a large vestibule, the whole width of the hall, which is supported by eight similar columns. Two doors lead from this vestibule, south and west, into six smaller rooms, the windows of which are formed of four large slabs of marble, six feet thick, equivalent to the depth of the walls. On the inner faces of the windows that admit light into the rooms there are duplicate bas-reliefs, occupying the whole surface, and consisting of two figures each. The windows of another room are ornamented with three bas-reliefs of figures, following each other, and each one facing inward, as if directing their steps to the same spot. On the remnants of windows in another apartment are found similar bas-reliefs of three figures, some with their heads covered, and some uncovered. All of these carry something in their hands, as dishes, or bowls, as though they represented servants; two of them are in the Median dress, with their faces uncovered. The door-frames have all one description of bas-relief, that of a royal personage, followed by two attendants bearing an umbrella and a fly-chaser. Over these bas-reliefs are three small compartments of cuneiform inscriptions. At the sides of the open court are the remains of its once magnificent approaches; and near that, eastward, rise from a hollow beneath to a level with the pavement, four enormous supports, resembling rough formed pedestals, and which was intended to uphold some body of immense weight. Opposite is a flight of steps, of a double ascent, beginning from beneath inwardly. These steps are greatly decayed, and bas-reliefs of guards, with duplicates of the combats between the bull and the lion, are similarly circumstanced. To the north of these steps, about sixty feet, are several colossal masses of stone, formerly the sides of gateways, leading into a square edifice of about ninety-six feet, which is small in proportion to the number and size of its entrances. Three of these doorways are yet entire. On the interior face of the door toward the east, are three figures twelve feet high. These are representations of the monarch and his attendants. The visage of the monarch is mutilated, but the air of his person is very majestic. A venerable beard is nicely disposed upon his breast, and there is a mass of hair curled conspicuously covering his neck. He is covered

with the regal tiara, carries a long thin staff in his right hand, and in his left a lily. The broad belt and Median robe complete his attire. One of his attendants holds in both hands an umbrella over his head, while the other waves a fly-chaser in the same direction, grasping in his left hand what probably signifies the royal handkerchief. These attendants are clad in the long robe. The group is sculptured on a marble stone sixteen feet high and nine wide, which is surmounted by a block of smaller dimensions, also adorned with a sculptured figure resembling the personage below. This figure issues from a circle, whence diverge two strange floating forms, resembling serpents, with their heads concealed behind the figure. A pair of large wings spread themselves on each side of the circle. On the portals are duplicates of the same royal personage. This figure is seated on a chair of state, with his staff and lily. An attendant stands before him, waving the fly-chaser over his head. The aerial form, before described, hovers over him. In this quadrangle four portals face each other. In the centre of these portals, the plinths of four columns are still remaining, ten feet distant from each other, and four in diameter. This building is supposed to have been the private oratory of the king, where he offered up his daily adorations to Mezdán or Ormuzd. It is also conjectured that between these four pillars stood an altar containing the sacred fire, which was the symbol of divinity among the ancient Persians. It is a singular fact, that in this building there are no representations of guards round the various officines of the monarch to protect him. Perhaps Ormuzd was considered a sufficient protector.

On the south-east of this edifice of the four pillars, is another ruined pile. A quadrangular edifice of forty-eight feet, and another of thirty feet, separated from it by a wall, constitutes the chief glory of this pile. These two apartments, indeed, apparently complete the whole edifice; but there is a continuation of foundation walls, with the fragments of columns, architraves, and other architectural adjuncts, supporting a roof. At the extremities of the wall, southward, are two stones, each eighteen feet high, and from three and a half to five feet wide. Two doorways have bas-reliefs of the double guard on their sides, and another portal opens from the middle of the southern apartment into the enclosed quadrangle. In the passage is the walking figure of a monarch, with his usual attendant; and the entrances which open into it from the east and west are ornamented with the combats of a lion and a man, while those opening into it from the north are decorated with representations of spear-men.

North of this edifice there is another, next in extent to the Chehitminar, being a square of 210 feet each face. Doors enter into this on every hand, but the grand portals are on the north. Nearly parallel with its eastern and western angles are two colossal bulls, standing on immense pedestals. These bulls face the north: two others, at some distance from them, look due south. These latter appear to have formed the sides of a magnificent gateway. The sides of the principal doors of this quadrangle are richly adorned with sculpture. The most conspicuous

is that of the monarch seated on his chair of state, with both feet resting on a footstool. This chair (or, in other words, the state chair of Persia) resembles the high backed and carved chairs of our ancestors in form, only it was gorgeously inlaid with gold, covered with a carpet, and so high that a stool was always placed at its feet. Over the monarch's head are bas-relief ornaments of a canopy supported by pillars, profusely decorated with fretwork fringes, and borders of lions and bulls. On the legs of the chair are the sculptured feet of a lion, and those of a bull are found in the feet of the footstool. Behind the monarch stands the fan-bearer, with his face muffled; a second tunicked person bears the royal bow and battle axe; and a third, dressed in the Median habit, stands behind, holding a long wand in both hands. At the foot of the throne are two vessels, with connecting chains to their covers. These probably were filled with perfumes. A muffled attendant approaches from without the pillared frame, bringing a small metal-like pail, as though it contained aromatics for the supply of the vessels. Behind the censers, and facing the monarch, there is a tunicked personage with a plain bonnet, having in his left hand a short rod, and holding his right hand to his mouth to prevent his breath exhaling towards the monarch, to whom he bends as he addresses himself. Beyond the royal group, and divided from it by a horizontal border, decked with roses, there are five ranges of attendants, containing fifty sculptured figures, in a military dress.

Beyond the northern front of the edifice above described, there are two portals pointing east and south. These portals are decorated with sculptured double guards, about twelve feet high. The faces of these figures are two feet seven inches long, of a beautiful colour, and exquisite workmanship. Their spears are supposed to be nearly eighteen feet in length. Around and between these portals there are numerous fragments of columns, architraves, and other ruins, which indicate that formerly there was a covered colonnade in these parts. Sculptures are met with here similar to those found on the doors on the north. On the compartments is another view of the monarch, attended only by his fly-chaser. The canopy over his head consists of fretted rings, roses, etc., of the most exquisite sculpture. Lions, the serpent-winged emblem, and the unicorn-bull, fill two rows, while the ferwar, or aerial figure, surmounts the whole, exhibiting a fac-simile of the symbol below.

The four portals of the quadrangle are decorated with sculptured combats between a human figure, usually denominated the pontiff king, and an animal form. The first bas-relief is in one of the doorways in the western face of the building. The hero is clad in long robes, having his arms bare. In his left hand he grasps the strong single horn of the animal, which is on its forehead, while he thrusts his poniard into its body with his right hand. The animal has the head and neck of an eagle, and is covered with immense plumage half way down its back. Though wounded, it seems to oppose its adversary with rampant violence. The corresponding sculpture presents an animal with the head of a

wolf, the fore legs and body of a lion, the hinder legs of an eagle, and the neck scaled or feathered with a prickly mane. It has long wings stretching nearly to its tail, which are formed of a chain of bones like the vertebrae of the back and cut with the most correct knowledge of animal anatomy. A crooked horn projects from the head of this animal, which is grasped by the hero, who is represented stabbing him. The other opponents of the pontiff king are those of a horned lion, and a unicorn-bull: all of these must be looked upon as in the highest degree emblematical.

It is supposed that the monstrous legends of Persian romance originated in these strange combinations of human and bestial forms, and especially the legends of their great poet, Ferdosi. There seems, indeed, to be a great analogy between these latter sculptures and his fictions; for he leads his hero, Isfendear, through seven enchanted gates, the first of which was defended by two wolves; the second by two lions; the third by a dragon; the fourth by a demon devourer of the dead; the fifth by a griffin; the sixth by a cataract; and the seventh by a lake and boundless mountains; all of which his hero overcomes. To such strange purposes can man pervert his intellect, that gift of Heaven, which is given to him to assist him in his journey through life, and to glorify his Creator!

Besides these magnificent remains of this truly wonderful platform, Sir Robert Ker Porter found several other splendid ruins at a place called the Harem of Jemschid. These consisted chiefly of prostrate grey marble columns, highly ornamented and fluted, remains of masonry walls, and the marble work of several door-frames. This harem stands about five miles north-east of Persepolis, and no doubt it was once a portion of this far-famed city.

Of tombs and sepulchral chambers hewn out of the perpendicular face of rocks, there are several specimens at Nakshi Roostam, or portrait of Roostam. These excavations are very shallow, and consist chiefly of an architectural frontispiece or portico, richly adorned with sculpture and other decorations. Four of these tombs are evidently coeval with the building of the palace, and are those of the monarchs residing at Persepolis; the others, which are lower down, are those of the Sassanian monarchs. These are sculptured with equestrian figures of the Sassanian monarchs, with Pehlivi inscriptions. Sir William Ouseley supposes a small square edifice, opposite to the sculptured rock of Nakshi Roostam, to have contained the body of Cyrus; and its appearance is conformable to the idea given of it by Strabo, who says, that "it was a tower not large, having a very narrow entrance." Arrian also says of it, that "it was situate in the royal garden, amid trees and running streams." This tomb, however, does not appear to be clearly identified, for there are no traces of a garden near the spot; the name of Cyrus, moreover, does not appear upon the inscription, and St. Martin supposes that it rather refers to Artaxerxes Ochus.

Such is the state of the once mighty city of Persepolis: such its ruins! They add their testimony, with the many ancient cities now buried

beneath their own ruins, to the perishing nature of all human things. Though hewn out of the "eternal rock," yet time and the destroyer man, have laid the sublime palace of Istakher low. No human hand can find a shelter there, where the mighty monarchs of Persia once reposed. Yes, this rock, though once cleft with nicest art and industrious care, for the repose of poor mortality, now mocks the traveller who seeks a refuge there, like every earthly object, reminding him that there is a Rock that never fails to shelter those that seek a refuge. That Rock is Christ, 1 Cor. x. 4.

PASAGARDE.

This ancient town of Persia is said to have been built by Cyrus, after his victory over Astyages the Mede, which he gained near this place. Plutarch says that the kings of Persia were consecrated at Pasagardæ by the magi; and Strabo and Arrian relate, that the tomb of Cyrus was at this place. Their description of its situation has been seen in the preceding article. The lower part of the tomb, they say, was of a quadrangular shape, and above it there was a chamber built of stone, with an entrance so narrow, that it was difficult for a man to pass through it. Aristobulus entered this chamber, and found in it a golden couch, a golden coffin, a table with cups upon it, and many beautiful garments, swords, and chains. This writer says that the inscription on the tomb read thus: "O man, I am Cyrus, who acquired sovereignty for the Persians, and was king of Asia. Do not, then, grudge me this monument." Magi guarded the tomb, who received daily offerings of sheep, wine, and wheat, which were given in honour of Cyrus. The tomb was plundered in the days of Alexander by robbers, who carried away every thing but the golden couch and coffin, which they were probably not able to remove through the aperture of the chamber.

The site of Pasagardæ has been much disputed. Many imagine that it is to be identified with Persepolis; but there appears to be little doubt that they are distinct places. As such they are mentioned by Strabo, Arrian, and Pliny, the latter of whom says that Pasagardæ was to the east of a town called Laodicea, of which nothing is known. Lassen thinks, that we ought to look for Pasagardæ south east of Persepolis, in the neighbourhood of Fasa. This is the most probable conjecture yet formed on the subject, but after all, it is but conjecture, for time has done its work effectually with reference to Pasagardæ, by having swept its every remains, great and noble as they may have been, from off the face of the earth.

SUSA.

Susa, which was so called from the lily, with which flower the place abounded, was one of the royal cities of Persia. In the prophecies of Daniel, it is called Shushan, Dan. viii. 2. It appears to have existed as a city from the remotest ages, and is said to have been first made a residence of the Persian court by Cyrus. The kings of Persia resided at Susa during the whole or part of the winter, the climate and local position rendering the temperature mild in that season.

In the summer, the temperature was so hot that the court then removed to Ecbatana, the elevated position and northern situation of which rendered its summers cool and agreeable, while the severity of the cold in winter compelled a return to Susa. The city was greatly improved by Darius Hystaspes; and it would seem that the Persian kings deposited their treasures and the records of their kingdoms at Susa, conjointly with Ecbatana. Nothing is known descriptively concerning its ancient condition, except that Strabo relates, it was built of brick like Babylon, was of an oblong figure, and 120 stadia (about fourteen miles) in circumference. The palace was accounted one of the most magnificent royal residences in the world. The wealth of Susa was immense. In an account where Aristagoras comes before Cleomenes, to tempt him to foreign conquests, having with him a brazen tablet, on which was engraved the circuit of the earth, with its seas and rivers, he points, among other places, to Susa, saying: "On the banks of the Choaspes stands Susa, where the great king fixes his residence, and where are his treasures. Master of that city, you may boldly vie with Jupiter himself for riches." Susa has been called *Memnonia*, or the palace of Memnon, because that prince reigned there. The poet Milton makes allusion to this, in a passage wherein he finely illustrates the road which Death and Satan made over chaos, by that which Xerxes made over the Hellespont.

"So, if great things to small may be compared,
Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
From Susa, his Memnonium palace high,
Came to the sea, and, over Hellespont
Bridging his way, Europe with Asia join'd;
And scourged with many a stroke the indignant
wave."

There has been much dispute concerning the site of Susa. That it stood upon the Eulgrus (Chai,) as well as upon the Choaspes, is generally allowed. Herodotus calls it the river of Choaspes, but he makes no mention of Eulgrus, and he says that its waters were so pure and wholesome that the Persian kings drank of no other. Milton has confined the use of the waters of the Choaspes as a beverage to kings alone, instead of confining the kings to the use of those waters:

"There Susa by Choaspes' amber stream,
The drink of none but kings."*

Usually, the city of Susa has been identified with Shuster; but Major Rennell, in which Kinnaird, after recapitulating the arguments on both sides, agrees, preferred to find it at Shus, a city commencing about thirty-six miles more to the west, or nearer to Babylon. This is the most probable site of the ancient Susa, for Shuster is a modern city compared with Sus, or Shus, being founded by Schabour I., in commemoration of his victory over the Roman emperor Valerian; and oriental traditions state that Roman captives

* Jortin remarks upon this passage: "I am afraid Milton is here mistaken. That the kings of Persia drank no water but that of the river Choaspes is well known; that none but kings drank of it, is what, I believe, cannot be proved." He concludes his criticism upon this passage by saying, that Milton, by his calling it "amber stream," seems to have had in view the golden water of Agathocles. But this is not probable, for Milton surely commits errors in matters of history.

were employed in its erection. Besides, there are no rivers near Shuster corresponding to the Choaspes and the Eulæus, while the Kerah and the Ab-i-zai, which flow, the former to the west, and the latter to the east of the ruins of Susa, may be fairly presumed to be those ancient streams. Kinneir, speaking of the ruins of Susa, says: "On its long moulded tract, we indeed find the remains of the once favourite capital of Cyrus; that we see the classic Choaspes of Herodotus in the Kerah, the waters of which were sacred to the lip of majesty alone; and in its neighbouring river, the Ab-i-zai, we find the still more hallowed Eulæus, or Ulai, which the Scriptures describe as the scene of Daniel's prophetic vision: 'And it came to pass, I was at Shushan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam; and I saw in a vision, and I was by the river of Ulai,' Dan. viii. 2." Strabo, it may be added, speaks of the "rivers which pass by Susa," which Gosselin explains as having reference to the Choaspes and Eulæus, or Ulai, as different streams.

The ruins of Shus are very extensive, stretching about twelve miles from one extremity to the other. They extend as far as the eastern bank of the Kerah, occupy a large space between that river and the Ab-i-zai, and, like the ruins of Babylon, Ctesiphon, and Kufah, consist of hillocks of earth and rubbish, covered with broken pieces of brick and coloured tile: thereby corresponding to the ancient Susa, which was entirely built of brick, an additional proof that the ruins of Shus represent the ancient Susa, for Shuster is celebrated for its stone-erected houses, and for its quarries of stone.

The largest and most remarkable mounds in these ruins stand about two miles from Kerah. The first is computed to be a mile in circumference, and nearly 100 feet in height; and the other, although not quite so high, about double the circuit of the former. They are composed of huge masses of sun-dried brick and courses of burned brick and mortar. Large blocks of marble, covered with hieroglyphics, are frequently found here by the Arabs, who distinguish these two great mounds by the name of the Castle and the Palace; and they may be supposed to represent the celebrated fortress which Molon, after having won the city, was unable to take, and the palace of Susa.

At the foot of the most elevated of these mounds stands the tomb of Daniel, a small and apparently modern building, erected on the spot where the relics of that prophet are believed to rest. A dervise resides there, who points to the grave of "the man greatly beloved," with as much homage as if it belonged to the arch-impostor Mohammed himself, or to the Imam Hosein. Though the tomb is comparatively a modern structure, the Jew, Arab, and Mussulman believe, from tradition, that it does indeed contain the remains of the prophet.

The earliest notice of the tomb of Daniel was given by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Asia towards the latter part of the thirteenth century. Latterly, Sir William Ouseley has written much upon the subject. He says, "The local tradition which fixes Daniel's tomb at Susa, seems worthy of investigation. Through the more modern

authors of some oriental works, mostly geographical, I have pursued the tradition to Hamadiah Carvini, of the fourteenth century, and from him through Benjamin of Tudela, to Ebn Hawkel, who travelled in the tenth century." The passage in Ebn Hawkel's work runs thus: "In the city of Sus there is a river, and I have heard that in the time of Abou Mousa al Ahari, a coffin was found there, and it is said the bones of Daniel the prophet (to whom be peace!) were in that coffin. These the people held in great veneration, and in time of distress of famine through drought, they brought them out and prayed for rain. Abou Mousa al Ahari ordered this coffin to be brought, and three coverings or lids to be made for it; the first or outside of which was of boards, exceedingly strong, and caused it to be buried, so that it could not be viewed. A bay or gulf of the river comes over this grave, which may be seen by any one who dives to the bottom of the water." Sir William Ouseley thus describes the tomb as it now exists: "I was finally driven by the heat to the tomb of Daniel, or, as he is called in the east, Danyall, which is situated in a most beautiful spot, washed by a clear running stream, and shaded by planes and other trees, of ample foliage. The building is of Mohammedan date, and inhabited by a solitary dervise, who shows the spot where the prophet is buried, beneath a small and simple square brick mausoleum, said to be, without probability, coeval with his death. It has, however, neither date nor inscription to prove the truth or falsehood of the dervise's assertion. The small river running at the foot of this building, which is called the Bellaran, flows, it has been said, immediately over the prophet's tomb, and by the transparency of the water, his coffin was to be seen at the bottom. But the dervise and the natives whom I questioned remembered no tradition corroborating such a fact. It has at all times been customary with the people of the country to resort hither on certain days of the month, when they offer up prayers at the tomb in supplication to the prophet's shade! and by becoming his guests for the night, expect remission of all present grievances, and an insurance against those to come."

This author has also given a translation of a Persian manuscript, in which the following superstitious legend occurs, relative to the tomb of Daniel: "Abou Mousa having pillaged the territory of Ahwaz, proceeded to Susa, where he slew the governor, a Persian prince, named Shapoor, the son of Azurmahan. Then he entered the castle and palace of that prince, and seized all the treasure there, deposited in different places, until he came to a certain chamber, the door of which was strongly fastened, a leaden seal being affixed to the lock. Abou Mousa inquired of the people of Sus what precious article was guarded with such care in this chamber. They assured him that he would not regard it as a desirable object of plunder; but his curiosity was roused, and he caused the lock to be broken, and the door to be opened. In the chamber he beheld a stone of considerable dimensions hollowed out into the form of a coffin, and in that the body of a dead man, wrapped in a shroud or winding sheet of gold

brocade. The head was uncovered. Abou Moussa and his attendants were astonished; for having measured the nose, they found that proportionally he must have exceeded the common size of men. The people now informed Abou Moussa that this was the body of an ancient sage who formerly lived in Irak, and that whenever the want of rain occasioned a famine or scarcity, the inhabitants applied to this holy man, and through the efficacy of his prayers, obtained copious showers of rain from heaven. It happened afterwards that Sus also suffered from excessive drought, and the people in distress requested that their neighbours would allow this venerable personage to reside a few days among them, expecting to derive the blessing of rain from his intercession with the Almighty; but the Irakians would not grant this request. Fifty men then went, deputed by the people of Sus, who again petitioned the ruler of Irak, saying, 'Let this holy person visit our country, and detain the fifty men until his return.' These terms were accepted, and the holy person came to Sus, where, through the influence of his prayers, rain fell in great abundance, and saved the land from famine; but the people would not permit him to return, and the fifty men were detained as hostages in Irak. Such, said those who accompanied Abou Moussa, is the history of the dead man. The Arabian general then asked them by what name this extraordinary personage had been known among them? They replied, 'The people of Irak called him Daniel Hakim, or Daniel the Sage.' After this, Abou Moussa remained some time in Sus, and dispatched a messenger to Omar the Commander of the Faithful, with an account of all his conquests in Khuzistan, and of the various treasures that had fallen into his possession. He related also the discovery of Daniel's body. When Omar had received this account, he demanded from his chief officers some information concerning Daniel; but all were silent, except Ali, on whom he bestowed the blessing of God. He declared that Daniel had been a prophet, though not of the highest order; that in ages long since he had dwelt with Bakht al Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar) and the kings who had succeeded him; and Ali related the whole of Daniel's history from the beginning to the end. Omar then, by the advice of his counsellor Ali, caused letters to be directed to Abou Moussa to remove, with due respect and veneration, the body of Daniel to some place where the people of Sus could no longer enjoy the possession of it. Abou Moussa, immediately on the receipt of this order, obliged the people of Sus to turn the stream which supplied them with water from its natural course. Then he brought forth the body of Daniel, and having wrapped it in another shroud of gold brocade, he commanded a grave to be made in the dry channel of the river, and therein deposited the venerable remains of the prophet. The grave was then firmly secured and covered with stones of considerable size; the river was restored to its wonted channel, and the waters of Sus now flow over the body of Daniel."

Sir John Kinneir, writing on this subject, says, "The city of Shus is now a gloomy wilderness, infested by lions, hyenas, and other beasts of

prey. The dread of these furious animals compelled Mr. Monteith and myself to take shelter for the night within the walls that encompass Daniel's tomb." To the same effect, Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia, writes: "Every species of wild beast roams at large over that spot on which some of the proudest palaces ever raised by human art once stood." Yes, reader, they rove over the ruins of Susa, without one human being to dispute their reign, save the poor dervise who holds watch over the tomb of the prophet. The chambers of royalty where Ahasuerus exhibited the riches of his kingdom, "and the honour of his excellent majesty," for "an hundred and fourscore days," unto his princes and servants, the power of Media and Persia, with the nobles and princes of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, stretching from India even to Ethiopia, are now the abodes of the beasts of the desert. The voice of festive mirth, once heard in the gorgeous halls of Susa, is exchanged for the howlings of the lion, the wolf, and the hyena, as they roam abroad in quest of prey; while birds of evil note, as they fly over the ruins, give additional solemnity to the desolation. Alas! alas! for human grandeur!

When Major Monteith visited Sus, the dervise who watches the tomb of Daniel showed him several blocks of stone, curiously sculptured, and of great antiquity. The sides of one of these stones, which was a green granite, was covered with hieroglyphical figures, occupying five rows. The first row contained figures supposed to represent the sun, the moon, and one of the stars; the second, animals resembling a horse, a bird, and a dog; the third, a figure with the head and lower extremities of a tiger, the arms of a man, and the tail of a goat; the fourth, an animal resembling an antelope, a serpent, a scorpion, and the ornamented top of a staff or sceptre; and the fifth depicts a trident, two spears, a hawk, and some other bird, with a Greek cross. Two sides of the stone are occupied by inscriptions in the cuneiform character, which is scarcely legible. This is one of the principal remains of Susa.

ARIA.

This city, which is called by some ancient writers, Arioana, Artacunda, Artacousa, and Bitaxa, and by Ptolemy, Aria, answers to the modern Herat, which is situated in an ample plain of great fertility, and surrounded by lofty mountains. The situation of Herat is placed differently on different maps, and by different writers: in Kinneir's Memoir, in 34° 12' N. latitude; by Captain Grant, 63° 14'; in Kinneir's map, 60° 55' E. longitude; in Elphinstone's map of Cabul, in 34° 47' N. latitude, and 61° 55' E. longitude; in Rennell's map of the twenty satrapies of Darius Hystaspes, 61° 5' E. longitude; and in D'Anville's map, 59° 34' of the same. Concerning the ancient town, nothing is known; but Captain Grant says of Herat, that the plain on which it stands is watered by an ample stream, crowded with villages teeming with population, and covered with fields of corn. The landscape receives additional beauty and variety from the numerous mosques, tombs, and other edifices, intermingled with trees and gardens,

with which it is embellished, and the mountain slopes, by which it is surrounded. Herat is situated in the modern province of Khorassan, and contains a population of 45,000. The city occupies an area of four square miles.

ZARANG.

Zarang, or Seistan, is identified by some geographers of high note, with the modern Dooshank, or Jellalabad, which is about 260 miles due south from Herat. This city is situated on the banks of the Ilmend, near its outlet into the lake of Durrah, and it is encompassed by ruins, testifying its ancient grandeur. Captain Christie saw those of a great bund, or dyke, called the "Bund of Rustum," the Persian Hercules. Zarang was chiefly desolated by Timur Bek, who obtained for himself a Goth-like celebrity for the destruction of cities, and the extermination of his fellow-men. He razed this city to its foundations, destroyed the edifice called the "Mound of Rustum," and left no traces of that ancient monument. Sherifidin, in his *Life of this destroyer*, in the spirit of oriental romance, says, that a voice was heard, which invoked the soul of Rustum to arise from his resting place, and behold the calamities which had overtaken his country, in these words: "Lift up thy head; behold the condition of thy country, which is at length reduced by the power of the Tartars."

MARACANDA.

This city is supposed, with great probability, to be the modern

"Samarcand, by Oxus, Timur's throne,"—(MILTON.)

which in Elphinstone's map is placed 230 British miles S.W. of Bactria, in 39° 37' N. latitude, and nearly 65° E. longitude. It is situated on the southern side of the Sogd, which has its source in the ridge of Pamir, and which running south-west from the Beloot-Taugh, divides the waters south to the Oxus from those that run north to the Jaxartes. According to Curtius, when the city was besieged by Alexander, it was three leagues (or nine miles) in circumference. Afterwards it was much enlarged, and surrounded by a wall. It was taken by Jenghis Khan, A.D. 1220, after an obstinate resistance. Samarcand was the favourite residence of Timur Bek, and it is still the seat of an Uzbek-Khan, but its glory is departed.

NISEA.

Strabo mentions this city among those of Hyrcania, and Ptolemy places it in Margiana. Rennell identifies it with the modern Naisabour, but it is more probably the modern Nesa. This has always been a city of note. It is situated between the mountains that bound the district of Toos, or Mesched, and the desert of Khowsar; and fifty geographical miles south-east of Bawerd and twenty east of Kelat. It was taken by the Tartars under Jenghis Khan, A.D. 1220, when 70,000 of its inhabitants perished. It is supposed that the famed Nisean horses and Nisean plains derived their name from this city.

ZADRACARTA.

According to Arrian, this was the largest city of Hyrcania. The term signifies, "the yellow city;" and it was given to it from the great number of orange, lemon, and other fruit trees which grew in the environs of that city. Hence it is by D'Anville, Rochette, and other geographers, identified with Saru, which Pietro Della Valle says, in his *Travels*, signifies yellow. It is probable that Zadracarta and Saru are the same with the Syringis of Polybius, taken from Arses II. by Antiochus the Great, in his fruitless attempt to reunite the revolted provinces of Hyrcania and Parthia to the Syrian crown. Hanway, who visited Saru A.D. 1734, mentions four ancient Magian temples as still standing, built in the form of rotundas, each thirty feet in diameter, and near 120 in height. But Sir W. Ouseley, who was there in 1811, has pronounced these to be masses of brick masonry of the Mohammedan age. One of them only is now standing, the others having been overturned by an earthquake. This and other remains of similar buildings, bear the names of Firdoon, Salin, Toor, and other mystic personages, whose celebrity had been established about 2000 years anterior to their erection. One of them was called the tomb of Kaus, and was supposed to contain the ashes of Cyrus. Sir William Ouseley thinks it was that of Kabas, or Kaus, the son of Washmakim, who governed Mazanderan in the fourth century of the Hejira. It was at Saru that the ashes of the youthful hero, Sohrab, were deposited by his father, Rostum, after he had unwittingly slain him in single combat. Saru is celebrated for its abundance of gardens, which emit a pleasing fragrance in the vernal and summer months. Oriental hyperbole declares, that the gates of paradise derive sweetness from the air of Saru, and the flowers of Eden their fragrance from its soil.

HECATOMPYLOS.

Hecatompylos, which was so called because of its hundred gates, or because all the roads in the Parthian dominions entered here, is the modern Damgan. Its distance from the Caspian Straits, in Kinneir's map, is 125 miles north-east; Rennell, however, makes it only seventy-eight geographical miles. This city was visited by Alexander in his pursuit of Darius. By some writers, Hecatompylos is identified with Isfahan, now one of the most populous towns of Persia; but it does not appear to be authenticated.

The above are all the towns of ancient Persia, concerning which any descriptive account can be offered to the reader. The names of many others will occur in the pages of this history, but little beyond the fact of their having once existed, is known. There are, it is true, the mouldering remnants of many cities scattered about the vast tracts of Persia; but they are not identified with any city whose names are in the pages of ancient historians, or if they be, little is known of their histories. Thus, at Mourghab, forty-nine miles S.W. of Istakher, are extensive ruins, resembling those of Persepolis, and in the neighbourhood of Firooz-abad, there are others seventeen miles in length, and half that

distance in width, which have never been examined by European travellers. Ruins of considerable extent occur, also, in the neighbourhood of Darabgerd, and various other places. All these, and more, occur in the single province of Farsistan, or the ancient Persia.

Reader, what shall we say to these things? Knowing all this, shall we look upon earth as our place of abode, and on the mighty cities that now teem with human kind as enduring in their natures? Rather let us point to Thebes, Babylon, Nineveh, Persepolis, and the many mighty cities of old that now embrace the earth, and say, "They shall one day be as these are." Nay, let us look upon our fair earth, and the sun which shines upon us by day, and the moon and the stars that give us light by night, and exclaim with holy awe, "These, also, mighty and beautiful as they are, and stable as they appear, are doomed to perish." One great question arises out of this, which the poet has well supplied ---

"That day of wrath, that dreadful day,
When heaven and earth shall pass away
What power shall be the sun's stay?
How shall he meet that dreadful day?"

"When, shivering like a pined & roll,
The flaming heavens together roll
When louder yet, and yet more dread,
Swells the high trump that wakes the dead:

"Oh! on that day, that wrathful day,
When man to judgment wakes from clay,
Be Thou the trembling sun's stay,
Though heaven and earth shall pass away!"
SIR WALLACE SCOTT.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF PERSIA.

THE government of the ancient Persians was monarchical, or regal, and the crown hereditary. At what date this form was adopted is unknown. Certain it is, however, that this form of government is the most ancient and prevalent, and could the origin of that of Persia be traced, it would, doubtless, reach a remote period of time. But a veil is thrown over it by the romantic account of Persia given by the early Persian writers, Mirkhond and Ferdusi, a veil which modern historians would in vain attempt to throw aside. That which is known, is handed down to our age by the Greek historians, who knew little of Persia before the era of Cyrus. From these writers, therefore, is chiefly derived the following information concerning the polity of Persia, which, for the sake of distinctness, is classed under several heads.

THE KINGLY POWER.

Eastern monarchs have ever been despots, regarding their subjects generally as slaves. Such were the kings of Persia. They lorded it over their subjects with so high a hand, that they were looked upon as more than mortal: they were regarded, in fact, as the image and viceregents of the Deity on earth. Hence it was that their subjects paid them such extraordinary

and culpable honours. "The great king," and "the king of kings," were the common titles given to the Persian monarchs, and divine honours were paid to them by all ranks of Persia. None dared approach them without that humble prostration due to the Majesty of heaven alone.

Who bows the knee to man
As a divinity, deprives the God
Who made him and preserves him, of his rights;
For to that end was he created man.

Reverence to majesty should proceed from civil obligations alone, not from adoration of their persons. Beyond this, it savours of idolatry.

It was not only of their own subjects that the kings of Persia exacted this homage, but of strangers likewise. Herodotus, relating the circumstance of two Spartans being sent to Xerxes, as an atonement for the destruction of his ambassadors, who had been sent to demand of them "earth and water," as a token of their submission to this haughty monarch, says: "When introduced, on their arrival at Susa, to the royal presence, they were first ordered by the guards to fall prostrate, and adore the king, and some force was used to compel them. But this they refused to do, even if they should dash their heads against the ground. They were not, they said, accustomed to adore a man, nor was it for this purpose that they came. After persevering in such conduct, they addressed Xerxes himself in these words. 'King of the Medes, (or Persians,*) we are sent by our countrymen to make atonement for those ambassadors who perished at Sparta.' And the haughty monarch was obliged to yield to their inflexibility.

This conduct was uniformly the disposition of the Greeks, with the exception of Themistocles, and one or two others. Valerius Maximus says, that one Timagoras, an Athenian, having complied with the demands of the Persian court, was by his countrymen condemned to die, thinking the dignity of their city injured and degraded by this act of meanness. And Elian reports, that Ismenias, the Theban, declined it, by letting his ring drop from his finger, and then throwing himself on the ground to recover it.

Prideaux remarks, that this compliment of prostration before him, must have been paid the king of Persia by the prophets Ezra and Nehemiah, or they could not have had access to him. From a comparison with the above remarks, this will appear to be erroneous; for if the Greeks could gain access without, why should not Ezra and Nehemiah? It is probable, that the kings of Persia, with whom these holy men had to do, knowing the peculiarity of their manners and their religion, would have ceded much to them which the haughty Xerxes would have denied to the Greeks. At all events, if they did act thus, it was from civil obligations alone, not from a feeling of idolatry; for we know that Mordecai was sufficiently inflexible, as not to pay undue honours to Haman.

It is certainly right for subjects to pay due respect to majesty. Respect, nay, reverence is due to the supreme power, because it cometh from God, and is ordained for the welfare of the

* The Persians were usually comprehended by ancient writers, under the name of Medes.

community. "Render therefore," says the great apostle of the Gentiles, "to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour," *Rom. xiii. 7*. Where no respect is paid to the "higher powers," there anarchy prevails, with all its concomitant evils. In the time of paganism, however, this homage and honour were carried beyond due bounds. It is the Christian religion alone that has taught mankind how to act worthily before God and man on this point. It is true, not all that are Christians in name, act towards their rulers as the doctrines of Christianity inculcate. Far, very far from this is the actual fact. And whence does this arise? Is it not from a laxity of moral training?

"The discipline of slavery is unknown
Among us: hence the more do we require
The discipline of virtue; order else
Cannot subsist, nor confidence, nor peace.
Thus duties rising out of good possessed,
And prudent caution needful to avert
Impending evil, equally require
That the whole people should be taught and
trained:
So shall licentiousness and black resolve
Be rooted out, and virtuous habits take
Their place; and gentler pacts descend,
Like an inheritance, from age to age."

WORDSWORTH.

The crown of Persia was hereditary, descending from father to son, and generally to the eldest. When an heir to the crown was born, the whole empire testified their joy by sacrifices, feasts, etc.; and his birthday was thenceforward an annual festival and day of solemnity throughout the whole empire.

When the reigning monarch undertook long or dangerous expeditions, in order to avoid all disputes, it was customary for him to name the heir apparent before he commenced his march. The new king was crowned by the priests at Pasargadae. The ceremony was performed in the temple of the goddess of war, where the king used first of all to clothe himself with the garment which Cyrus had worn before he was exalted to the throne. Xenophon thus describes this garment: "Cyrus himself then appeared, wearing a turban, which was raised high above his head, with a vest of purple colour, half mixed with white, and this mixture of white none else is allowed to wear. On his legs he had yellow buskins, his outer robe was wholly of purple, and about his turban was a diadem or wreath." Being thus attired, he ate some figs, with a small quantity of turpentine, and drank a full cup of sour milk. The crown was then placed upon his head by one of the grandees, in whose family that right was hereditary. Round the crown the king wore a purple and white band or diadem, which crown and diadem were the only signs of royalty used by the earlier Persian monarchs.

The manner of educating the heir apparent of the empire of Persia is extolled by Plato, who proposed it to the Greeks as a perfect model for the education of a prince. Their routine of education was as follows:—Shortly after his birth, he was committed to the care of eunuchs, chief officers of the household, who were charged with

the care of his health and person, and with the duty of forming his manners and behaviour. When seven years of age, he was taken from these officers, and put into the hands of other masters, who were to continue the care of his education, to teach him horsemanship, and to exercise him in hunting. At fourteen years of age, when the mind approaches maturity, four of the wisest and most virtuous men of the state were appointed to be his preceptors. The first taught him magic, that is, the worship of their gods, according to their ancient maxims, and the laws of Zoroaster, the son of Oromasdes; he also instructed him in the principles of government. The second taught him to speak truth, and the principles of justice. The duty of the third was to teach him not to suffer himself to be overcome by pleasures, that he might be a king in truth, always free, and master of himself and his desires. The fourth was to fortify the courage of the young prince against fear, which would have made him a slave, and to inspire him with a noble and prudent assurance, so necessary for those born to command. Each of these governors excelled in his particular department, adding their own examples to their precepts, thereby acting upon that self-evident truth, that, "words instruct, but examples persuade effectually."

But "evil communications corrupt good manners." Plato remarks, that all this care was frustrated by the luxury, pomp, and magnificence with which the young prince was surrounded; by the numerous train of officers that waited upon him with servile submission; by all the appurtenances, and equipage of a voluptuous and effeminate life, in which pleasure and the invention of new diversions engrossed all attention. These are dangers which the most excellent disposition, at least under the pagan system of moral training, could never surmount. The corrupt manners, therefore, of the nation, quickly depraved the mind of the prince, and drew him into a vortex of pleasures, against which no education can form an effectual barrier.

"Religion! the sole voucher man is man;
Supporter sole of man above himself:
Even in this night of frailty, change, and death,
She gives a soul, (and she alone,) a soul that acts a
god."—YOUNG.

But the religion that performs so stupendous a work as this, is the religion of the Bible, which teaches us the gospel of Christ. That of Zoroaster, with all its rites, ceremonies, and fancied perfections, lifted not one of its myriads of devotees above the things of time and sense, the low and grovelling pleasures in which human nature is prone to indulge. It found man debased, it drew him far lower down into the depths of human degradation.

The palace of the kings of Persia had many gates, and each gate a body of guards, whose duty it was to defend the person of the king, and to inform him of whatever they saw or heard done in any part of the kingdom; whence they were expressively termed "the king's ears," and "the king's eyes." To these messengers, all intelligence worthy of note was sent from the remotest provinces of the empire, and they also

received immediate intelligence of sudden commotions, by means of beacon-fires, which were always ready at certain distances, and lighted as occasion required. The guards which attended the king's person consisted of 15,000 men. These were called the king's relations. There was, also, a body of 10,000 chosen horsemen, who accompanied him in his expeditions, and were called "immortal," that number being constantly kept up. These guards received no pay, but were amply provided with the necessities of life.

The Persian monarchs drank no other water but that of the river Choaspes, which was carried about with them in silver vessels. According to Xenophon, the Persians were, in the early period of their history, a temperate and sober people. In the time of Herodotus, however, they drank profusely; and it is certain, that in later ages, the wines of Shiraz have triumphed over the law of Mohammed. Anciently, their kings drank only a peculiar wine made at Damascus. The magnificence of the public feasts of the kings of Persia exceeded, as may be seen from Esther i., any thing that we read of in the histories of other nations. Their table was daily served with something from each nation subject to them. During their repast, they were entertained with the harmony of both vocal and instrumental music.

The king of Persia seldom admitted to his table any one besides his wife and mother. When he did, the guests were so placed, as not to see, but only to be seen by the king: for they imagined it was a degradation of majesty to let their people see that they were subject to the common appetites of nature. This desire of appearing superior to mankind, was the ruling motive of their non-appearance in public. It was rarely that they left the precincts of the palace. Their manner of living may be seen in the interesting book of Esther. Tully says, that the revenues of whole provinces were employed on the attire of their favourite concubines; and Socrates relates, that one country was called "the queen's girdle," and another, "the queen's head-dress."

In the three books of Ezra, Nehemiah, and Esther, there are many passages which intimate the care taken by the Persian government to register every occurrence. All that the king said, indeed, was deemed worthy of registration. He was usually surrounded by scribes, who took note of his words and actions. They were rarely absent from him, and always attended him when he appeared in public. They were present at his festivals, his reviews of the army, and in the tumult of battle, at which times they registered whatever words fell from him on those occasions. They were charged, also, with the registrations of edicts and ordinances, which were written in the king's presence, sealed with his signet ring, and then despatched by couriers. These royal journals or chronicles of Persia were deposited at Babylon, Susa, and Ecbatana, and they formed the archives of this people. They have all perished except the few extracts preserved in the books of Scripture pointed out, and in the older Greek historians. From a transaction recorded Esther vi. 1, it would appear that these

journals were sometimes read to the Persian monarchs.

There are many allusions to the above custom in the works of ancient writers. Herodotus, in describing the review made by Xerxes of his army, states that he was attended by secretaries, who wrote down the various answers he received to the questions which he put as he rode along the ranks in his chariot. He further states that this monarch, when seated on Mount Egaleos to view the battle of Salamis, caused his secretaries to note down the names of such as distinguished themselves in the strife, with the city wherein they lived. A similar custom prevails in oriental countries to this day. Travellers of the middle ages, in their descriptions of the Mongol emperors, tell us that when they dined, four secretaries were seated under their table to write down their words, which they never might revoke.

Another officer of importance in the king's household was his cup-bearer. This is shown by several passages in the book of Nehemiah, and in the works both of Herodotus and Xenophon. The prophet Nehemiah was, indeed, cup-bearer to Artaxerxes, and the allusions he makes to his office is well illustrated by profane authors. Xenophon, in particular, affords some interesting explanations concerning this office, and the manner in which its functions were discharged. Speaking of the cup-bearer of Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, he describes him as the most favoured of the king's household officers; and he adds that he was a very handsome man, and that it was part of his duty to introduce to the king those who came upon business, and to send away those who applied for an interview whom he, the cup-bearer, did not deem it reasonable to introduce. This alone must have made the cup-bearer a person of high consideration at the court of Persia. The emoluments of the office appear to have been very great; for they enabled Nehemiah to sustain for many years the state and hospitality of the government of the Jews from his own private purse. Xenophon admires the manner in which these cup-bearers discharged their office. From his description, it seems that the cup was held in the presence of the monarch, and, being filled, was presented to him on three fingers. This account is explained by the existing customs in the east, and by the sculptures of Persepolis. These sculptures comprehend a great number of figures, bearing cups and vases of different forms and uses, none of which are grasped, as in European countries. If the bearer has but one article, he carries it between both hands, (resting it upon his left hand, and placing his right hand lightly upon it, to prevent it from falling,) with a peculiar grace of action; if he has two, he bears one upon the palm of each hand. It was the duty of the cup-bearer to take some of the wine from the cup presented to the king into his left hand, and drink it, to assure the monarchs against poison.

It appears from the book of Esther that the Persian kings had but one queen, properly so called. From the same book, however, and from common history, it may be gathered that there were a considerable number of secondary wives and other females, who had not attained to this

distinction. With some slight differences, similar distinctions continue to prevail in the harem, or family of the rulers of Persia. The principal difference is, that the king has several legal wives, besides those of a secondary class, and that they now appear to have daily access to his presence, which the history of Esther shows was not the case anciently. The accommodation and attendance of the women varies according to their rank. Sir J. Malcolm says, that "the first business of the king of Persia in the morning, after he is risen, is to sit from one or two hours in the hall of the harem, where his levees are conducted with the same ceremony as in his outer apartment. Female officers arrange the crowd of his wives and slaves with the strictest attention to the order of precedence. After hearing the reports of those entrusted with the internal government of the harem, and consulting with his principal wives, who are generally seated, the monarch leaves the interior apartments."

According to the Greek historians, none were admitted to the king without being called; but they do not appear to have known that queens and princesses were included in the application of this rule. From Esther iv. 11, we find that they were so; and the rule seems to have been that even when the king was in his outer apartments, none might enter uncalled or unannounced; and that when in his interior residence, not even the queen might appear unbidden; none except the seven princes "who saw the king's face," might appear before him without ceremony. And even these were not admitted when any of the king's wives were with him, which restriction enabled the king to see them when and as little as he thought proper. Herodotus relates, that one of the privileged nobles who disbelieved this excuse of two door-keepers for not admitting him into the presence of the monarch, cut off their ears and noses, for which act he and his family, except his wife and eldest son, were punished with death.

On some occasions, this law seems to have been infringed. Thus Esther, urgently requested by Mordecai, to save her nation from the destruction meditated by the wicked Haman, and decreed by Ahamerus when inflamed with wine, stood "in the inner court of the king's house." But then, though death was the law for such an offence, the king might set this aside by holding out the golden sceptre, that the offender might live. Such favour was shown to Esther; otherwise, according to the law of the Medes and Persians, her life must have been the forfeit of her temerity.

After having thus shown her favour, the king promised Esther that whatever might be her request it should be granted her, even to the half of his kingdom; a form of speech which has reference to the custom among the ancient kings of Persia in bestowing grants and pensions to their favourites. These grants were not by payment of money from the treasury, but by charges upon the revenues of particular provinces or cities. Thus when Xerxes wished to make a provision for Themistocles, he gave him the city of Magnesia for his bread, Myonta for his meat and other victuals, and Lampascus for his wine. This may explain the observations before made

with reference to the queens of Persia possessing particular provinces, and the phrase of giving unto "the half of the kingdom." It may also suggest some idea of the cost and splendour of the dresses of the queens of Persia.

Concerning the king's own apparel, there are some interesting allusions made in Esther vi. From thence we learn that the privilege of wearing such a dress formed a permanent distinction of a very high order. It was a distinction that even the great counsellor Haman aspired unto. When the monarch interrogated him thus, "What shall be done unto the man whom the king delighteth to honour?" supposing that the honour was intended for himself, the ambitious courtier rejoined, "For the man whom the king delighteth to honour, let the royal apparel be brought which the king useth to wear, and the horse that the king rideth upon, and the crown royal which is set upon his head: and let this apparel and horse be delivered to the hand of one of the king's most noble princes, that they may array the man withal whom the king delighteth to honour, and bring him on horseback through the street of the city, and proclaim before him, Thus shall it be done to the man whom the king delighteth to honour," Esther vi. 7-9. Haman knew that it was death for any one to wear the king's own robe, and that such an honour was calculated to express the most pre-eminent favour and distinction, and render it visible to all the people, and therefore it was he made the proposal. As much may be said of "the horse that the king rideth upon," and "the crown royal which is set upon his head." It was unlawful for any one to ride on the king's own horse, and a capital crime to wear the same turban or crown which the king wore, or even such as he wore. Arrian relates, that when Alexander was sailing on the Euphrates, his turban fell off among some reeds. One of the rowers jumped out, and swam to recover it: but finding that he could not carry it back in his hand without wetting it, he put it upon his head, and brought it safely to the boat. The monarch gave him a talent of silver for his seal, and then ordered his head to be struck off, for setting the diadem thereon. This story emphatically illustrates the foregoing observations.

The distinctions of Persian royalty are thus enumerated by Statius:—

"When some youth of royal blood succeeds
To his paternal crown, and rises the Medes,
His slender grasp, he fears, will ill contain
The weighty sceptre, and the bow sustain;
And trembling takes the courier's reins in hand,
And huge tiara, badge of high command."—*Lewis.*

Concerning the sceptre, it is evident from Scripture and the writings of profane historians, that the kings of Persia used one on great occasions. Xenophon makes Cyrus say among other things to Cambyse, his son and appointed successor, "Know Cambyse, that it is not the golden sceptre which can preserve your kingdom; but faithful friends are a prince's truest and securest sceptre." In the Persepolitan sculptures, however, the figures of the king are invariably represented as bearing a long staff in his hand. The crown of the kings of Persia may be illustrated by the description which Morier gives of the magnificent tiara of Futeh Ali Shah, king of

Persia. "The king," says he, "was one blaze of jewels, which literally dazzled the sight on first looking at him. A lofty tiara of three elevations was on his head, which shape appears to have been long peculiar to the crown of the great king. It was entirely composed of thickly set diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds, so exquisitely disposed as to form a mixture of the most beautiful colours, in the brilliant light reflected from its surface. Several black feathers, like the heron-plume, were intermixed with the splendid aigrettes of this truly imperial diadem, whose bending points were furnished with pear-shaped pearls of immense size." The usual head-dress of modern Persian monarchs is a plain black cap, which probably bears a similar relation to this crown, as the plain cap on the Persepolitan sculptures bore to the ancient state crowns of their mighty predecessors.

In concluding this article, it may be mentioned, that the birthdays of the kings of Persia were kept sacred, and celebrated with public sports, in the utmost pomp and magnificence. Their deaths were bewailed by the closing of the tribunals of justice for five days, and by extinguishing the fire which was worshipped in families as a household god; on which occasion alone they submitted to such a calamity. They were deposited in rocky vaults, as in the tombs at Naksh-i-Rustam, and Naksh-i-Rejeh, a privilege, as will be seen in a future page, peculiarly their own.*

THE SEVEN STATE COUNSELLORS.

Absolute as was the regal authority among the Persians, yet it was, to a certain degree, kept within due bounds by the establishment of a council, which consisted of seven of the chief men of the nation, distinguished no less by their wisdom and abilities, than by their illustrious birth. This establishment had its origin in the conspiracy of the seven Persian noblemen, who entered into an association against Smerdis, the Magian, and slew him. These noblemen stipulated with Darius Hystaspes, whom they placed on the throne, for the most distinguished honours and extraordinary privileges.

These counsellors possessed great power. This may be seen by the letter written by Artaxerxes to Ezra, wherein he constantly associates himself with these seven counsellors: "Artaxerxes, king of kings, unto Ezra the priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven, perfect peace, and at such a time. I make a decree, that all they of the people of Israel, and of his priests and Levites, in my realm, which are minded of their own freewill to go up to Jerusalem, go with thee. Forasmuch as thou art sent of the king, and of his seven counsellors, to enquire concerning Judah and Jerusalem, according to the law of thy God which is in thine hand; and to carry the silver and gold, which the king and his counsellors have freely offered unto the God of Israel, whose habitation is in Jerusalem, and all the silver and gold that thou canst find in all the province of

Babylon, with the freewill offering of the people, and of the priests, offering willingly for the house of thy God which is in Jerusalem: that thou mayest buy speedily with this money bullocks, rams, lambs, with their meat offerings and their drink offerings, and offer them upon the altar of the house of your God which is in Jerusalem," etc. *Esra* vii. 12—26.

These counsellors were well versed in the laws, ancient customs, and manners of the state. They always attended the king, who never transacted anything, or determined any affair of importance, without their advice. This may be gathered from a transaction recorded in the first chapter of the book of Esther. The writer of that book, after having stated the refractory conduct of queen Vashti, represents Ahasuerus as seeking the advice of these seven counsellors. "Then the king said to the wise men, which knew the times, (for so was the king's manner toward all that knew law and judgment: and the next unto him was Cursheena, Shethar, Admatha, Tarshish, Meres, Marsena, and Memucan, the seven princes of Persia and Media, which saw the king's face, and which sat the first in the kingdom;) What shall we do unto the queen Vashti according to law, because she hath not performed the commandment of the king Ahasuerus by the chamberlains? And Memucan answered before the king and the princes, Vashti the queen hath not done wrong to the king only, but also to all the princes, and to all the people that are in all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus. For this deed of the queen shall come abroad unto all women, so that they shall despise their husbands in their eyes, when it shall be reported, The king Ahasuerus commanded Vashti the queen to be brought in before him, but she came not. Likewise shall the ladies of Persia and Media say this day unto all the king's princes, which have heard of the deed of the queen. Thus shall there arise too much contempt and wrath. If it please the king, let there go a royal commandment from him, and let it be written among the laws of the Persians and the Medes, that it be not altered, That Vashti come no more before king Ahasuerus; and let the king give her royal estate unto another that is better than she. And when the king's decree which he shall make shall be published throughout all his empire, (for it is great,) all the wives shall give to their husbands honour, both to great and small." Ahasuerus was pleased with this counsel, and adopted it. See *Esther* i. 9—22.

Among the sculptures at Naksh-i-Rustam, there is one which exhibits a king in apparent conference with seven men, one queenly looking lady also being present, which aptly illustrates the foregoing extract. It belongs, however, to a later period than the era of Ahasuerus.

This council did not interfere with the king's prerogative of ruling and commanding: it was confined entirely to that of reason, which consisted in communicating and imparting their knowledge and experience to the king. To them the king transferred several weighty cases, which otherwise might have been a burden to him, and by them he executed whatever measures had been adopted in the council. It was, in fact, by means of this standing council, that the maxims of the state were preserved, the knowledge of

* For further remarks on the kingly power of Persia, the reader is referred to the corresponding section in the History of the Assyrians; for the Persian monarchs were the prototypes of the Assyrian monarchs; so were the Parthians those of the Persians.

its interests perpetuated, affairs harmoniously conducted, and innovations, errors, and over-sights prevented. This leads us to notice

THE ADMINISTRATIVE POWER.

The terms king and judge are synonymous. The throne is a tribunal, and the sovereign power the highest authority for the administration of justice. The duties of a king are well defined in the queen of Sheba's address to king Solomon. "Blessed," said she, "be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee on the throne of Israel: because the Lord loved Israel for ever, therefore made he thee king, to do judgment and justice," 1 Kings x. 9. The Almighty hath made every thing subject to princes, to put them into a condition of fearing none but him. "For rulers," saith the apostle, "are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil," Rom. xiii. 3, 4.

What is that justice which God hath entrusted to the hands of monarchs? and wherefore hath he made them his delegates? The poet says,

"Order is Heaven's first law, and this confessed,
Some are, and must be greater than the rest;
More rich, more wise."

To this end kings reign, that order may be preserved in a state. And this order consists in observing a general equity, and taking care that brute force does not usurp the place of law: that the property of one man should not be exposed to the violence of another, that the union of society be not broken, that artifice and fraud do not prevail over innocence and simplicity, that society should rest in peace under the protection of the laws, and that the weakest and poorest should find a sanctuary in the public authority.

Josephus says that the kings of Persia used to administer justice in their own persons. For this reason, they never ascended the throne till they had been instructed by the magi, in the principles of justice and equity. These are the great and essential duties of the regal dignity, and though the kings of Persia were transcendently vicious in other respects, yet were they very scrupulous, and very tender in the discharge of these duties. After hearing the merits of the cause, they took several days to consider and advise with the magi, before they gave sentence. When they sat on life and death, they not only considered the crime of which the delinquent was impeached, but all the actions, whether good or bad, of his whole life; and they condemned or acquitted him, according as his crimes or deserts prevailed.

Though the kings of Persia may in many instances have administered justice in their own persons, it cannot be supposed that in so mighty an empire they could sit in judgment on every case. Besides the king, there were, indeed, several judges, all men of unblemished characters, and skilful in the laws of the kingdom. These were called "royal judges," and they adminis-

tered justice at stated times, in different provinces. Some of these judges attended the king wherever he sojourned. The king often advised with them; and in matters concerning himself, referred the whole to their judgment. They were nominated by the king, and, as the employment was for life, great care was taken to prefer only such as were famed for their integrity. Delinquency on the part of judges was punished with extreme severity. Herodotus says, that one of the royal judges having suffered himself to be corrupted by a bribe, was condemned by Cambyses to be put to death without mercy, and to have his skin placed upon the seat of justice. He adds, what is most revolting, that the son succeeded his father in this seat.

According to Xenophon, the ordinary judges of Persia were taken out of the class of old men, into which none were admitted till the age of fifty years. A man, therefore, could not exercise the office of judge before that age; the Persians being of opinion that a fully matured mind was required in an employment, which decided upon the fortunes, reputations, and lives of the community.

Amongst the Persians, it was not lawful either for a private person to put his slave to death, or for the prince to inflict capital punishment upon any of his subjects for the first offence; the crime being considered rather the effect of human weakness and frailty, than of a confirmed malignity of mind. They thought it reasonable to put the good as well as the evil into the scales of justice; and they deemed it unjust that the good actions of a man should be obliterated by a single crime. It was upon this principle that Darius revoked the sentence he had passed upon one of his judges for some prevarication in his office, at the very moment it was going to be executed; acknowledging that he had pronounced it with more precipitation than wisdom.

One essential rule which the Persians observed in their judgments, was, in the first place, never to condemn any person without confronting him with his accuser, and without giving him time and the means necessary for his defence; and, in the second place, if the person accused was found innocent, to inflict the same punishment upon the accuser, as the accused would have suffered, had he been found guilty. Diodorus relates an incident that will illustrate this. One of the favourites of Artaxerxes, ambitious of possessing a place possessed by a superior officer, endeavoured to make the king suspect the fidelity of that officer. To this end, he sent informations to court full of calumnies against him, persuading himself that the king would believe and act upon the report without examination of the matter. The officer was imprisoned, but he desired of the king before he was condemned, that his cause might be heard, and his accusers ordered to produce their evidence against him. The king complied with the request, and as there was no evidence but the letters which his enemy had written against him, he was acquitted. The king's indignation then fell upon the accuser, and the innocent thereby was shielded from the artifice and cruelty of calumny and violence.

Another memorable example of firmness and the love of justice in the monarchs of Persia, is recorded in the book of Esther. When the eyes

of Ahasuerus were opened to the dark designs of the wicked Haman, who had obtained from him an edict for the destruction of the Jews, he made haste to atone for his fault, by publishing another edict, permitting the Jews to stand up in their own defence, by punishing Haman, and by a public acknowledgment of his error.

The Persians, says Herodotus, hold falsehood in the greatest abhorrence: next to which they esteem it disgraceful to be in debt, as well for other reasons as for the temptations to falsehood, which they think it necessarily introduces. But it would not appear that the Persians were at all times so scrupulous about falsehood. Deceit and falsehood are charges which to this day they do not deny. "Believe me; for though I am a Persian, I am speaking truth," is an exclamation commonly used to those who doubt their veracity, and there are few travellers who do not bear testimony to their proneness to falsehood and venality. Herodotus himself makes Darius utter this sentiment, "If a falsehood must be spoken, let it be so;" on which Larcher observes, "This morality is not very rigid; but it ought to be remembered, that Herodotus is here speaking of falsehood, which operates to no one's injury." But when it is remembered that one of the first rudiments of Persian education was to speak the truth, this departure from it on the part of Darius must appear very remarkable. His delinquency seems to have been founded upon that principle, which even some of our gravest moralists have taught, namely, that "there may be occasions in which a deviation from strict truth is venial." But this is not true. In Scripture, the liar is enumerated with those whose portion is the bitter cup of everlasting torments; and no extenuating circumstances are taken into the account. Besides, should this be allowed, irreparable mischief would be inflicted on society. "A liar," says an old writer, "is a public nuisance: he disheartens belief, makes reality suspected, and one honest man a stranger to the other." To sanction this evil, therefore, by the weight of a man's reputation for gravity and wisdom, is to commit a crime of no ordinary magnitude. The psalmist well knew the enormity of this vice: hence it was that he exclaimed,

"He that telleth lies shall not tarry in my sight."

Ps. ci. 7.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES.

The provinces of Persia have been described in a previous portion of this history. (See page 2.) In this section will be described the government of those provinces.

The sacred writer in the book of Daniel says, "It pleased Darius to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes, which should be over the whole kingdom; and over these three presidents," Dan. vi. 1, 2. The princes here mentioned were the governors of the provinces. They were called satraps; and they were the most considerable persons in the kingdom; being second to none but the monarch, and the three principal ministers, who inspected their conduct, and to whom they gave an account of the affairs of their respective provinces. That they might be able to maintain a proper dignity, without which respect languishes, Cyrus assigned to these satraps

revenues proportioned to their station and high employment. He did not allow them, however, to exceed the bounds of prudence and moderation. And lest precept should be of no avail, he set them an example in this respect. He so regulated his court, that the same order which reigned there might likewise proportionably be observed in the courts of the satraps, and in every noble family in his empire. To prevent, as far as possible, all abuses of their extensive authority, the king reserved to himself the right of nominating the satraps, and ordained that all governors of places, commanders of armies, etc., should depend upon himself alone. From him they received their instructions, and if they abused their power, from him also they received punishment.

In order to maintain a close communication with the satraps of these provinces, and to keep a strict watch over their conduct, Cyrus devised a plan for facilitating the intercourse between himself and them. After having ascertained how far a good horse might go in a day, with ease and expedition, he caused stables to be erected at determined distances, each with a suitable establishment of horses, and men to take care of them. Postmasters were also stationed at these stages, whose duty it was to receive the packets as they arrived, and immediately forward them with fresh horses and couriers. This custom is referred to, Esth. viii. 10. After having related that Ahasuerus granted the Jews to defend themselves against the wicked machinations of Haman, the sacred writer says, that Mordecai "sent letters by posts on horseback, and riders on mules, camels, and young dromedaries." These posts of the ancient Persians travelled night and day without intermission, and so quickly did they perform their journey, that it was said, proverbially, that they flew swifter than cranes. This proverb may, however, refer more especially to the "swift dromedary," or "the ship of the desert," the camel; for it is said of the former especially, that it will in one night, and through a level country, traverse as much ground as any ordinary horse can in ten. "A dromedary," says Jackson, in his work on Morocco, "has been known to travel two hundred miles in less than twenty hours." Hence we see the wisdom of Esther's messengers in choosing it to carry their despatches to the distant provinces of the Persian empire, for the existence of her nation was at stake.

These posting establishments of ancient Persia may receive illustration from those of the Mongol empire. According to Marco Polo, there were roads extending to every part of this empire from the capital, Cambalu, having post houses, with suitable furniture, at every twenty-five or thirty miles. Altogether, there were ten thousand of these stations, with two hundred thousand horses. The post ran two hundred, and sometimes two hundred and fifty miles in a day, especially in cases of rebellion, or other urgent occasions. There were other stations, consisting of a few dwellings, three or four miles asunder, occupied by runners, or foot-posts, who, being girded, and well trained to their employment, ran as fast as horses. In dark nights, these foot-posts ran before the horsemen with links to light them along. Sometimes they carried letters, mandates,

and paroled to or from the khan, who thus received news in two days from places ten stages distant, as from Kambalu to Shangtu.

The fact of the ancient Persians sending letters by posta, it may be remarked, is one well calculated to engage the attention of those who feel interested in studying the progress of society in the arts of convenience and civilization. And who is there that does not feel an interest in these arts—arts which are so essential to the comforts of life, and without which a community cannot flourish?

"Tis genial intercourse, and mutual aid,
Cheers what were else an universal shroud,
Calls Nature from her icy-mantled den,
And softens human rockwork into men."—*COWPER.*

The care of the provinces of Persia was not left entirely to the satraps. The king himself was obliged personally, by ancient custom, to visit the provinces at stated periods, being persuaded, as Pliny says of Trajan, that the most solid glory, and the most exquisite pleasure a prince can enjoy, is from time to time to let them see their common parent, to reconcile the dissensions and animosities of rival cities, to calm commotions amongst his subjects, to prevent injustice and oppression in magistrates, and cancel and reverse whatever has been decreed against law and equity.

When the monarch of Persia was not able to visit the provinces himself, he commissioned some of his nobles, men eminent for wisdom and virtue, to act as his representatives. These were called "the eyes" and "the ears" of the prince, because through them he saw and was informed of every thing. These denominations, also, served as an admonition to the king, as well as to his representatives. It admonished the one that he had his ministers as we have the organs of our senses, not that he should be idle, but act by their means; it admonished the others, that they ought not to act for themselves, but for the monarch, and for the advantage of the community.

The detail of affairs which the king or his representatives entered into, when he or they visited the provinces, is worthy of admiration, and shows that they understood wherein the wisdom and ability of governors consist. Their attention was not directed to great matters alone, as war, the revenue, justice, and commerce; but to minor matters, as the security and beauty of towns; the convenient habitations of his subjects; the repairs of roads, bridges, and causeways; the preserving of woods and forests; and, above all, the improvement of agriculture. This latter science engaged the Persian monarch's peculiar care. Those satraps, whose provinces were best cultivated, enjoyed his peculiar favour. And as there were offices erected for the regulation of the military department, so there were offices erected for the regulation of rural labours and economy. Both were protected, because both concurred for the public good: the one for its safety, the other for its sustenance. For if the earth cannot be cultivated without the protection of arms, so neither can armies be fed and maintained, without the labour of the husbandman. It was with good reason, therefore, that the Persian monarchs

caused an exact account to be given them, how every province and district was cultivated, that they might know whether each country produced as much fruits as it was capable of producing. Xenophon remarks of Cyrus the younger, that he informed himself whether the private gardens of his subjects were well kept, and yielded plenty of fruit, and that he rewarded the superintendents and overseers, whose provinces, or districts, were the best cultivated, and punished those who suffered their grounds to lie barren.

How much the Persian princes were attached to the arts of agriculture, may be seen from a conversation held between Lysander, the Lacedæmonian, and Cyrus the younger, as related by Xenophon, and beautifully applied by Cicero. Cyrus conducted his illustrious guest through his gardens, and pointed out the various beauties they presented.

Lysander was charmed with the prospect, and admired the taste displayed in the arrangement of the gardens, the height of the trees, the neatness of the walks, the abundance of the fruit trees, planted chequer-wise, and the innumerable and diversified flowers every where exhaling their odours. "Every thing," he exclaimed, "transports me in this place; but what most interests me is the exquisite judgment and elegant perception of the artist who planned these gardens, and gave them the fine order, the wonderful disposition, and happiness of symmetry, which cannot be too much admired."

"Pleased with the eulogy, Cyrus replied, "It was I who planned the gardens, and with my own hand planted many of the trees around you."

"What!" exclaimed Lysander, surveying Cyrus deliberately from head to foot, "is it possible that with these purple robes and splendid vestments, these strings of jewels, and bracelets of gold, and those buskins so richly embroidered, -- is it possible that you could play the gardener, and employ your royal hands in planting trees?"

"Does that surprise you?" Cyrus rejoined; "I swear by the god Mithras, that when my health admits, I never sit down to table without having made myself sweat with some fatigue or other; either in military exercises, rural labour, or other toilsome employments, to which I apply with pleasure, and without sparing myself."

Lysander pressed the hand of the prince, and replied: "Thou art worthy, Cyrus, of that happiness thou art possessed of; because, with all thy happiness and prosperity, thou art also virtuous."

Mention has been made, (page 3,) of the revenues which the provinces of Persia produced. In addition to the remarks there made, it may be added, that the revenues of the Persian kings consisted partly in the levying of taxes imposed upon the people, and partly in their being furnished with the products of the earth in kind, as corn and other provisions, forage, horses, camels, or whatever rarities each particular province afforded. Strabo relates that the satrap of Armenia sent annually to the king 20,000 young colts; by which a judgment may be formed of the other levies in the several provinces. These tributes were only exacted from the conquered nations; the Persians, properly so called, were exempt from all impost.

The different species of tribute which the Persian monarchs received, may be illustrated from a curious document taken verbatim from a register made by Ahmed Ebn Mohammed, Ebn Abdal Hamed, employed in the finances during the khalifate of the renowned Abou Abdallah al Mamoun.

REVENUE OF THE KHALIF AL MAMOUN.

In natural productions and effects.

From Bahrein, 300 rich habits.
From the district of Thenetan, 240 rotoli of terra Sigillata, each rotolus at 130 drachms, (about half a pound weight.)
Ahwas, sugar, 30,000 rotoli.
Kerman, 500 rich habits; dates, 20,000 rotoli; sind, (probably senna,) 1000 rotoli; Indian aloes, 150 rotoli.
Fars, 5000 bottles of rose-water; 10,000 rotoli of olive oil.
Sigistan, 5000 pieces of brocade; 20,000 rotoli of sugar.
Khorassan, 2000 plates of silver; 4000 horses; 1000 slaves; 27,000 pieces of silk stuffs; 3000 rotoli of myrobolans.
Djordan, 1000 bundles of silk.
Khorenia, 1000 plates of silver.
Tabristan, Rouyan, Nehavend, 600 carpets; 300 robes; 500 habits; 300 handkerchiefs; and 800 napkins for the bath.
Rei, 20,000 rotoli of honey.
Hamadan, 1000 rotoli of preserves, called robos pomegranates; 120,000 rotoli of the purest honey.
Moussoul, 1000 rotoli of white honey.
Kilan, 1000 slaves; 200 borachios of honey; 10 pieces; 20 robes.
Armenia, 20 carpets; 10,000 rotoli of oranges; 200 mules.
Kinnisrin, 1000 loads of dried raisins.
Palestine, 500,000 rotoli of dried raisins.
Africa, 120 carpets.

	Dirhems*
The amount of the districts of	
Basra gave in grain, the value of	27,780,000
In money	14,800,000
Kooser	11,600,000
Kordidje	20,800,000
Holwan	4,800,000
Ahwas	23,000
Fars	27,000,000
Kerman	4,200,000
Mekran	400,000
Sind	11,500,000
Sigistan	4,000,000
Khorassan	28,000,000
Jorjan	12,000,000
Kamis	1,500,000
Tabristan, Rouyan, and Nehavend	6,300,000
Rei	12,000,000
Hamadan	11,800,000
District between Basra and Cufar	1,700,000
Shaherensoul	6,000,000
Mamanderan	4,000,000
Moussoul	24,000,000
Aderbijan	4,000,000

* The dirhem is supposed to have been in value four shillings.

	Dirhems.
Al Jazeera	4,000,000
Alkerah	300,000
Ghilan	5,000,000
Armenia	13,000,000
Barca	1,000,000
Africa Proper	15,000,000

Total of dirhems 276,503,000

	Dinars.
Kinnisrin	400,000
District of the Jordan	95,000
Palestine	320,000
Egypt	1,920,000
Yemen	370,000
Damascus	430,000
H-djaz	300,000

Total of dinars 3,826,000

The entire revenue of the khalifate, therefore, was 276,503,000 dirhems, and 3,826,000 dinars; which if we reckon the dirhem equal to four-tenths of a dinar, or the dinar equal to three-sevenths of a dirhem, will give about the sum of 280,000,000 dirhems. It is impossible to estimate this sum in English money correctly, because the true value of the dirhem is unknown; but estimating it at its most probable value, four shillings, it will give the sum of 56,000,000 sterling, or 2,000,000*l.* less than the revenue of Alexander from his Persian conquests.

Taking the above document as indicative of the revenues of Persia, it would appear that the statement of Herodotus, namely, that the revenues of that empire fell short of three millions sterling, was incorrect. It might be, that no more was paid in money; but in the fruits of the earth, etc., a very large revenue accrued to the kings of Persia. This would solve a difficulty at which so many stumble, rightly deeming it a wonder, how so vast an empire could be conducted with so small a revenue. And this wonder is increased when we reflect how immensely rich the monarchs of Persia were. Each province, it would appear, had its peculiar treasure and treasurer. Both sacred and profane history bear testimony to this fact, and from the large sums which Alexander found in several provinces of Persia, when he overthrew that mighty empire, it is evident that their treasures were indeed vast. Curtius, Diodorus Siculus, Arrian, and Plutarch, concur in saying that in Arbela, Susa, Persepolis, Pasargard, and Ecbatana, he found 312,600 talents, (about seventy millions of our money,) besides a quantity of uncoined silver and other coins. If these sums were collected from the tribute, then it is evident that the revenues of the kings of Persia were greater than those represented by Herodotus. According to Rennell, the revenue of India, under Aurengzebe, amounted to 32,000,000*l.* sterling, and this was by no means so vast an empire as that of Persia. Sir John Malcolm, in his history of Persia, rates the present revenue at 3,000,000*l.* sterling, and observes that the revenue under Darius was similar. At the same time he blames Dr. Robertson for not crediting Herodotus, concerning the Persian revenue, forgetting that the revenue of a modern state, not the fifth part

of that which constituted the empire of Darius, and perhaps in its present desolated and depopulated state, not the tenth of the population, is no rule for fixing that of Darius Hystaspes. But Herodotus himself bears testimony to the fact of revenues being paid in kind. There were contributions, he says, made for the furnishing victuals and provision for the king's table and household; grain, forage, and other necessaries, for the subsistence of his armies; and horses for the remounting of his cavalry. Of the province of Babylon, he observes, that it furnished the whole contributions for four months. This, therefore, would account for the apparently small sum paid to the kings of Persia. They were furnished with the necessaries of life for themselves, their household, and their armies; and hence, the gold of their subjects was not required at their hands. And this may be adduced as a proof of the wisdom, moderation, and humanity of the Persian government. Without doubt they had observed how difficult it is for the people, situated in countries not benefited by commerce, to convert their goods into money without suffering losses; whereas nothing can tend to render the taxes more easy, and to shelter the people from vexation, trouble, and expense, as the taking in payment from each country such fruits and commodities as it produces. By this means the contribution becomes easy, natural, and equitable.

History, says Heeren, has afforded a remarkable instance of the manner in which the imposts were collected by their officers or satraps. When the Persians had subdued Ionia the second time, the whole territory was measured out by parasangs, and the tribute paid accordingly. In this case it was evidently a land-tax, which, however, was paid, for the most part, in produce. The satrap received these imposts, whether in kind or in money, and, after providing for his own expenditure, the support of the king's troops, and the maintenance of the civil magistrates, the remainder was handed over to the king. The personal interest of the satrap, if he wished to retain the king's favour, prompted him to make this return as considerable as possible, even if no precise amount was fixed.

From all this it may be seen, that the revenues of the Persian empire were not so trifling as would appear, at first sight, from the statement of Herodotus. And when it is considered that there were certain districts set apart for the maintenance of the queen's toilet and wardrobe, and another for her girdle, veil, etc., and that these districts were of great extent, they will appear still more weighty. Sometimes, indeed, as we have seen, (page 27,) the kings of Persia made their especial favourites become chargeable to certain districts and cities. All these charges would make, therefore, a very considerable amount if added together. And it would matter but little, who received the fruits of these districts, whether the king, the queen, or his favourites; they might all be said to be collected for the support of the state. That the revenues of Persia were considered very ample in ancient times, may be gathered from the fact that they are noticed as such by ancient poets. Thus Persius, in his epistle to Cælius Bassus, says:—

"You give as if you were the Persian king;
Your land does not so large revenues bring."

Which testifies at once to the largeness of their revenues and their liberality.

But under whatever system of taxation ancient Persia might have been, it would appear that its subjects were very prosperous. This may be collected from the prodigious wealth of individuals. In the reign of Xerxes, a noble Lydian entertained the whole Persian army, the largest ever assembled, on its march towards Greece, and then freely offered to contribute all his property in gold and silver to the support of the war: this amounted to about four millions of our money, which the monarch refused. In the next reign, that of Ahasuerus, Haman offered to pay into the treasury, to indemnify the king for the loss of revenue which he would sustain by the destruction of the Jews, 10,000 talents of silver, above two millions of our money, which this monarch likewise refused. Esth. iii. 9—11.

These instances, says Dr. Hales, of the prodigious wealth of provincial subjects, and even of captives, (for such were the Amalekites originally, and such was the origin of Haman,) are highly creditable to the liberality of the Persian government, which appears, upon the whole, to have been the least oppressive of the great ancient empires. The Jews, especially, were treated with much greater lenity and indulgence under the Persian sway, than they had been before under the Babylonian, and were afterwards under the Macedo-Grecian and the Roman.

It must be recollected, however, that the wealth of Haman arose from his personal connexion with the Persian court, as did that of Nehemiah. Haman was chief minister of the king, and that functionary enjoys peculiar opportunities of acquiring wealth. Such is the case at the present day. Morier says, that on New year's-day, the king receives the offerings of his princes and nobles, and that on one occasion, when he was present, the offering of the person holding this office surpassed every other in value, amounting to about 30,000*l.* in gold coin.

The manner of delivering these presents, which the pride of oriental despotism determines to be tribute, is thus described by the same writer: "The first ceremony was the introduction of the presents from different provinces. That from prince Hossein Ali Mirza, governor of Shiraz, came first. The master of the ceremonies walked up, having with him the conductor of the present, and an attendant, who, when the name and titles of the donor had been proclaimed, read aloud from a paper a list of the articles. The present from prince Hossein Ali Mirza consisted of a very long train of large trays placed on men's heads, on which were shawls, stuffs of all sorts, pearls, etc.; then many trays filled with sugar and sweetmeats; after that, many mules laden with fruits, etc. The next present was from Mohammed Ali Khan, prince of Hamadan, the eldest born of the king's sons. His present accorded with the character which is assigned him. It consisted of pistols and spears, a string of one hundred camels, and as many mules. After this, came the present of

the prince of Yeud, and other of the king's sons, which consisted of shawls and silken stuffs, the manufacture of his own town. Then followed that of the prince of Mesched; and last of all, and most valuable, was that from Hajee Mo-hammed Hosein Khan, Ameer ed Doulah, prime minister. It consisted of fifty mules, each covered with a fine cashmere shawl, and each carrying a load of 1,000 tomanes.*

Such is the manner in which the presents of governors are offered to the Persian monarchs of the present day; and as oriental habits are, for the most part, of an unchanging nature, the extract may be offered as an illustration of the manner in which presents were offered at the period to which this history refers. This, indeed, is confirmed by the Persepolitan sculptures.

THE MILITARY POWER.

All Asiatic nations were great warriors. Among these nations, the Persians were not the least remarkable for their military genius. This might arise in part from the situation of their country, which is rugged and mountainous. From this circumstance, they were accustomed to hard and frugal living, which imparts that ruggedness to the nature of man so essential to form the warrior. And there being no softening influences in the general manners, and in the religion of the Persians, their minds became accustomed to the deadly strife, and their hands skilful in the terrible art. Hence it was that the Persians, in due time, became masters of so many nations; for, in the course of nature, the strong must prey upon the weak. Their brute force exceeded that of other nations, and they were enabled thereby to render them tributary. This is the awful picture of man by nature in all ages of the world.

"As rolls the river into ocean,
In sable torrent, widely streaming,
As the sea-tide's opposing motion,
In azure column proudly gleaming,
Beats back the current many a rood,
In curling foam and mingling flood,
While eddying whirl and breaking wave,
Roused by the blast of winter, rave,
Through sparkling spray, in thundering clash,
The lightnings of the waters flash
In awful whiteness on the shore,
That shines and shakes beneath the roar
Thus as the streams and ocean greet
With waves that madden as they meet,
Thus join the bands whom mutual wrong
And reckless fury drive along."

According to Strabo, the Persians were trained up to the service from their tender years, by passing through different exercises, as riding, hunting, and handling the bow. As soon as they were able to bear arms, they were obliged to enter themselves in the list of soldiers, but they received no pay till they were twenty years of age. In war times, they were all bound, on pain of death, except such as were disabled by age or infirmity, to appear under their respective standards, and attend the king in his expeditions. This may be gathered from two incidents related

by Herodotus. One of these incidents will suffice for illustration. The same Pythias who had entertained Xerxes with so much magnificence, and who had offered all his wealth in support of the war which that monarch was going to wage against Greece, being intimidated by the prodigy of an eclipse, and deriving confidence from the liberality he had shown to Xerxes, thus addressed him: "Sir," said he, "I entreat a favour no less trifling to you, than important to myself." Xerxes promised to grant it; and Pythias, thus encouraged, continued: "Sir, I have five sons, who are all with you in this Grecian expedition; I would entreat you to pity my age, and dispense with the presence of the eldest. Take with you the four others, but leave this to manage my affairs, and may you return in safety after the accomplishment of your wishes." Pythias had no sooner uttered this request, than the haughty monarch, transported with rage, and forgetful both of his own promise, and the merits of Pythias, commanded his eldest son to be slain. Such was the nature of oriental despotism.

Herodotus speaks of a body of troops appointed to be the king's guard, who were called "the immortals." They derived this name from the circumstance of their body always consisting of the same number, 10,000; for as soon as one died, another was selected to fill his place. The establishment of this body very probably had its origin with the 10,000 whom Cyrus sent for out of Persia to be his guard. They were distinguished by the richness of their armour, and by their valour. Curtius mentions another body, consisting of 15,000 men, designed in like manner to guard the monarch: these were called *Doryphori*, or spearmen.

The ordinary arms of the Persians were a sabre, or scimitar, *acaces*, as the Latins call them, a kind of dagger, which hung in their belt on the right side; and a javelin, or pike, having a sharp pointed iron at the end. They also made great use of the bow, and the sling was not unknown amongst them. The Persians, when engaged in war, wore on the head a tiara, or head-piece, so thick that it was proof against all offensive arms. The foot soldiers, for the most part, wore cuirasses made of brass, which were so artificially fitted to their bodies, that they did not impede the motion and agility of the different members. The horsemen wore *numbraces*, or greaves, which covered their arms, thighs, and legs. Their horses had their faces, chests, and flanks covered with brass.

Concerning the shields of the Persians, there is much difference of opinion. It would appear, however, that they at first made use of very small and light ones, made only of twigs of osier. Afterwards, they had shields of brass, which were of great length.

Before the age of Cyrus, the Persian and Median armies consisted chiefly of archers, and those who used missile weapons. These he reduced to a very few, arming the rest at all points, that they might be able to meet in close combat. To Cyrus is ascribed also the introduction of chariots of war among the Persians. These had been long time in use, as appears both from sacred and profane writers. Homer, describing an ancient war-chariot, says:

* A gold coin, worth about twelve shillings each.

"Holds to the chariot reed,
The brazen wheels, and joined them to the smooth
Steel axle: twice four spokes divided each,
Shot from the centre to the verge. The verge
Was gold, by folles of eternal brass
Guarded, a gleaming show! The shining nave
Was silver; silver cords, and cords of gold.
The next spoke; two crescents blazed in front.
The pole was argent all, to which she bound
The golden yoke with its appendant chaire,
Inserted brass, straps, and bands of gold."

This extract exhibits the great perfection to which the art of chariot-building had attained before the days of Cyrus. These chariots had only two wheels, and were generally drawn by four horses abreast, with two men in each; one of distinguished valour, who engaged the enemy, and another to guide the chariot. Cyrus altered the form of the chariot, and thereby enabled both the driver of the chariot and the warrior to engage in the combat. He also caused the chariots to be made stronger, and the axle-trees of greater length than usual, in order to prevent their overturning. History records, moreover, that he was the first who affixed that deadly weapon, the scythe, to the chariot, of which such cruel use was made in after ages. At a later date, the Persians added iron spikes at the end of the pole, in order to pierce every thing that came in the way, and sharp knives at the hinder part of the chariot, to prevent any one from taking possession, or meeting their warriors on their own ground. These chariots were used many ages by the eastern nations, and they were looked upon as the principal strength of armies, as an ensurance of victory, and as an apparatus best calculated to inspire terror into the hearts of the enemy. In proportion, however, as the military art improved, inconveniences were discovered in them, and they were finally laid aside. For in order to reap any advantage from them, it was necessary that vast and extensive plains, devoid of rivulets, woods, or vineyards, should be the scene of the strife. And even in such places, they eventually became useless. Man, ever fruitful in invention for the preservation of his own life and the destruction of his foes, in order to counteract the evils attendant upon these terrible machines of mischief, discovered that the cutting of trenches rendered them of no avail. This was accordingly executed, and the war-chariot was stopped mid-way in its course. Sometimes, also, the opposing force would attack the chariots with slingers, archers, and spearmen, who, spreading themselves on every hand, would pour such a storm of stones, arrows, and lances upon them, accompanying the attack with fearful war-cries, that they terrified the horses, and often made them turn upon their own forces. At other times, they would render the chariots useless and incapable of operation by simply marching over the space which separated the two armies with extraordinary alacrity, and advancing upon the enemy before they had time to put them in motion; for the strength and execution of the war-chariots proceeded from the length of their course. This it was which gave that impetuosity to their motion, without which they were harmless. To the impetuosity with which the war-chariot was wont to be urged onwards in war

there are several interesting allusions in Holy Writ, to which the reader is referred. See *Psalm* civ. 3; *Isa.* lvi. 13; *Sol. Song* vi. 12; *Hab.* iii. 8.

The method used by Cyrus, in order to obtain perfect discipline among his soldiers in times of peace, was by insuring them to fatigue, and keeping them employed in laborious works. To prepare them for battle, he accustomed them to mock engagements, in which he inspired them with resolution and courage by exhortation, commendation, and reward.

When the Persians went on an expedition, their wives, mothers, and children followed the camp; a custom which was observed among all oriental nations. The motive for this custom was to inspire them with courage, lest they should lose every thing that was dear to them in life. Their provisions and baggage were carried on camels, the soldiers simply bearing their arms.

The manner in which the Persians marched may be gathered from the description which Herodotus gives of the march of the army of Xerxes from Sardis. "First of all went those who had the care of the baggage; these were followed by a promiscuous body of strangers of all nations, without any regularity, but to the amount of more than half the army. After these was a considerable interval, for these did not join the troops where the king was. Next came 1000 horse, the flower of the Persian army, who were succeeded by the same number of spearmen, in like manner selected, trailing their pikes upon the ground. Behind these were ten sacred horses, called Nisæan,* with very superb trappings. The sacred car of Jupiter was next in the procession. It was drawn by eight white horses, behind which, on foot, was the charioteer, with the reins in his hands, for no mortal was permitted to sit in this car. Then came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nisæan horses; by his side sat his charioteer, whose name was Patirampes, son of Otanes the Persian.

"Such was the order in which Xerxes departed from Sardis; but as often as occasion required he left his chariot for a common carriage.† One thousand of the first and noblest Persians attended his person, bearing their spears according to the custom of their country; and 1000 horse, selected like the former, immediately succeeded. A body of 10,000 chosen infantry came next; 1000 of these had at the extremity of their spears a pomegranate of gold; the remaining 9000, whom the former enclosed, had in the same manner pomegranates of silver. They who preceded Xerxes, and trailed their spears, had their arms decorated with gold; they who followed him had pomegranates of gold; these 10,000 foot were followed by an equal number of Persian cavalry. At an interval of about a quarter of a mile, followed a numerous, irregular, and promiscuous multitude."

* Suidas says that these horses were also remarkable for swiftness. See page 24, which speaks of the Nisæan horses.

† Larcher remarks that the *Hermomans* was a carriage appropriated to females. Lucullus says that the first horses were mounted on horses, for chariots were a more modern invention. His words are,

"Mounted on wall retr'd stands in ancient time,
Before the use of chariots was brought in,
The first heave horses fought."

When the Persians made war upon any nation, they preceded it by sending heralds, or ambassadors, to demand earth and water; that is, to command them to submit, and acknowledge the king of Persia as their lord. Xerxes made this demand of the Greeks, and among those who complied with his demand, or acknowledged his sway, were the Thessalians, Dolopians, Enians, the Peræbi, Locri, Magnetes, Melians, Achæans of Phiotia, Thebans, and the rest of the people of Bœtia, except the Thespians and Platæans. This manner of declaring war was borrowed from the Medes, and the Medes seem to have imitated the Assyrians in this respect, as appears from the book of Judith, chap. ii.

In the time of action, the kings of Persia were always in the centre; and according to Stobæus, they used to encourage their soldiers with a speech. The signal was given by the sound of the trumpet, which was followed by a shout of the whole army. The watch-word was in use among the Persians; for Xenophon, speaking of Cyrus, tells us that his was, "Jupiter, our leader and protector." The royal banner was a spread eagle of gold, carried on the point of a long spear. They appear to have reckoned those happy who died in the field; and they inflicted exemplary punishments on such as abandoned their posts, or deserted their colours. Justin says that they used no stratagems, and despised advantages that did not result from valour; that is, as Ammianus Marcellinus well expresses it, they thought it unjust to steal a victory.

The celebrated battle of Thymbra conveys a just idea of the tactics of the ancients in the days of Cyrus, and shows how far their ability extended in the use of arms and the disposition of armies. The reader will find this described in the life of Cyrus.

The manner of mustering among the Persians was very remarkable. Before they took the field, they passed before the king, or his general, each man throwing an arrow into a basket. These baskets were sealed up with the royal signet till they returned from the campaign, when they passed muster in the same manner, every one taking an arrow out of the same basket. When they were all passed, the remaining arrows were counted, and from their number they knew how many had fallen. This ancient custom continued to the days of Procopius, who relates it in his account of the wars of the Persians.

Such was the mode of ancient Persian warfare in the open field. Their sieges were conducted with great skill. In them we trace the same fundamental rules of fortification as are exhibited in modern warfare. It is true, that since the invention of that fearful combustible, gunpowder, (about A.D. 1320,) cannons have been substituted for the battering ram, and musket shot for ballistæ, catapultæ, scorpions, slings, javelins, and arrows; but with this exception, the ancients made as much use of their inventive faculties for ensuring victory as do the moderns. At all events, they made as much of the solidity of bodies, and the mechanical powers of motion, as art and ingenuity would admit. They understood, also, the art of entrenchment, of scaling the walls, and of fortifying those walls with

towers, ramparts, and platforms; in all which it would be difficult for moderns to out rival them, if at least the testimony of ancient historians is correct.

But the Persians were not always so celebrated in this fearful art. Bossuet, speaking of the decline of their power, says: "After the death of Cyrus, the Persians, generally speaking, were ignorant of the advantages that result from discipline, skill in drawing up an army, order in marching and encamping, and, in short, that happiness of conduct which puts great bodies in motion without disorder or confusion. Full of a vain ostentation of their power and greatness, and relying more upon strength than prudence, upon the number, rather than the choice of their troops, they thought they had done all that was necessary when they had drawn together immense armies, who fought, indeed, with resolution, but without order; and who found themselves encumbered with the vast multitudes of useless persons who formed the retinue of the king and his chief officers. For to such a height was their luxury grown, that they would needs have the same magnificence, and enjoy the same pleasure and delights in the army as in the king's court; so that in their wars the kings marched accompanied with their wives, their concubines, and their eunuchs. Their silver and gold plate, and their gorgeous furniture were carried after them in prodigious quantities; and, in short, all the equipage and utensils a voluptuous life requires. An army composed in this manner, and already clogged with the excessive number of troops, was overburdened with the multitude of attendants. In this confusion, the troops could not act in concert; their orders failed to reach them in time, and in action every thing went on at random, without the possibility of remedy from the skill of the commander. Add to this, the necessity they were under of finishing an expedition quickly, and of passing into an enemy's country with great rapidity; because such a vast body of people, greedy not only of the necessaries of life, but of such things, also, as were requisite for luxury and pleasure, consumed every thing that could be met with in the country they occupied in a short time; nor, indeed, is it easy to comprehend from whence they could procure subsistence.

"With all this vast train, however, the Persians astonished those nations that were not better acquainted with military affairs than themselves; and many of those that were more expert were yet overcome by them, being either weakened by internal dissensions, or overpowered by the numbers of their foes. By this means it was, that Egypt, proud as she was of her antiquity, her wise institutions, and the conquests of Sesostris, became subject to the Persians. Nor was it difficult for them to conquer Lesser Asia, and even such Greek colonies as the luxury of Asia had corrupted. But when they came to engage with Greece itself, they found, what they had never met with before, regular and well-disciplined troops, skilful and experienced commanders, soldiers accustomed to temperance, whose bodies were inured to toil and labour, and rendered robust and active by wrestling and other exercises practised in that country. The Grecian armies, indeed, were but small; but they were

like strong active bodies, that appear to be all nerves and sinews, and full of spirits in every part: at the same time they were so well commanded, and so prompt in obeying the orders of their leaders, that the whole body seemed to have been actuated by one soul."

Luxury, therefore, had the effect of enervating the soldier of Persia. Once rugged in nature, and invincible in courage, he became shorn of his glory by an excess of indulgence. And is it not so among the ranks of the soldiers of the cross? Where is now the mighty strivings for the faith of the gospel, as in days of old? Where that holy boldness in the confession of Christ crucified? One goes to the feast of the merry-hearted, and another to the scene of amusement, and thus Christian watchfulness and Christian duties are forgotten. Soldiers of the cross, who strive to cleave unto his banners, the exhortation which the apostle addresses to you is fraught with meaning: "Finally, my brethren, be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness; and your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God: praying always with all prayer and supplication in the Spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance and supplication for all saints," Eph. vi. 10-18. Being thus armed at all points, and rendered invincible, let your watchword be that which was adopted by good old Polycarp of old, "Christ, none but Christ!"

THE PRIESTLY POWER.

It has been seen in the corresponding sections of the histories of the Assyrians and Medes, that under the magi, as their priests were called, a species of the Sabian superstition prevailed. The sun, moon, and planets received divine worship, while the more ancient belief in the one supreme God was not wholly effaced from the minds of their votaries. When the Persians triumphed, this priestly caste lost much of its influence, and seems to have been regarded as hostile to the new dynasty. Hence, wherever the Persian monarchs established their sway, they became bitter persecutors of the priests. They laid a heavy hand upon the sacerdotal caste in Egypt, and the Chaldeans in Babylon. Cyrus adopted this policy, and effected great religious changes in the systems of the magi. To what extent, however, these changes were carried in his day is unknown; but it is certain that the revolution was completed by Zoroaster, whose system is the most perfect devised by unassisted human reason. His system has been well de-

scribed by the poet in his description of a hymn which the magi are supposed to have sung before Xerxes.

"Rebed in purest white,
The magi ranged before the unfolded tent.
Five blades beside them. Towards the sacred flame
They turned, and sent their ruseful praise to heaven.
From Zoroaster was the song derived,
Who on the hills of Persia, from his cave
By flowers environed, and melodious fountains,
Which sooth'd the solemn musician, had revealed
How Hormuzd, radiant source of good,
Original, immortal, framed the globe
In fruitfulness and beauty: how with stars
By him the heavens were spangled: how the sun
Relugent Mithra, purest spring of light
And genial warmth, whence teeming nature smiles,
Burst from the east as his creating voice:
When straight beyond the golden verge of day,
Night showed the horrors of her distant reign,
Where black and hateful Arimanius frowned,
The author foul of evil: how with shades
From his dire mansion he deformed the works
Of Hormuzd, turn'd to noxious heat
The solar beam, that foodful earth might parch;
That streams, exhalings, might forsake their bed,
Whence pestilence and famine have the power
Of Hormuzd in the human breast
Benevolence and equity infused,
Truth, temperance, and wisdom, sprang from heaven:
When Arimanius blacken'd all the soul
With falsehood and injustice, with desires
Insatiable, with violence and rage,
Malignity and folly. If the hand
Of Hormuzd on precarious life
Sheds wealth and pleasure, swift the infernal god,
With wild excess or avarice, blasts the joy.
Thou, Hormuzd, victory dost give.
By thee with fame the regal head is crown'd.
Great Xerxes owns thy succour. When in storms
The late of direful Arimanius swell'd
The Hellespont, thou o'er its chafing breast
Thou destined master of the world didst lead,
This day his promised glories to enjoy:
When towers affrighted to his arm shall bend;
I'm as at last shall Arimanius fall
Before thy might, and evil be no more."—GLOVER.

The following extract from the pen of Sir John Malcolm exhibits the principles of Zoroaster's religion, also, in a very lucid manner. "God, he taught, existed from all eternity, and was like infinity of time and space. There were, he averred, two principles in the universe, good and evil: the one was named Hormuzd, which denoted the presiding agent of all that was good; and the other Ahriman, the lord of evil. Each of these had the power of creation, but that power was exercised with opposite designs; and it was from their co-action that an admixture of good and evil was found in every created thing. The angels of Hormuzd, or the good principle, sought to preserve the elements, the seasons, and the human race, which the infernal agents of Ahriman desired to destroy; but the source of good alone, the great Hormuzd, was eternal, and must therefore ultimately prevail. Light was the type of the good, darkness of the evil spirit; and God had said unto Zoroaster, 'My light is concealed under all that shines.' Hence the disciple of that prophet, when he performs his devotions in a temple, turns towards the sacred fire that burns upon its altar; and when in the open air towards the sun, as the noblest of all lights, and that by which God sheds his divine influence over the whole earth, and perpetuates the work of his creation."

The precise era of Zoroaster is unknown, in which respect he resembles Boudha, the author

of the system of Lamaism, concerning whose existence and those of appearance much learned controversy has taken place to no purpose. The Greeks have made no less than six Zoroasters, and placed them in different ages of the world. The Sadder, which is a compend of the sacred books of the Persian priests, contains the genealogy of Zoroaster. It states that Zaratnah, or Zoroaster, was the son of Parthasp, who was the son of Piterasp, the son of Hithcrasp, the son of Thechshnmesch, the son of Espintaman. Hence the Pursees in Surat and Bombay, from his being called the son of Espintaman, mistook him for his immediate ancestor, whereas he was his remote parent. In the chronicle of the Persian kings, which professes to be an abridgement of Ferdusi's work, denominated the Shah Nameh, Zoroaster is represented as living in the reign of Gushtasp, or Darius Hystaspes. Dr. Hyde fixes his existence at the time of Ezra the scribe; and Prideaux considers him as contemporaneous with, and a disciple of Daniel the prophet. Both these authorities are agreed that he must have borrowed several of his doctrines from one or other of these eminent Jews. That some of his doctrines resemble those inculcated among the Jews none can deny. So striking are they, indeed, that the resemblance sufficiently refutes his claims to a Divine commission, and prove him to have been an impostor. It is true that many learned men adduce this circumstance in his favour, and borrow their argument for the sincerity of his pretensions from it, as well as from his acquaintance with Daniel and Ezra. But this would make the matter worse. If he was instructed by them in the true faith, of which they were the acknowledged teachers, he ought to have been grateful for being thus, in Providence, brought out of darkness into marvellous light, and to the knowledge of the method of recovery to fallen man, graciously, though not yet fully revealed to mankind. But instead of this, he set himself to form a new code of faith, or to mend the old one, without any reference to his Jewish instructors, or recommending their faith to his countrymen. He even went farther than the Hebrew lawgiver. Moses professed to teach the Jews divine knowledge only; Zoroaster pretended that his book contained every thing necessary for the Persians to know, whether in religion or politics, literature or science, morality or physics. That the work was not of God is proved by its being brought to nought; nothing is now preserved of that "prophet's" works but what has been merely remembered, and handed down by oral tradition.

With the speculative tenets of Zoroaster, there was combined a system of castes, the introduction of which is attributed by Ferdusi to Jemshid. These castes were the *Amuzban*, or magi; the *Nisari*, or military; the *Nesoodce*, or husbandmen; and the *Ahmensahi*, or artists.

According to the usual accounts given of the Persian magi, they resembled the Hindoo bramins, being a separate caste from the multitude. This is the very essence of all priestcraft, for by such exclusiveness they keep all the knowledge and learning of which they are possessed in their own hands, and communicate only what they please to their votaries. Under such a system,

the Persian commonalty were in a state of servile subjection to their magian instructors, just as the modern Hindoos are, under the bramins, or the papists in Spain and Portugal, under the rule of the teachers of Rome. The consequence was, that science and literature never flourished under magian domination as they did in Greece and Rome. And why was it? Because the noble faculties of the mind were enlaved.

"'Tis liberty alone that gives the flower
Of beeting life its lustre and perfume,
And we are weeds without it. All constraint,
Except what wisdom lays on evil men,
Is evil, hurts the faculties, impedes
Their progress in the road of science; blinds
The eyesight of discovery; and beguile
In those that suffer it a scold's malice,
Bestial, a meagre intellect, unfit
To be the tenant of man's noble form."—Cowper

It is remarkable, that the ancient Persians, like the Hindoos, never produced a single native historian, philosopher, or poet.

The knowledge and skill of the Persian magi in religious matters, (which made Plato define magic, or the learning of the magi, the art of worshipping the gods in a becoming manner,) gave them great authority, both with the prince and people. They could not offer sacrifices without their presence and ministration. It was even requisite that the king, before he came to the crown, should be instructed by them; nor could he determine any important affair of the state, when he was upon the throne, without first consulting them. Hence it was, that Pliny asserts, that even in his time they were looked upon as the masters of princes, and of those who arrogated to themselves the title of "king of kings." They were, indeed, the sages, philosophers, and men of learning in Persia, as the druids were in Gaul, and the bramins amongst the Indians. Their reputation for learning attracted many from the most distant countries to be instructed by them, in philosophy and religion; and we are told that it was from them, that Pythagoras borrowed the principles of that doctrine by which he acquired so much veneration among the Greeks, excepting the tenet of transmigration, which he learned of the Egyptians, and by which he corrupted the ancient doctrine of the magi, concerning the immortality of the soul.

According to Herodotus, the Persians adored the sun, and particularly when it first appeared in the morning, with the profoundest veneration. To that bright orb, they dedicated a magnificent chariot, with white horses of great beauty and value, their swiftness being thought to render them an appropriate offering to that luminary. They are supposed to have worshipped the sun under the name of Mithra, the primitive cave worship of which god is thus described by Maurice:—

"Where the dark cliffs of rugged Taurus rise,
From age to age by blasting lightnings torn,
In glory bursting from the illumined skies,
Fair Science poured her first auspicious morn.

The hoary Parthian seer, who watched by night
The eternal fire in Mithra's mystic cave,
(Emblem sublime of that PRIMEVAL LIGHT
Which to yon starry orbs their lustre gave.)

*Exulting saw his gradual splendours break,
And sweet symphonies all their warbling lyres;
Mid Mythis's flames glows yon azure wake,
While happier India glows with all their fires."*

Both Herodotus and Strabo say that the Persians sacrificed horses to the sun, a circumstance to which Ovid alludes thus:—

*"The horse, renewed for speed, the Persians lay,
A welcome victim to the god of day."*

It has been supposed, that in a more remote period, some eminent hero, or public benefactor, whose name was Mithras, had, after his death, been deified; because in certain ancient Persian monuments Mithras is represented as a mighty hunter, armed with a sword, having a tiara on his head, and riding a bull. It is possible that the Persians conceived the soul of this hero to be resident in the sun, and that they afterwards transferred their worship to the sun itself, under his name.

The worship of fire was the natural consequence of the adoration which the Persians paid to the sun. Herodotus says, that they paid particular veneration to that element, and Xenophon asserts that they always invoked it first at their sacrifices; that they carried it with great respect before the king in his expeditions; and that they entrusted the preservation of their sacred fire, which, as they pretended, came down from heaven, to none but the magi. The ancient Persians, indeed, dared not by their religion extinguish fire with water; but endeavoured to smother it with earth, stones, or anything similar; a superstition which still influences the parsee of Guzerat. The loss of their sacred fire would have been deemed a national calamity. Hence we are informed that the emperor Heraclius, when he was at war with the Persians, having demolished several of their temples, and particularly the chapel in which the sacred fire had been preserved until that time, it occasioned great mourning and lamentation throughout the whole country.

It has been alleged that the Persians did not worship the sun or fire absolutely, but only worshipped God, as far as they knew him, before these, the most glorious visible symbols of his energies and perfections. This may have been the original doctrine of Zoroaster. He might have considered them merely as representatives of Omnipotence, and the Fountain of light. But the idea seems to have been too refined for the gross capacities of the vulgar, who, without regard to the great invisible Prototype, turned all their thoughts to the adoration of these ostensible deities. This cannot be denied. Misled by the symbols, the mass of the people forgot altogether "the God that is above," or remembered him but faintly, while the sun and fire usurped his place in their affections.

Sacred fire was not peculiar to the Persian magi. It was kept perpetually burning on the altar before the tabernacle in the wilderness, and the temple at Jerusalem; and was never to go out, Lev. vi. 13. It was kindled from heaven in the times of Aaron, Lev. ix. 24; of David, 1 Chron. xxi. 26; of Solomon, 2 Chron. vii. 1; and was not to be rekindled with strange fire, nor any other to be used in sacrifices under penalty of death, Lev. x. 1, 2. It appears evident, indeed,

that the ancient reformer of the Persian religion borrowed his idea of sacred fire from that which burned on the altar of Jehovah. Nothing is more likely, and hence we trace many similar usages practised by the Hebrew priests and the magi, with reference to the sacred fire. The altar of Jehovah, in its removals, was to be covered with a purple cloth, and the ashes taken out. It was supplied with fire again from another altar kept constantly burning for that purpose. When it was rekindled, the rabbins inform us that great care was taken that no wood but that which was reputed clean should be employed for fuel; and it was all carefully barked and examined before it was used. The fire, also, was never to be blown upon, either with bellows, or the breath of man. The regulations of Zoroaster were similar to these. He strictly enjoined that the fire which he pretended to have brought from heaven should be carefully kept up, that barked wood only should be used for fuel, and that it should be revived only by the blasts of the open air, or by oil being poured upon it. It was death, in Persia, to cast upon it any unclean thing, or to blow it with the bellows or the breath, by which it would be polluted. For this reason, the priests themselves, although they watched the fire day and night, never approached it but with a cloth over their mouths, that their breath might not mingle with the fire. This they did, not only when they approached it to replenish it with fuel, or to do any other service about it, but also when they pronounced their forms of prayer before it, and which, therefore, they mumbled rather than spoke. The same forms are observed among the modern parsee of India, who believe that it was ultimately conveyed to that country, and, consequently that they still possess the fire which Zoroaster brought from heaven. Among the Persians, this sacred fire was to be rekindled only from the sun, or with a flint, or from some other sacred fire, which is further analogous to the usages of the Hebrews.

In more modern days, a sacred fire was adopted by many other nations. The Greeks had a perpetual fire at Delphos and other places. The Romans one also in the temple of the goddess Vesta, whose worship amongst them consisted chiefly in the preservation of the fire which was consecrated to her. The ancient Gauls, also, in the deep recesses of their forests and groves, which were their temples, had a sacred fire continually burning on their altars, and which they regarded with great veneration. At the present day, the Hindoos, although they are not worshippers of fire, are careful about the origin of that which they use for sacred purposes.

One fearful consequence arising from the worship of fire was, the cruel ceremony of making children pass through it, amid the sounding of drums and tabrets.

*"Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parent's tears;
Though, from the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
The children's cries unheard that passed through fire
To his grim idol."—MILTON.*

There is an allusion to this fearful practice, 2 Kings xvii. 31, where the sacred historian, enumerating the different gods of the people of Mesopotamia, who were sent as a colony into the

country of the Samaritans, says of the Sapharvites,* that they burned their children in fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech,† the gods of Sapharvaim, and which answers to Moloch or Molech, "the king." See also Lev. xviii. 21; xx. 2; 1 Kings xi. 7; Amos v. 26; Acts vii. 43. It is well known that this barbarous custom became prevalent in many provinces of Asia. According to Herodotus, the Persians erected neither statues, nor temples, nor altars to their gods, but offered their sacrifices in the open air, and generally on the tops of hills, or on high places. It is from this circumstance that many argue they were not idolaters. But this is vague reasoning. It is no matter whether man makes an image of something visible with his own hands, and calls it a resemblance of God, and worships it accordingly; or supposing something visible in the material universe to be a similitude of God, as the sun, fire, or water, he adores that symbol, though he does not make a visible representation of it. It is no matter whether it be fabricated by his own hands, or whether, being made by God himself, he adopts it for his god. It is still a supposed similitude of the Almighty, still a material, not a spiritual worship, still the thing made, not the Maker, still the creature of the Creator's skill and power, not the Creator himself. And this is comprehended in the second commandment, wherein any image, or any likeness of any thing, whether in the visible heavens, or in the earth, or in the waters under the earth, is strictly forbidden to be made. The worshipping of such was prohibited under the most terrible sanctions. And why? The Hebrew lawgiver gives the reason: "For ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire," Deut. iv. 15. "Ye heard the voice of the words, but saw no similitude; only ye heard a voice," ver. 12. See also Isa. xl. 18. The worship of the sun is declared by the prophet Ezekiel to be a greater abomination than even that of the worship of fire. In that prophet's vision of the chambers of imagery, he was first shown the symbols of Egyptian idolatry, which was declared to be a great abomination. Next he beheld the Phœnician idolatry, in women weeping for Tammuz,

"Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day;
While smooth Adonis, from his native rock,
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Tammuz, yearly wounded."—MILTON.

This is declared to be a still greater abomination than the preceding one. After this, says the prophet, "He brought me into the inner court of the Lord's house, and, behold, at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the

altar; were about five-and-twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east. Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and, lo, they put the branch to their nose. Therefore will I also deal in fury: mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity: and though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them." Ezek. viii. 16—18. This, therefore, is declared to be the greatest of all abominations. And what is the reason? The apostle Paul replies: "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse: because that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." Rom. i. 20, 21.

Among the magi, water, as well as fire, was also looked upon as a sacred element, and as a symbol of the Divine purity; and, consequently, not to be defiled. For this reason, wherever they were, they caused the waters to be watched, that no unclean thing might be thrown into them. They held, indeed, that whoever wilfully polluted fire or water, deserved death in this world, and punishment in that which is to come.

That the monarchs of Persia claimed divine honours is abundantly testified by various inscriptions. One at Naksh-i-Rustam reads thus: "This is the face, or resemblance, of the worshipper of Ormuzd, the god Schapoor, king of the kings of Airan and Anairan, (Persia and Tartary,) of the race of the gods, son of the servant of Ormuzd, the divine Artaxerxes, king of the kings of Airan, of the race of the gods, grandson of the divine Papak, the king." Another at Tack-i-Rostun is thus transcribed: "This is the image of the adorer of Ormuzd, the most excellent Schapoor, king of kings of Airan and Anairan, descended from the divine race, and grandson of the excellent Narschi, king of kings." The same fact is proved also by the legends on the Sassanian coins, as explained by Du Sacy.

On one of these coins, the head and shoulders of a man are seen rising from the midst of a flame on the altar. This is supposed to express and exemplify that fire is the light, and that light is God. Such was one of the religious tenets of the magi. Besides this, they held the doctrine of seven intelligences, by whom God unfolded his will to mankind. The first of these intelligences presided over man, the second over animals, the third over the earth, the fourth over water, the fifth over fire, the sixth over plants and vegetables, and the seventh preserved nature from all pollution. Subordinate to these were minor angels, or tutelary demons, to whom it was given to preside over particular months, and even days. These also were worshipped.

It appears that the magi maintained the doctrine of a resurrection, which was most probably borrowed from the Jews. Concerning the place of punishment, they reckoned seven hells, under

* Calmet thinks that these are the Saphires mentioned by Herodotus, as dwelling between Armenia and Colchis, and who, according to Major Rennell, would have occupied Eastern Armenia in modern geography. The name is probably to be sought in that of Siphara, a city on the Euphrates, above Babylon, at that part where the river makes the nearest approach to Assyria Proper.

† These two names seem to denote the same idol; the prefixed words being merely epithets of honour and distinction. Calvert and others think that the two names refer to the same idol, and the original Hebrew denotes but one god.

the charge of an angel called Ymrudd Iaid, whose duty it was to decide upon the punishment due to the transgressor, and also to restrain the cruelty of Ahriman. As fire was regarded by them as emblematical of the Divine essence, it was not admitted into their representations of future torment. Hell, they said, was a subterranean prison, filled with smoke and darkness, where angels in human and inhuman forms tormented the lost souls. Serpents, frogs, and crows, by their perpetual hissing, croaking, and crowing, were said to heighten the punishment.

Another feature in the magian religion was, judicial astrology. This was evidently borrowed from the Chaldeans, among whom it is usually said that this delusive art originated. Cicero says, that the Chaldeans, inhabiting vast plains, where they had a full view of the heavens on every side, were the first who observed the course of the stars, and the first who taught mankind the effects which were thought to be owing to them. Of their observations they made a science, whereby they pretended to be able to foretell to every one what was to befall him, and what fate was ordained him from his birth. From Chaldea this vain science spread into various countries in the east, and even now the existing orientals do not yield to their ancestors in this respect, there being scarcely any circumstance in life concerning which astrologers or astrological tables are not consulted. In some countries, it forms a very prominent feature in the education of their youth.

Allusion has been already made to Ormuzd and Ahriman, the good and evil god. These formed a principal part of the worship of the magi. The tenets of Zoroaster concerning them were, that there was one Supreme Being, independent and self-existing from all eternity; that under him there were two angels, Ormuzd and Ahriman, one of whom was the angel of light and the author of good, and the other the angel of darkness and the author of all evil; that these angels were in a perpetual struggle with each other; and that where the angel of light prevails, there good reigns; and that where the angel of darkness prevails, there evil takes place; that this struggle shall continue to the end of the world; that then there shall be a general resurrection and a day of judgment, wherein all shall receive a just retribution according to their works; after which the angel of darkness and his disciples shall go into a world of their own, where they shall suffer in eternal darkness the punishment of their evil deeds; and the angel of light and his disciples shall also go into a world of their own, where they shall receive in everlasting light the reward due unto their good deeds; that after this they shall remain separate for ever, and light and darkness remain unmixt to all eternity.

The reader will perceive how unworthy and unscriptural these notions are concerning God. In them he is said to be the author of both good and evil. The apostle Paul, oppressed by the struggle of the two opposite principles, grace and corruption, the old man and the new man, the law of his members and the law of his mind, exclaimed, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" Rom. vii. 24. If, therefore, analogical reasoning may be here admitted, what an infinitely painful

struggle must constantly exist in the Divine mind between light and darkness, good and evil! And yet some pious writers assert that this tenet is derived from Scripture! Alas! they have forgotten that the sacred page describes him as the HULY ONE OF ISRAEL; as a Being in whom is light, and no darkness at all, 1 John i. 5; as a God, who visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children, Exod. xx. 5; as the Lord who "will not at all acquit the wicked," Nah. i. 3; as a Being before whom the seraphim veil their faces with their wings, and continually proclaim, "Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts," Isa. vi. 2, 3; as a God in whose presence the prophet, self-condemned, exclaimed, "Woe is me! for I am undone; because I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips: for mine eyes have seen the King, the Lord of hosts," Isa. vi. 5; as the Father of lights and spirits, Jas. i. 17; Heb. xii. 9; as One from whom proceedeth every good and perfect gift; as the Lord "glorious in holiness," Exod. xv. 11; as a Being that no mortal can look upon and live, Exod. xxxiii. 20; as a "God who is rich in mercy," Eph. ii. 4; as a Being in whose presence none shall stand if he should mark iniquities, Psa. cxxx. 3; as an holy and a jealous God, Josh. xxiv. 19; as a God who has said to the children of men, "Be ye holy; for I am holy," 1 Pet. i. 16; etc. Alas for human intellect! which, having such sublime notions of the Almighty as these represented in the Bible, can yet so far err as to recognise him with the supreme being thus erringly described by Zoroaster! What a blessing is the Bible to mankind! Take this away, and but a few years would pass before our knowledge of the Almighty would be obscured; before mankind universally would fall down at the shrine of some created being in worship; before a mental darkness would usurp the place of the glorious gospel, which "hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ," 2 Cor. iv. 6.

In the prophecies of Isaiah there is this remarkable verse, which Lowth and others consider has reference to the great principle of the magian religion, which prevailed in Persia in the time of Cyrus.

"I form the light, and create darkness:
I make peace, and create evil:
I the Lord do all these things."—Isa. xlv. 7.

This remarkable declaration is equally opposed to the doctrine of two co-eternal principles, or two created principles of all good and evil. Jehovah here declares that he is the Almighty Ruler, and that nothing can act in opposition to his will, and that there is no power independent of the one supreme God. In other words, he declares that he is the Author of all that is true, holy, good, and happy; while permitted evil, error, and misery, brought into the world by man's apostasy, are restrained and overruled by him to his righteous purposes. In opposition to the unworthy and unphilosophical notions held by the magi, he challenges it as his prerogative alone to "make peace, and create evil;" to "form the light, and create darkness;" to "do all these things;" that is, to create or control all power in heaven or on earth.

"Drop down, ye heavens, from above,
And let the skies pour down righteousness;
Let the earth open, and let them bring forth salvation,
And let righteousness spring up together;
I the Lord have created it."—*Isa. xlv. 8.*

As might be expected, the magi in Persia were the guardians of all ceremonies relating to divine worship. It was to them that the people had recourse in order to be instructed therein, and to know on what day, to what gods, and after what manner, they were to offer their sacrifices. As the magi were all of one tribe, and as none but the son of a priest could pretend to the honour of the priesthood, they monopolized all knowledge and all learning, whether in religious or political concerns, to themselves and families. It was unlawful for them to instruct any stranger in these matters, without the king's permission. Hence, when the favour was granted to Themistocles, it was, says Plutarch, the effect of the monarch's peculiar favour.

The magi were divided into three classes. The first class consisted of inferior priests, who conducted the ordinary ceremonies of religion; the second presided over the sacred fire; the third was the archmagus, or high priest, who possessed authority over the whole order. They had three kinds of temples. First, common oratories, in which the people performed their devotions, and where the sacred fire was preserved in lamps; second, public temples, with altars, on which the fire was kept constantly burning, where the higher order of the magi directed the public devotions, and the people assembled to perform magical incantations, hear interpretations of dreams, and practice various superstitions; and thirdly, the grand seat of the archmagus, which was visited by the people at certain seasons with peculiar solemnity, and to which it was deemed an indispensable duty that every one should repair at least once during his life. This leads to a notice of the religious rites and ceremonies practised and sanctioned by the magi.

Religious rites and ceremonies.—The ancient magi were bound to discharge their sacerdotal offices with exactness and devotion. Their public worship was thus performed:—In every *pyrum*, or fire temple, there was an altar, on which the sacred fire was preserved. When the people assembled to worship, the priest put on a white habit and a mitre, with a gauze, or cloth, passing before his mouth, that he might not breathe on the holy element. He then read certain prayers in a mumbling tone, holding in his left hand some small twigs of a sacred tree, probably the rose tree, which, when the service was ended, he threw into the fire. When prayers were finished, the priest and people withdrew silently, and with other tokens of solemnity. These rites are still observed among the paraces; but according to Hyde, the priests now inform the people on their departure, whence it is they worship before the fire, and why they are called upon to regard it with reverence. This, he says, is to preserve them from idolatry.

According to Lord, the duty of the priesthood of Persia is comprised in the eleven following rules: 1. The observance of the rites prescribed in the liturgy of Zoroaster. 2. To keep his

eyes from coveting that which belongs to another. 3. To have a care always to speak the truth. 4. To attend closely to his sacerdotal functions, and not meddle with worldly matters. 5. To own the book of the law by heart, that he may be always able to instruct the multitude therein. 6. To keep himself pure and undefiled. 7. To be ready to forgive injuries, showing himself a pattern of meekness. 8. To teach the common people to pray according to the law, and to pray with them. 9. To give licenses for marriage, and to take care that parents do not marry children without his approbation. 10. To spend the greatest part of his time in the temple, that he may be ready to assist all who come to him. 11. To believe no other law than that given by Zoroaster: to add nothing thereto, nor to take aught therefrom.

Many of these precepts are evidently derived from the Hebrew Scriptures.

It would appear that the ancient Persians kept six festivals annually, in memory of the six seasons, wherein they believed all things were created. After each of these feasts, they kept a fast of five days, in memory of God's resting five days, as they believed, at each of those seasons. When they ate flesh, fowl, or fish, they carried a small portion of it to the temple as an offering to God, beseeching him that he would pardon them for taking away the lives of his creatures, in order to their own subsistence.

Concerning the dignity and sanctity of the matrimonial institution, the Persians entertained similar degrading notions with the Babylonians. Polygamy and incest were carried to a fearful extent among them; such having the sanction of the religion of Zoroaster. These facts teach us from what an abyss of iniquity the gospel has delivered us, and how weak a barrier human wisdom is of itself against the most extravagant and abominable crimes. The ceremony of marriage was in unison with their notions of its institution.

Equally abominable and revolting was the disposal of the dead by the Persians. The ancients, generally, had great horror at the idea of not receiving the rites of burial. Hence, when Ulysses visited the infernal regions, he is made to say:

"There, wandering through the gloom, I first survey'd,
New to the realms of death, Elpenor's shade;
His cold remains, all naked to the sky,
On distant shores unwept, unburied, lie."

The ghost is represented as imploring of Ulysses the rites of sepulture in these strains:

"But lend me aid, I now conjure thee, lend,
By the soft tie, and sacred name of friend,
By thy fond consort, by thy father's care,
By loved Telemachus's blessing pray."

The tribute of a tear is all I crave,
And the possession of a peaceful grave."

In Holy Writ, also, we meet with many affecting instances of the care with which the ancient orientals buried their dead. But it was not so with the Persians. Their kings, indeed, had the privilege of having their bodies deposited in rocky vaults, as in the tombs at Nakah-i-Rustam and Nakah-i-Rejeb. But this was not, properly speaking, inhumation, or putting them

within the surface of the earth; it was simply a deposition of them in a rocky excavation. The common manner of disposing of their dead was far different from this. As, in their religion, the four elements, fire, earth, air, and water, symbolized, though not in equal degrees, the Divine Being, great care was taken to preserve them from coming into contact with each other. Hence, as they held also that all bodies were composed of these elements, they would not suffer them to be buried, for fear of contaminating the earth. On the contrary, they exposed the body on a high tower, that each of the four elements, by its gradual decay, might obtain its own. Some affirm that separate towers were erected for the good and the evil; others say, that men, women, and children were placed on different towers. This was adopted to preserve the purity of the elements; but wild beasts, dogs, and birds of prey, were suffered to devour them, as they considered that, the bodies being thus entombed in the bowels of those animals, the earth was not defiled nor the air polluted.

This custom of exposing their dead to be devoured by beasts or birds, was a great barrier in the way of people's becoming proselytes to the magian religion. After the Armenians had received the Christian faith, it rendered the magian name and religion odious to them, and it was a frequent cause of revolt in that country against the authority of the Persians. This custom was, indeed, anciently esteemed so barbarous by other nations, that Theodoret, speaking of the good effect Christianity had on men's minds, in reforming them from brutal and wicked habits, mentions expressly that the Persians, since they had received its doctrines, no more exposed the bodies of their dead, but gave them a decent burial.

Similar practices, with reference to the dead, are common among the modern parsees or Ghabres to this day. When a person is dead, the priest does not approach the body, but the corpse is put on an iron bier, and carried to the place of exposure. The body is placed on the tower; the priest standing at a distance, performs the funeral service, which concludes in these words: "This, our brother, while he lived, consisted of the four elements; now he is dead, let each take his own: earth to earth, air to air, water to water, fire to fire." They suppose that the spirit wanders about three days after its departure from the body, and that it is during that time pursued and tormented by Ahriman, till it is able to reach their sacred fire, near which he cannot approach. Accordingly, they pray morning, noon, and night, during these three days, for the soul of their deceased brother, beseeching God to blot out his sins and cancel his offences. On the fourth day, supposing his fate determined, they make a great feast, which closes the ceremonies used on that occasion.

A late writer, who witnessed a parsee funeral at Surat, says, that "as soon as the corpse was laid down in the open field near the burial place, or rather cemetery, some friend of the dead person hunted about in the neighbouring villages till he found a dog, whom with a cake he enticed to come near the corpse; for the nearer the dog approaches, the better hope they have of the

state of the deceased's future felicity; and if he can be allured to take a bit out of the dead man's mouth, it is an infallible sign of his going to heaven; but in case the dog be not hungry, or loathes the object, or refuses the morsel, the case of the deceased is then considered past all hope." He adds, that the dog, in the instance before us, could not be induced to come near the corpse.

The place of sepulture at Surat may probably illustrate some of the ancient raised places whereon the dead were exposed. It is described as enclosed with a wall twelve feet high, and 100 in circumference. In the middle, was a stone door, six feet from the ground, which was opened to receive the corpse. The ground within the walls is raised four feet, and made shelving towards the centre, where there is a sink for receiving the moisture which continually falls from the carcases. Here the body is left to be devoured by vultures. After it has been there for a day or two, some of the nearest relations come to see the state of the body, and if the vultures have first plucked out the right eye, it is taken as an indication of the felicity of the departed; if the left, they are assured he is miserable. The scene within is described as revolting and offensive to the last degree: mangled bodies, and gorged vultures, still feeding on their fetid prey, compose the horrid picture. To such revolting customs has the false religion of Zoroaster given birth.

Truly there is no religion to be compared with that of the Bible; for it not only teaches man the true way of salvation, but his duties toward both the dead and the living. Carry your thoughts back, reader, to the patriarchal age, and witness the conduct of the faithful Abraham, when his beloved Sarah was torn by death from his arms. Did he barbarously expose her remains to the wild beasts of the field, and to the cruel birds of prey? Oh no! He earnestly sought a burying place of Ephron, the son of Zohar, that he might, to use his own beautiful and tender expression, "bury the dead out of his sight." His desire was gratified, and he acted accordingly. Carry your thoughts further down into time, and see with what tenderness that faithful friend of the Saviour, Joseph of Arimathea, assisted by others, buried him in his own "new sepulchre." To use the idea supplied by the poet—

There buried they
The heavenly savior; there let it softly sleep,
The fairest Shepherd of the fairest sheep:
And all the body kne'd, then homeward went to weep."
GILES FLETCHER.

Look into our own burying places, and see there what Christian affection does for those once tenderly loved on earth. There they rest in peace, till the last trumpet shall sound, and call them back to life again. As we wept over our Christian friends, and committed their bodies to the earth, we felt that we could lie down with them in their graves, and be at peace. And yet, not sorrowing as those without hope, we exclaimed, as we turned from the mournful scene, with the apostle, "If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him," 1 Thess. iv. 14.

Forbear, then, ye learned, to compare the religion of Zoroaster with that of the Bible.

ARTIFICERS.

Concerning this caste of Persia, very little is known. It would appear, however, that they worked by rule, and that the rule was fixed by the monarch himself; at least the poet says that it was so fixed by Jamshid. They were undoubtedly an oppressed class of people, as may be seen from the annexed quotation from Ferdusi.

"The Ahmenschuhl class combined
Men of ingenious hand, and active mind.
Laborious, staid, who crafts of skill espouse,
While care and want deep grave their wrinkled brows.
In fifty years the monarch (Jamshid) had the place
Of this, the artist and mechanic race;
Selecting one from each, the task to guide
By rules of art—himself the rules applied."

To what perfection architecture was brought among the Persians, may be seen in the description of the ruins of Persepolis. It is not so certain, however, that the vast structures in Asia were as remarkable for their beauty and symmetry, as they were for their magnitude and extent.

HUSBANDMEN.

By Ferdusi this class of people among the Persians is called, "The full of wisdom," and it would appear from him, that they were superior to the order of artificers.

"Remote from haughtier sway, and lust of fame,
Tillage and harvest-toils their simple aim.
No cries of hunger rise, nor famulus come
To stint their meals, or scare their humble home;
From cold, from want secure, their peaceful ear
Rings not of doom, nor sounds of death and fear.
Yea! these are blest; but mark this maxims grave,
'Sloth turns the happy freeman to a slave.'"

Agriculture was one of the objects on which the Persians principally bestowed their care and attention. One of the chief cares of their monarchs was to make husbandry flourish; and those satraps whose provinces were the best cultivated, enjoyed his highest favour. Agriculture was, also, encouraged by the precepts of Zoroaster. By that sagacious but interested teacher, they were recommended to plant useful trees, to convey water to the dry lands, and to work out their salvation by pursuing all the labours of agriculture. By thus connecting the temporal and future interests of his followers, agriculture flourished exceedingly. Hence it was that the Persians, under the Sassanian dynasty, rose to as great a pitch of prosperity as could be expected under a despotic government, and the physical disadvantages of a dry and parched soil, the want of navigable rivers, and commercial ports.

COMMERCE.

From the last clause in the foregoing sentence, it will be seen that the Persians laboured under a great disadvantage with reference to commerce. From this cause, indeed, the Persians never were a commercial people. Anciently, they were utter strangers to gainful commerce. Clad in the untanned skins of beasts, they drank the water of the brook, and ate whatever their barren country produced, and were contented. This appears from the speech of the wise Sardanis, in

which he endeavoured to dissuade Cyrus from invading Persia: "If you conquer them," he asks pertinently, "What can you take from such as have nothing?" After the Lydian conquest, *a. c.* 548, the Persians, becoming masters of so many rich provinces, it is probable that they applied their minds to trade and navigation, to supply themselves with commodities which their country wanted, and to dispose of their own superabundance. On this subject, however, no authentic information has been handed down to us by ancient historians; yet it is probable that commerce obtained increased attention, from their luxurious mode of living in later ages, which will be seen in the succeeding section of the kingdom of Persia; and which was one of the chief causes of the declension of their empire.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA.

PERSIAN KINGS.

THE early history of Persia is involved in impenetrable obscurity. The Persian writers have so surrounded it with romance, with tales of griffins, monsters, giants, and fairies, that no sober account can be collected from their writings. According to them, some of the kings of the first Persian dynasty, called the Pischdadian, reigned from 500 to 1000 years each. Dr. Hales has, indeed, corrected these extravagant reigns, by the soberer accounts of other oriental writers, so as to reduce the length of the dynasty to a moderate compass; that is, from *a. c.* 2190 to *a. c.* 1651. But still, no authentic accounts have reached us of the actions of these monarchs; and the reader can only be referred to the table of dynasties at the close of this history, for their probable names.

At the close of this dynasty, it would appear that a long period succeeded, of more than 1,000 years, during which Iran, or Persia, was subject to the empire of Turan, and afterwards of Assyria, until the revival of the second Persian dynasty of the Kaianites, *a. c.* 641, when Cyaxares began to reign over Media, under the ancient title *kai*, or king, and Persia became subject to the Median power.

During the Assyrian and Median dominations, the Persians, according to the Greek writers, were still governed by their native princes, as was the usage throughout the east. Thus Xenophon traces the pedigree of Cyrus up to Peres, who gave name to the country; and Herodotus notices his ancestors, Achemenes, the father of Teispes, the father of Cambyzes, the father of Cyrus. Concerning the sovereigns of Persia, however, before the downfall of the Median empire, nothing can be recorded; and the proper history of the empire of the Persians commences with

CYRUS.

According to Xenophon, this prince, whose name is equally celebrated both in sacred and profane history, was the son of Cambyzes, king of Persia, and of Mandane, daughter of Astyages, king of the Medes. He was born about *a. c.* 559.

In early life, Cyrus appears to have given promise of future greatness, whence the marvellous tales recorded of him by both Persian and Greek writers. His childhood was spent with his parents in Persia, where he was trained in the Persian simplicity of manners, and inured to fatigue and hardship till he was twelve years old. At this date, he went on a visit with his mother to his grandfather, Astyages, to whom he much endeared himself. He also gained the affections of the grandees, and of the Medes in general, by his courteous behaviour. Nature, who usually makes a very pleasing discovery of herself in children, exhibited her charms in Cyrus in an extraordinary degree.

When about fifteen or sixteen years of age, *a.c.* 584, Cyrus attended his grandfather in an expedition against Evil Merodach, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who made a predatory excursion into the Median territories. Chiefly by the valour of young Cyrus, the Babylonians were repulsed, which raised his fame still more among the Medes. The next year Cyrus returned to Persia, where he continued till the death of his grandfather, Astyages, and the accession of his uncle, Cyaxares, *a.c.* 566.

In the year *a.c.* 559, Cyrus succeeded to the throne of Persia. His first act after his accession was, to wage war with Evil Merodach, who, two years before, had succeeded his father, Nebuchadnezzar, at Babylon.

Evil Merodach, ambitious of adding Media to his empire, which comprehended Syria, and Assyria, Hyrcania, Bactria, and Arabia, formed a powerful confederacy of the neighbouring states, the Lydians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, Carians, Paphlagonians, and Cilicians, westwards; and the Indians, or Turanians, eastwards, against the Medes and Persians; alleging, that by their junction and intermarriages, they were grown so great and powerful, that unless they were opposed with their united forces, the confederates would be reduced by them separately. The Medes and Persians combined their forces, and Cyrus was appointed general.

The king of Armenia, who was a vassal of the Medes, looking upon them as destroyed by the confederacy, deemed this a favourable opportunity of shaking off their yoke. Accordingly, he refused to pay Cyaxares the usual tribute, and to provide him with the number of troops which, as a vassal, he should furnish in time of war. This greatly embarrassed the Median king; but Cyrus, by a rapid expedition into Armenia, surprised the king and his family, obliged him to pay the usual tribute, and to send his quota of auxiliary troops, after which he restored to him his kingdom.

Before Cyrus quitted Armenia, he rendered the king some essential service. At this time, he was at war with the Chaldeans, who dwelt in the north of Armenia, and who being a warlike people, continually harassed his country by their incursions, thereby hindering a great part of his lands from being cultivated. Cyrus marched against, and defeated them, and after making a treaty with them to the effect that they should no more invade Armenia, he returned to Media.

The next year, *a.c.* 558, due preparations being made, Cyrus anticipated the threatened in-

vasion of Media and Persia. His reasons for this were, that he deemed it more prudent his army should eat up the enemy's country than their own; that so bold a step would strike terror in the forces of the enemy, and inspire his own with confidence; and that it was a maxim with him, as it had been with Cambyses, his father, that victory did not so much depend upon the number as the valour of troops. As soon, therefore, as the customary sacrifices were offered to the tutelary gods of the Medes and Persians, Cyrus marched forward with his hosts, in search of the confederates. He found them encamped in the open country of Assyria, where he attacked and routed them, and stormed their camp. Evil Merodach, the king of Babylon, was slain in the engagement. The rest of the confederates, among whom was Croesus, king of Lydia, being greatly dispirited, retreated homewards, pursued by Cyrus.

The next notable act of Cyrus was, his invasion of Assyria. In this enterprise, he received great assistance from Gobryas and Gadatas, two noblemen, who had been grievously injured by Belshazzar, the son and successor of Evil Merodach. Acting upon the principle of revenge, which is ever sweet to an unregenerate heart, they surrendered to Cyrus the provinces and castles intrusted to them. Belshazzar took the field in order to punish Gadatas for his rebellion. He was encountered and defeated by Cyrus, who forced him to return with great loss to Babylon. This defeat is dated by Dr. Hales, *a.c.* 554. The next year he was slain by conspirators, and Cyaxares, or Darius the Mede, took possession of his kingdom, appointing Nabonadius king, or viceroy, as before recorded. (See the History of the Assyrians and Chaldeans, page 46.)

After the death of Cyaxares, *a.c.* 551, Cyrus succeeded to the inheritance of the empire of Media and Babylon by right, according to sacred history, and confirmed by the poet Æschylus, who fought at Marathon against the Persians, and was acquainted with Persian affairs.*

The accession of Cyrus was followed by the capture of many cities, and the reduction of several provinces, which so alarmed Croesus, king of Lydia, that he assembled his forces, and commenced hostilities: the particulars may be seen in the History of the Lydians. See page 70, etc.

These events occurred *a.c.* 548. The next year Cyrus reduced some revolted cities of Media, namely, Larissa and Mespila; while Harpagus, his general, was engaged in subduing Asia Minor, Ionia, and Halicarnassus, the native city of Herodotus.

After this, Cyrus prosecuted the war against the eastern confederates, and reduced all Syria and Arabia; and Nabonadius having rebelled against him, he at length invested Babylon, which was the only city that now held out against him. Nabonadius, or, as Herodotus terms him, Labynetus, marched out to fight him,

* Dr. Hales states, however, that "the actual commencement of his full sovereignty" was *a.c.* 536, when he captured Babylon, and defeated Nabonadius, who had been appointed king, or viceroy, by his uncle Cyaxares. (See the History of the Assyrians, etc., page 46;) and who had rebelled against him, as described in a succeeding paragraph.

but was defeated and driven into Borsippa, the citadel of Babylon, where Cyrus besieged him and the town for two years, *a.c.* 538.

The siege of Babylon was no easy enterprise. The walls of it were of a prodigious height; a numerous army defended it from within, and it was stored with provisions sufficient to support the inhabitants for some years. But these difficulties did not discourage Cyrus from pursuing his design. Despairing, however, of taking the place by storm or assault, he made the inhabitants believe he would try to reduce it by famine. He caused a line of circumvallation to be drawn round the city, with a large and deep ditch; and that his troops might not be worn out by labour, he divided his army into twelve bodies, and assigned each of them its month for guarding the trenches. The besieged saw his mighty labour, and laughed him to scorn, deeming themselves out of danger by reason of their ramparts and magazines.

But Babylon was founded in impious pride and rebellion against God; and many a woe was denounced against her in Scripture for her crying sins and abominations, by the Hebrew prophets.

The duration of her empire for seventy years, while she was destined to scourge the corrupt nations of the earth, and her own ensuing desolation, are thus described by Jeremiah, in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, *a.c.* 604:

"And this whole land [Palestine] shall be a desolation, and an astonishment; and these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. And it shall come to pass, when seventy years are accomplished, that I will punish the king of Babylon, and that nation, saith the Lord, for their iniquity, and the land of the Chaldeans, and will make it perpetual desolations. And I will bring upon that land all my words which I have pronounced against it, even all that is written in this book, which Jeremiah hath prophesied against all the nations. For many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of them also: and I will recompense them according to their deeds, and according to the works of their own hands. For thus saith the Lord God of Israel unto me; Take the wine cup of this fury at my hand, and cause all the nations, to whom I send thee, to drink it. And they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword that I will send among them. Then took I the cup at the Lord's hand, and made all the nations to drink, unto whom the Lord had sent me: to wit, Jerusalem, and the cities of Judah, and the kings thereof, and the princes thereof, to make them a desolation, an astonishment, an hissing, and a curse; as it is this day; Pharaoh king of Egypt, and his servants, and his princes, and all his people; and all the mingled people, and all the kings of the land of Uz, and all the kings of the land of the Philistines, and Ashkelon, and Azzah, and Ekron, and the remnant of Ashdod, Edom, and Moab, and the children of Ammon, and all the kings of Tyrrus, and all the kings of Zidon, and the kings of the isles which are beyond the sea, Dedan, and Tema, and Bux, and all that are in the utmost corners, and all the kings of Arabia, and all the kings of the

mingled people that dwell in the desert, and all the kings of Zimri, and all the kings of Elam, and all the kings of the Medes, and all the kings of the north, far and near, one with another, and all the kingdoms of the world, which are upon the face of the earth: and the king of Sheshach [the drunkard city of Babylon] shall drink after them." *Jer.* xxv. 11—26.

The retaliation of Divine vengeance in the invasion of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, the surprise of the city unawares, the slaughter of its inhabitants, and its final destruction, are thus described by the same prophet, in the fourth year of Zedekiah, *a.c.* 593:

"Declare ye among the nations,
And publish, and set up a standard;
Publish, and conceal not.
Say, Babylon is taken,
Babel is confounded,
Merodach is broken in pieces.
Her idols are confounded,
Her images are broken in pieces
For out of the north there cometh up a nation against her,
Which shall make her land desolate,
And none shall dwell therein
They shall remove, they shall depart,
Both man and beast."—*Jer.* i. 2, 3.

"Remove out of the midst of Babylon,
And go forth out of the land of the Chaldeans,
And be as the he goats before the flocks.*
For, lo, I will raise
And cause to come up against Babylon
An assembly of great nations from the north country:
And they shall set themselves in array against her,
In thence she shall be taken
Their arrows shall be as of a mighty expert man,
None shall return in vain."—*Jer.* i. 8, 9.

"Behold, I will punish the king of Babylon and his land,
As I have punished the king of Assyria."—*Jer.* i. 12.

"Go up against the land of Moriahim,
Even against it, and against the inhabitants of Pekod:
Waste and utterly destroy after them, saith the Lord,
And do according to all that I have commanded thee.
A sound of battle is in the land,
And of great destruction
How is the hammer of the whole earth cut asunder and broken?
How is Babylon become a desolation among the nations?
I have found a snare for thee, and thou art also taken,
O Babylon, and thou wast not aware.
Thou art found, and also caught,
Because thou hast striven against the Lord.
The Lord hath opened his armoury,
And hath brought forth the weapons of his indignation:
For this is the work of the Lord God of hosts
In the land of the Chaldeans."—*Jer.* i. 21—25.

"A sword is upon the Chaldeans, saith the Lord,
And upon the inhabitants of Babylon,
And upon her princes, and upon her wise men.
A sword is upon the bars—and they shall do so:
A sword is upon her mighty men—and they shall be dismayed.
A sword is upon their horses, and upon their chariots,
And upon all the mingled people that are in the midst of her.
And they shall become as women:
A sword is upon her treasures—and they shall be robbed.
A drought is upon her waters—and they shall be dried up.
For it is the land of graven images,
And they are mad upon their idols."—*Jer.* i. 35—38.

The prophet describes circumstantially, in

* In the east, sheep and goats frequently mingle in the same pasture, and on these occasions the he goats always take the lead. It is to this habit that the prophet alludes in this verse, which is an exhortation to Israel to remove out of the land of the Chaldeans.

cominuation, the particulars of the siege, and surprise of the Molaitre city :

"Babylon hath been a golden cup in the Lord's hand,
That made all the earth drunken:
The Nations have drunken of her wine;
Therefore the Nations are mad.
Babylon is suddenly fallen and destroyed."

Jer. li. 7, 8.

"Make bright the arrows: gather the shields:
The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the
Medes:

For his device is against Babylon, to destroy it:
Because it is the vengeance of the Lord,
The vengeance of his temple.

Set up the standard upon the walls of Babylon,
Make the watch strong, set up the watchmen,
Prepare the ambushes:

For the Lord hath both devised and done
That which he spake against the inhabitants of
Babylon.

O thou that dwellest upon many waters,* abundant in
treasures,
Thine end is come, and the measure of thy covetous-
ness."—*Jer. li. 11-15.*

"Set ye up a standard in the land,
Blow the trumpet among the nations,
Prepare the nations against her,
Call together against her the kingdoms
Of Ararat, Minni, and Ashchenaz:
Appoint a captain (Cyrus) against her;
Cause the horses to come up as the rough caterpillars."

Jer. li. 27.

"The mighty men of Babylon have forborn to fight,
They have remained in their holds:
Their might hath failed;
They became as women:
They have burned her dwelling places;
Her bars are broken.
One post shall run to meet another,
And one messenger to meet another,
To show the king of Babylon [Nabonadus]
That his city is taken at one end,
And that the passages [from the river] are stopped,
And the reeds [or, thatch of the houses] they have
burned with fire.
And the men of war are affrighted.

For thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel:
The daughter of Babylon is like a threshing floor,
It is time to thresh her:
Yet a little while, and the time of her harvest shall
come."—*Jer. li. 30-33.*

"And I will dry up her sea, and make her spring dry.
And Babylon shall become heaps,
A dwelling place for dragons,
An astonishment, and an hissing,
Without an inhabitant."—*Jer. li. 36, 37.*

"In their heat I will make their feasts,
And I will make them drunken, that they may rejoice.
And sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake,
Saith the Lord."—*Jer. li. 39.*

"Now is Sheshach [the drunkard city] taken!
And how is the praise of the whole earth surprised!
Now is Babylon become an astonishment among the
nations!"—*Jer. li. 41.*

"Thus saith the Lord of hosts:
The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly broken,
And her high gates shall be burned with fire;
And the people shall labour in vain,
And the folk in the fire, and they shall be weary."

Jer. li. 50.

The prophet Habakkuk represents the retaliation of Divine vengeance on Babylon, for se-

* The river Euphrates, and the neighbouring lakes and marshes, with the numerous canals, both of communica-
tion and irrigation, give a striking propriety to the
phrase, "many waters."

† The prediction means that couriers should run from
different parts, and so fall in with one another, all of them
bringing intelligence to the ruler that the city was taken
at the point from whence they started.

ducing the world with her cup of idolatry, under
the same allegory:—

"Wee unto him that giveth his neighbour drink,
That putteth thy bottle to him, and maketh him drunken
also,

That these men set look on their wickedness;

Thou art filled with shame for glory:

Drink thou also, and let thy forehead be uncovered:

The cup of the Lord's right hand shall be turned unto
thee.

And shameful spewing shall be on thy glory."

Ecc. li. 16, 16.

At an earlier period, the prophet Isaiah still
more awfully and sublimely predicts the desola-
tions of Babylon.

"Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them,
Which shall not regard silver:
And as for gold, they shall not delight in it.
Their bows also shall dash the young men to pieces;
And they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb;
Their eye shall not spare children.
And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,
The beauty of the Chaldees' excellency,
Shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.
It shall never be inhabited,
Neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to genera-
tion:

Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there;

Nor shall the shepherds make their fold there.

But wild beasts of the desert shall lie there;

And their houses shall be full of doleful creatures;

And owls shall dwell there,

And satyrs shall dance there.

And the wild beasts of the islands shall cry in their
desolate houses,

And dragons in their pleasant palaces:

And her time is near to come,

And her days shall not be prolonged."—*Isa. xlii. 17-22.*

The prophet Isaiah describes the destroyer of
Babylon by name, and that two hundred years
before he was born.

"Thus saith the Lord to his anointed,
To Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden,
To subdue nations before him;
And I will loose the loins of kings,
To open before him the two-leaved gates;
And the gates shall not be shut;
I will go before thee,
And make the crooked places straight:
I will break in pieces the gates of brass,
And cut in sunder the bars of iron:
And I will give thee the treasures of darkness,
And hidden riches of secret places,
That thou mayest know that I, the Lord,
Which call thee by thy name,
Am the God of Israel.
For Jacob my servant's sake,
And Israel mine elect,
I have even called thee by thy name:
I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me."

Isa. xli. 1-4.

"All ye, assemble yourselves, and hear;
Which among them hath declared these things?
The Lord hath loved him: he will do his pleasure on
Babylon,
And his arm shall be on the Chaldeans.
I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have called him:
I have brought him, and he shall make his way prosper-
ous."—*Isa. xlviii. 14, 15.*

‡ Xenophon represents Cyrus as praising the Medes
and his army for their disregard of riches. Addressing
them before their departure for Babylon, he says: "Ye
Medes, and all here present, I well know that ye accom-
pany me on this expedition, not coveting wealth."

§ The bows of the Persians were three cubits long, and
were used as clubs in warfare.

¶ Cyrus, says Dr. Henderson, is called the "anointed
of the Lord," because he had, in his providence, appointed
him to the rule under which the Jews were to be restored.
The allusion is to the ancient rite of anointing with oil
those who were invested with regal dignity.

By the same prophet, the Almighty gives the signal to the commanders and to the troops to march against Babylon.

"Lift ye up a banner upon the high mountain,
Exalt the voice unto them, shake the hand,
That they may go into the gates of the nobles.
I have commanded my sanctified ones,
I have also called my mighty ones for mine anger,
Even them that rejoice in my highness.
The noise of a multitude in the mountains,* like as of
a great people:
A tumultuous noise of the kingdoms of nations gathered
together
The Lord of hosts mustereth the host of the battle
They came from a far country,
From the end of heaven,
Even the Lord, and the weapons of his indignation,
To destroy the whole land."—*Isa. xiii. 2—11*.

In the same chapter, a description of the dismay, consternation, and perplexity into which the inhabitants of Babylon should be thrown on the capture of the city, is given under a metaphor taken from the physical effects produced upon the human system by fear, alarm, or pain.

"Howl ye: for the day of the Lord is at hand,
It shall come as a desolator on from the Almighty
Therefore shall all hands be lamed,
And every man's heart shall melt
And they shall be afraid
Pangs and sorrows shall take hold of them,
They shall be in pain as a woman that travaileth
They shall be amazed one at another,
Their faces shall be as flint."—*Isa. xiii. 6—8*.

In a succeeding verse, the prophet describes the panic with which the troops should be seized, comparing them to a chased roe, or sheep.

"And it shall be as the chased roe,[†]
And as a sheep that no man taketh up"—*Isa. xiii. 11*.

The same verse, in the latter clause, exhibits these troops, the greatest part of whom were mercenaries, as returning into the provinces from whence they came, without being pursued by the conqueror.

"They shall every man turn to his own people,
And flee every one into his own land."

The grand causes of the destruction of Babylon were her pride and cruelty. These are aptly described by the prophet.

"I was wroth with my people, (the Jews.)
I have polluted mine inheritance,
And given them into thine hand
Thou didst show them no mercy;
Upon the ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy yoke.
And thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever
So that thou didst not lay these things to thy heart,
Neither didst remember the latter end of it.
Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures,
That dwellest carelessly,
That sayest in thine heart,
I am, and none else beside me;
I shall not sit as a widow,
Neither shall I know the loss of children
But these two things shall come to thee in a moment in
one day,

* The mountains to which the prophet refers are doubtless the elevated regions from which the warriors came who served in the Persian army; such as those of Media, Armenia, Koordistan, as well as the mountains of Sanjar, in the immediate vicinity of Babylon.

† The "roe," or, as Dr. Henderson renders it, "gazelle," is selected on account of its timidity, and the lightness with which it bounds across the plains, to express the haste with which the alarmed foreigners would attempt their escape from the conqueror.

The loss of children, and widowhood
They shall come upon thee in their perfection
For the multitude of thy secretaries,
And for the great abundance of thine enchantments,
For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness:
Thou hast said, None shall see me.
Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, I hath perverted thee:
And thou, hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else
beside me.
Therefore shall evil come upon thee:
Thou shalt not know from whence it riseth.
And mischief shall fall upon thee:
Thou shalt not be able to put it off.
And desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which
thou shalt not know."—*Isa. xlviii. 6—11*.

Having thus pointed out the principal predictions of Holy Writ relative to the destruction of Babylon by Cyrus, we proceed to narrate their accomplishment from information derived from the pages of ancient authors.

When Cyrus saw that the circumvallation, which his army had long worked upon, was completed, he began to reflect upon the execution of his vast design, which as yet was known only to himself. Providence soon directed him in his course. He was informed, that in the city a great festival was to be celebrated; and that the Babylonians were accustomed to pass the night of this festival in dancing and merriment. Accordingly, when the citizens of Babylon were thus employed, Cyrus posted a part of his troops on that side where the river entered the city, and another part on that side where it went out, commanding them to enter the city by marching along the channel of the river, as soon as they found it fordable. Having given his orders, he exhorted his officers to follow him, by representing to him that he marched under the guidance of the gods, in the evening he caused receptacles he had prepared on both sides of the river to be opened, that the water of the river might flow into them. The Euphrates, by this means, became fordable, and the troops advanced up the channel, and took the city. In the midst of their rioting, the Babylonians were surprised, and caused to sleep "a perpetual sleep;" and their city from that moment began its downward career of desolation. See the article "Babylon," in the History of the Assyrians, etc. This event occurred, B.C. 536.

By a remarkable providence, and contrary to what might have been expected on the part of the besieged, the gates leading to the river had been left open on the night of the attack by Cyrus, in consequence of which his troops found no difficulty in entering the city. Even the gates of the palace were incautiously opened during the tumult occasioned by the invasion. If such had not been the case, says Herodotus, the Persians, who entered by night through the channel, would have been enclosed, and caught as in a net, and destroyed.

Xenophon says, that Cyrus having entered the city, put all to the sword that were found in the streets. He then commanded the citizens to bring him all their arms, and afterwards to shut themselves up in their houses. The next morning, by break of day, the garrison which kept the citadel, being apprised that the city was taken, surrendered themselves to Cyrus. Thus did this prince,

* Babylon was proud not only of her political wisdom, but also of her astrological and mythological science.

† This was the drunken festival of the *Sakas*, mentioned Jer. li. 41.

almost without striking a blow, and without any resistance, find himself in the peaceable possession of the strongest city in the world. Thus were the various prophecies concerning the capture of Babylon fulfilled.

After his victory, the first thing Cyrus did, says Xenophon, was to thank the gods for the success they had given him. Then, having assembled his principal officers, he publicly applauded their courage and prudence, and their zeal and attachment to his person, and distributed rewards to his whole army. After this, he represented to them that the only means of preserving their conquests was to persevere in their ancient virtue; that the proper end of victory was not to give themselves up to idleness and pleasure; that, after having conquered their enemies by force of arms, it would be shameful to suffer themselves to be overcome by the allurements of pleasure; that in order to maintain their ancient glory, it behoved them to keep up amongst the Persians at Babylon the same discipline they had observed in their own country.

Cyrus, finding himself master of all the east by the capture of Babylon, did not imitate the example of most other conquerors, of whom history records that their victories were sullied by a voluptuous and effeminate conduct: he thought it incumbent upon him to maintain his reputation by the same methods he had acquired it; namely, by a laborious and active life, and a constant application to the duties of his high station.

How skilful Cyrus was in the art of government, is recorded in the pages of ancient authors. Xenophon says, that he committed the various parts and offices of his government to different persons, according to their various talents and qualifications; but the care of forming and appointing general officers, governors of provinces, ministers, and ambassadors, he reserved to himself, looking upon that as the proper duty and employment of a king; and upon which depended his glory, the success of his affairs, and the happiness and tranquillity of his empire. His great talent was, to study the particular character of men, in order to give them authority in proportion to their merit, to make their private advancement concur with the public good; that every part should have a dependence upon, and mutually contribute to support each other; and that the strength of one should not exert itself but for the benefit and advantages of the rest. Each person had his district, and his particular sphere of action, of which he gave an account to another above him, and he again to a third, till, by these different degrees and regular subordination, the cognizance of affairs came to the king himself, who was, as it were, the soul to the body of the state, which by this means he governed with as much ease as a parent governs his household.

When Cyrus afterwards sent governors, called satraps, into the provinces under his subjection, he would not suffer the particular governors of places, nor the commanding officers of the troops maintained for the security of the country, to be dependent upon those provincial governors, or to be subject to any one but himself; in order that if any of these satraps, elate with his station,

made an ill use of his authority, there might be found witnesses and censors of his maladministration within his own government. He carefully avoided the trusting of any one man with absolute power, knowing that a prince would have reason to repent of having exalted one man, if by him the community are oppressed.

Thus Cyrus established a wonderful order with respect to his military affairs, his treasury, and civil government. In all the provinces he had persons of approved integrity, who gave him an account of every thing that passed. He made it his principal care to honour and reward all those that distinguished themselves by their merit. It was this wise concentration of his resources that enabled him to carry on his conquests.

It is not with reference to the destruction of Babylon alone that Cyrus is celebrated in the pages of Holy Writ. Therein he is pointedly referred to as the instrument of restoring the Jewish polity.

"I have raised him up in righteousness,
And I will direct all his ways:
He shall build my city, and he shall let go my captives,
Not for price nor reward,
Saith the Lord of hosts."—*Isa. xlv. 13.*

Accordingly, in the year of the capture of Babylon, and first of his sole sovereignty, Cyrus issued his famous decree for putting an end to the captivity of the Jews, and for rebuilding the temple of Jerusalem. The decree reads thus:—"Now in the first year of Cyrus king of Persia, that the word of the Lord by the mouth of Jeremiah might be fulfilled, the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus king of Persia, that he made a proclamation throughout all his kingdom, and put it also in writing, saying, Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah. Who is there among you of all his people? his God be with him, and let him go up to Jerusalem, which is in Judah, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel, (he is the God,) which is in Jerusalem. And whosoever remaineth in any place where he sojourneth, let the men of his place help him with silver, and with gold, and with goods, and with beasts, beside the freewill offering for the house of God that is in Jerusalem." *Ezra i. 1-4.*

The response to this celebrated decree by the Hebrews was immediate by the chief portion of the exiles. "Then rose up the chief of the fathers of Judah and Benjamin, and the priests, and the Levites, with all them whose spirit God had raised, to go up to build the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem. And all they that were about them strengthened their hands with vessels of silver, with gold, with goods, and with beasts, and with precious things, beside all that was willingly offered. Also Cyrus the king brought forth the vessels of the house of the Lord, which Nebuchadnezzar had brought forth out of Jerusalem, and had put them in the house of his gods; even those did Cyrus king of Persia bring forth by the hand of Mithredath the treasurer, and numbered them unto Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah. And this is the number of them: thirty chargers of gold, a thousand chargers of silver,

nine and twenty knives, thirty basins of gold, silver basins of a second sort four hundred and ten, and other vessels a thousand. All the vessels of gold and of silver were five thousand and four hundred. All these did Sheshbazzar bring up with them of the captivity that were brought up from Babylon unto Jerusalem." *Ezra* i. 5—11. Thus were the Jews "redeemed without money," according to Isaiah's prophecy, *Isa.* lii. 3.

In the book of Daniel it is recorded that this holy man "prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian," chap. vi. 28. His last vision is dated in the third year of Cyrus, probably not long before his death, chap. x. 1; and the author of the apocryphal history of Bel and the Dragon says, that Cyrus conversed much with him, and honoured him above all his friends. We may conclude that it was by the wise counsel of Daniel that the spirit of Cyrus was "stirred up" to fulfil the prophecy of Jeremiah, *Jer.* xlv. 11, this being the year of the expiration of the captivity which Daniel had computed, *Dan.* ix. 2; and to fulfil the prophecy respecting the rebuilding of the temple, *Jer.* xxix. 10, to which Cyrus alludes in his decree. See also *Isa.* xlv. 24.

The holy work, however, did not proceed without opposition. After the death of their patron Daniel, probably in the third year of Cyrus, those adversaries of the Jews, the Samaritan colonists, who had been planted in the room of the ten tribes by Esarhaddon, and had offered to join in the erection of the temple, but were refused by the Jewish government, obstructed the building. By their interest at the Persian court, they obtained an order to stop the work, which was discontinued during the ensuing reigns of Cambyses, Smerdis Magus, Xerxes, and till the second year of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, *Ezra* iv. 1—5, 24.

Xenophon closes the military exploits of Cyrus with the conquest of Egypt, and says, that the last seven years of his full sovereignty he spent in peace and tranquillity at home, revered and beloved by his subjects of all classes. This testimony is confirmed by the Persian historians. These relate, that after a long and bloody war, Xerxes subdued the empire of Turan, now Turkistan, and made the city of Balk, in Chorassan, a royal residence, to keep in order his new subjects; that he repaid every family in Persia the amount of their war taxes, out of the spoils gained by his conquests; that he endeavoured to promote peace and harmony between the Turanians and Iranians; that he regulated the pay of his soldiery; reformed civil and religious abuses throughout the provinces; and, at length, after a long and glorious reign, resigned the crown to his son, Loharasp, and retired to solitude, saying, that "he had lived long enough for his own glory, and it was now time for him to devote the remainder of his days to God."

There is some doubt about the manner of the death of Cyrus. Xenophon declares that he died in his bed. Herodotus, on the other hand, asserts, that he perished, with a great part of his army, in a war against the Scythians; that, having invaded their country, he incautiously advanced into the deserts, where he was surrounded, attacked at a disadvantage, and slain. Ferdusi and Mirkhond say, that he proceeded

to some spot which he had selected for retirement, where he suddenly disappeared, and his train, among whom were some of the most renowned warriors of Persia, perished in a dreadful tempest. This would seem to confirm the account of Herodotus; for oriental writers frequently use storms to typify any great or wide-spreading calamity, such as an invasion of barbarians, or the destruction of an army; but the end of Cyrus, as related by Xenophon, is more consistent with his character in his latter days.

Cyrus was buried at Pasargard, in Persia. Pliny notices his tomb, and Arrian and Strabo describe it. Curtius represents Alexander the Great as offering funeral honours to his shade; and he states that he opened the tomb in hopes of finding treasures there, in which he was disappointed—a rotten shield, two Scythian bows, and a Persian scymitar, being all that it contained. In his *Life of Alexander*, Plutarch records that the following inscription was found thereon:

"O MAN, WHOEVER THOU ART, AND WHEN-EVER THOU COMEST, (FOR COME I KNOW THOU WILT,) I AM CYRUS, THE FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE. DAVY ME NOT, THEN, THE LITTLE EARTH WHICH COVERS MY REMAINS."

Curtius states, that Alexander was much affected at this inscription, which set before him, in so striking a light, the uncertainty and vicissitude of worldly things; and that he placed the crown of gold which he wore, upon the tomb in which the body lay, wondering that a prince so renowned, and possessed of so much treasure, had not been buried more sumptuously than if he had been a private person.

Cyrus, however, seems to have formed a more correct notion of worldly honour and riches than the ambitious Alexander. Xenophon says, that in his last instructions to his children, he desired that his body, when he died, might not be deposited in gold or silver, nor in any other sumptuous monument, but committed, as soon as possible, to the ground. He probably had learned from the prophet Daniel, that out of the dust he was taken, and that unto dust he must return.

From the peculiar manner in which Cyrus is mentioned in Scripture, named and addressed ages before his birth; called by Jehovah his "shepherd," and his "anointed," and promised his high protection and assistance, there has been much learned investigation concerning the character of this great king. Some think that these terms apply to his character as an appointed agent in fulfilling the will of the Almighty, altogether distinct from any considerations connected with his personal or religious character. Others, however, suppose that he was a religious character, which, in connexion with his appointment to perform the Divine will among the nations, gives a peculiar force and propriety to the terms applied to him by the prophet. Dr. Hales, after reviewing his character and history, concludes that he lived the life, and died the death of the righteous. Xenophon, who was a polytheist, represents Cyrus praying to the gods, in the plural number; but that he prayed to one only, the patriarchal god, worshipped by his ancestors,

the Plachadians, may appear from the watchword which he gave to his soldiers before the battle in which Evil Merodach was slain. This watchword was, "Jove, our Saviour, and our Leader." A late writer seems to set the religious character of Cyrus in its true light. He says: "It is repeatedly recorded (Isa. xiv.) of Cyrus, 'Thou hast not known me;' and then coupled with that convincing evidence which the precise predictions offer, we see the unity of God strongly and impressively asserted, together with some distinct allusion to those very errors which were entertained by the people to whom Cyrus belonged. Now, in that remarkable passage, *Ezra* i. 1, 2, Cyrus says, 'Jehovah, the Lord God of heaven, hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem.' Here he intimates his acquaintance with this very prophecy, for where else is he charged to build the Lord a house at Jerusalem? and he distinctly acknowledges that the God who so charged him was the God of heaven; and that he it was, who, as he also had promised, had given him 'all the kingdoms of the earth.' It would, therefore, seem, that in arriving at the conviction, that in his great and successful undertakings, he had been but performing the duty to which he was by name appointed and ordained, he was enabled also to perceive and acknowledge the truth of that sublime declaration which is addressed to himself:—

'I am the Lord, and there is none else,
There is no God beside me;
I grieved thee, though thou hast not known me!'
Isa. xlv. 5.

"In estimating the effect which this prophecy, regarded as a whole, was calculated to produce upon a mind which appears to have been eminently candid and open to conviction, we must recollect that Daniel, who probably directed his attention to this grand prediction, would not fail to enforce and explain those declarations concerning God which it contains."

Cyrus may justly be considered as the wisest conqueror, and the most accomplished prince mentioned in profane history. Of his wisdom there are many examples given; none of which, perhaps, shine more conspicuously than the following. Herodotus says, that when he succeeded to the Median crown, he was thus addressed by a deputation of the Persians:

"Since God has given dominion to the Persians, and the sovereignty of brave men to you, permit us to remove from our scanty and rugged country of Persia, and to occupy a better. There are many such in our vicinity, and many further off. If we occupy one of these, we shall be more highly respected by the world; and it is but reasonable that rulers should act in this manner. And when, indeed, will a fairer opportunity offer than now, that we rule many nations, and all Asia?"

Cyrus, having heard their speech, though he approved not of it, desired them to do so; but he warned them, at the same time, to prepare themselves no longer to rule, but to be ruled; for that fertile countries naturally produced effeminate men; that it was not usual for the same soil to bear both admirable fruit and warlike men.

The Persians, therefore, acquiescing, quitted

their own, and went over to Cyrus's opinion, and chose rather to rule, though inhabiting a rough country, than cultivating a champaign, to serve others.

The sage inscription which, according to Strabo, Cyrus caused to be engraved on his diadem, deserves to be inscribed upon the crowns of monarchs in all ages, and in all countries of the world. It read thus: "What avails a long life spent in the enjoyment of worldly grandeur, since others, mortal like ourselves, will one day trample under foot our pride! This crown, handed down to me from my predecessors, must soon pass in succession upon the heads of many others!"

The disregard for riches which Cyrus showed on all occasions, is a noble feature in his character. Brerewood estimates the value of the gold and silver which he received in Asia at 126,224,000*l.* sterling, all of which he distributed among his friends. "I have prodigious riches," said he to his courtiers, "I own, and I am glad the world knows it; but you may assure yourselves they are as much yours as mine. For to what end should I heap up wealth? For my own use? and to consume it myself? That would be impossible, even if I desired it. No; the chief end I aim at is, to have it in my power to reward those who serve the public faithfully, and to succour and relieve those that will acquaint me with their wants and necessities."

Cæsus represented to him, that by continual largesses, he would at length make himself poor, whereas he might have amassed infinite treasures, and have been the richest prince in the world. "And to what sum," replied Cyrus, "do you think those treasures might have amounted?" Cæsus named a sum: upon which Cyrus caused it to be signified to the lords of his court that he was in want of money, and a larger sum was brought than Cæsus mentioned. "Look," said Cyrus, "here are my treasures; the chests I keep my riches in are the hearts and affections of my subjects."

The care of Cyrus over his people was very remarkable. "A prince," said he to his courtiers, "ought to consider himself as a shepherd, and to have the same vigilance, cure, and goodness. It is his duty to watch, that his people may live in safety and quiet; to burden himself with anxieties and cares, that they may be exempt from them; to choose whatever is salutary for them, and remove what is hurtful and prejudicial; to place his delight in seeing them increase and multiply; and valiantly expose his own person in their defence and protection. This," he adds, "is the natural idea, and the just image of a good king. It is reasonable, at the same time, that his subjects should render him all the service he stands in need of; but it is still more reasonable, that he should labour to make them happy; because it is for that very end that he is their king, as much as it is to the end and office of a shepherd to take care of his flock."

It may be observed, that it is somewhat remarkable, that Xenophon represents Cyrus as comparing kings, and himself in particular, to shepherds, seeing that it is the very character which Scripture gives to this prince.

"That faith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd,
And shall perform all my pleasure."—*Isa. xlv. 23.*

The comparison of a king to a shepherd was, however, in oriental writings, very common. The figure is, indeed, frequently met with in Scripture to denote the good king.

According to Cicero, and other ancient writers, the temperance of Cyrus was very remarkable. From this cause, they record that he enjoyed a vigorous state of health to the close of a long life.* By temperance, indeed, he was enabled to seize the opportunities of conquest, and to perfect his character. It has been well observed by Socrates, that that man bears the greatest resemblance to the Deity who contents himself with the fewest and most simple necessities of life. Temperance keeps the senses clear and unembarrassed, and makes them seize the object they desire with greater satisfaction. It appears with life in the face, and decorum in the person; gives you the command of your senses; secures your health; and preserves you in a proper condition for your affairs both as regards time and eternity.

"Fly drunkenness, whose vile incontinence
Takes both away thy reason and thy sense,
Till with Circean cups thy mind possessed,
Leaves to be man, and wholly turns to beast.
Think, while thou swallowest the vaporous bowl,
Thou lett'st in seas to wreck and drown thy soul,
That hell is open, to remembrance call,
And think how subject drunkards are to fall."

RANDOLPH.

Another favourable trait in the character of Cyrus was, his clemency. Herodotus, it is true, represents him as the reverse of a merciful conqueror. By his strong prejudices against Cyrus, that historian has depreciated the fair fame of one of the wisest, best, and greatest princes that ever swayed a sceptre; one who was beloved by his subjects, honoured with the friendship of the prophet Daniel, blessed with the favour and protection of Heaven, and pre-ordained to perform all God's pleasure. No one, says Xenophon, was better qualified to conciliate universal love than Cyrus, who spent most of his time in procuring some pleasure and good to all, and ill to none. His merciful disposition was exhibited in beautiful colours in his conduct towards Croesus, as related in the life of that prince.

Ancient conquerors generally acknowledged no right but that of force; looked upon the common rules of justice as laws which only private persons were obliged to observe, and derogatory to the majesty of kings; set no other bounds to their designs and pretensions, than their incapacity of carrying them to an equal extent with their wishes; sacrificed the lives of millions to their ambition; made their glory consist in spreading desolation and destruction; and, to borrow an idea from Seneca, reigned as bears and lions would have done, had they been masters.

The character of Cyrus seems to have been the reverse of this. He might have been actuated by ambition, but he revered the laws, and knew that there are unjust wars, in which who-

* Lucan says he lived upwards of one hundred years.

ever unreasonably engaged, renders himself accountable for all the blood that is shed, all the misery that ensues. In the beginning of his wars, Cyrus founded all his hopes of success on the justice of his cause, and represented to his soldiers, in order to inspire them with courage and confidence, that they were not the aggressors; that it was the enemy that attacked them; and that they were entitled to the protection of the gods, who seemed themselves to have put arms into their hands, that they might fight in defence of their friends and allies, who were unjustly oppressed. The succeeding victories of Cyrus had the same principle of justice on their side. Both the king of Lydia and the king of Babylon were the aggressors. The truth is, Cyrus was a conqueror under the immediate guidance of God, who made use of him as an instrument in effecting his merciful purposes. The results of his conquests have been seen in all ages of the world, from the period at which they occurred. And very glorious are the results which have been witnessed. Through him the Jews were released from their captivity in Babylon, and through them the Gentile world has been offered deliverance from the captivity of sin, and death, and hell. This fact is one of those links in the chain of Divine love which cannot be sufficiently admired. In the language of the apostle Paul alone, can we give due utterance to our feelings: "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" Rom. xi. 33.

CAMBYSER, OR LOHORASP.

On the death of Cyrus the Great, B.C. 529, his son, Cambyses, to whom, on his dying bed, he bequeathed the bulk of his dominions, ascended the throne of Persia.

Cambyses appears to have been the reverse of the character of Cyrus. The actions of his reign prove that he was neither actuated by reason nor justice in his enterprises. In the fourth year of his reign, he invaded Egypt, and with what wild fury he ravaged that country, the reader may gather from the History of the Egyptians. See page 58.

Various and improbable accounts are given of this invasion by Herodotus. The true one appears to be, that Amasis, who had submitted to Cyrus, refused, upon the death of that conqueror, to pay his successor the same homage and tribute. This account is, indeed, confirmed by the Persian historians, who state, that Lohorasp, while he was regulating the eastern provinces of Iran, sent his general, Gudarz, or Rubam, with an army, to recover the western provinces of Syria, &c. Gudarz conquered Myria as far as Damascus and Palestine, including the famous city of Jerusalem, called by the Persians, "the Holy City."

To secure a safe passage through the desert, between Palestine and Egypt, Cambyses, by the advice of Phanes, a Greek refugee from Amasis, made a treaty with the king of Arabia, to furnish his army with water, which he did by means of the skins of camels. On arriving at the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile, Cambyses found Psammennitus, the son and successor of Amasis,

(who was dead before the Persians arrived,) encamped with his army. A battle ensued, and the Egyptians were routed. The Persians pursued them to Memphis, which was soon reduced, and Psammetichus taken, after a reign of six months. He was soon after put to death, for fomenting rebellion, by Cambyses, *A.C.* 525.

After the conquest of Egypt, Cambyses resolved to make war in three different quarters: against the Carthaginians, Ammonians, and Macrobians, or long-lived Ethiopians. The first of these projects he was compelled to abandon, the Phenicians in his service refusing to fight against the Carthaginians, their descendants; but being resolved to invade the other two nations, he sent ambassadors into Ethiopia,* who, under that character, were to act as spies for him, and to learn the state and strength of the country.

The ambassadors of Cambyses carried presents along with them, which they delivered to the king of Ethiopia with this address: "Cambyses, sovereign of Persia, from his anxious desire of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us to communicate with you, and to desire your acceptance of these presents, from the use of which he himself derives the greatest pleasure." Their designs were suspected, and the Ethiopian prince dismissed them with this reply: "The king of Persia has not sent you with these presents from any desire of obtaining my alliance; neither do you speak the truth, who, to facilitate the unjust designs of your master, are come to examine the state of my dominions. If he were influenced by principles of integrity, he would be satisfied with his own, and not covet the possessions of another; nor would he attempt to reduce those to servitude from whom he has received no injury. Give him, therefore, this bow, and in my name speak to him thus: The king of Ethiopia sends this counsel to the king of Persia, When his subjects shall be able to bend this bow with the same ease that I do, then, with a superiority of numbers, he may venture to attack the Macrobians Ethiopians. In the mean time, let him be thankful to the gods that the Ethiopians have not been inspired with the same ambitious views of extending their possessions."

When Cambyses received this message, he was enraged, and commanded his army to begin their march immediately, without providing, says Herodotus, for their necessary sustenance, or reflecting that he was about to visit the extremities of the earth. He left the Grecians behind him in his newly conquered country, to keep it in subjection during his absence.

On his arrival at Thebes, Cambyses selected from his army about 50,000 men, whom he ordered to make an incursion against the Ammonians,† and to plunder the Ammonium, or great

temple of Jupiter Ammon, built on an oasis, in the midst of the desert.

In the mean time, Cambyses pushed steadily forwards against the Ethiopians. Before, however, he had performed a fifth part of his expedition, the provisions he had with him were consumed. The army then proceeded to eat the beasts which carried the baggage, which also were soon consumed. Still the rage of Cambyses was unabated, and his infatuation still increased. He proceeded on his march, and his army, as long as the earth afforded them any sustenance, were content to feed on vegetables; but as soon as they arrived among the sands and the deserts, some of them, prompted by famine, proceeded to the most fearful extremities. They drew lots, and every tenth man was destined to satisfy the hunger of the rest.

This appalling action seemed to alarm even the mad Cambyses himself. Alarmed, says Herodotus, at the idea of his troops devouring one another, he abandoned his design upon the Ethiopians, and returned to Thebes. From Thebes he proceeded to Memphis, from whence he permitted the Greeks to embark.

The fate of the expedition of the Ammonians was still more disastrous. There was no road nor tract through the sandy waste that the invaders had to traverse; no hill nor tree which might serve to guide them onward in their course. The army, moreover, was placed at the mercy of Egyptian guides, whose minds were galled by their country's wrongs, and who felt a fraternal affection for the Ammonians. The result was, that the Persians were deserted by these guides,‡ and they wandered about in indescribable confusion. The greater part of them were, according to the Ammonians, finally overwhelmed by the moving sands that winds sometimes raise in the desert. This fearful catastrophe has been thus described by the poet:—

"Now o'er their heads the whizzing whirlwinds breathe,
And the lone desert pants and heaves beneath;
Flung by the crimson sun, vast columns rise
Of eddy'g sand, and war amid the skies,
In red arcades the billowy plain surround,
And whirling turrets stalk along the ground."

on the north, and the great Libyan desert on the south. It included, consequently, the desert that contains the Wells or Oases, dependent on Egypt. The term means an insulated fertile spot, like an island in the midst of an expanse of sand or desert, surrounded commonly by higher lands. It was in one of these, (the Libyan Oasis,) that the Ammonians lived, and the temple and oracle of Jupiter Ammon was placed. This Oasis was visited by a traveller in 1798, who has described both it and the ruins of the ancient temple. It is now called the Oasis of Siwah.

§ From this it appears that Cambyses never penetrated beyond the desert of Behna, that is, says Rennell, on the supposition that he set out from Thebes, and that Senaar was the entrance into the country of the Macrobians Ethiopians. The desert alluded to was that in which Bruce suffered such dreadful hardships, namely, that above Syene.

¶ Savary says, that the route of the army makes it plain that the guides, who detested the Persians, led them astray amid the deserts; for they should have departed from the lake Maroutie to the temple of Ammon, or from the environs of Memphis. The Egyptians, intending the destruction of their enemies, led them from Thebes to the great Oasis, three days' journey from Abydos, and having brought them into the vast solitudes of Libya, they delivered them over to death.

* It is impossible to determine what particular nation is meant under this appellation. Rennell thinks they were the Abyssinians; and Bruce imagines that they were the Gassas and Gassas, who inhabit two small provinces or districts of Abyssinia. Whoever they were, they must have been a considerable nation, since their march sent a message of defiance to Cambyses.

† The Ammonians, in the days of Herodotus, occupied considerable space in Libya, between Upper Egypt on the east, and the desert of Barca on the west, and between the Nomadic tribes, along the coast of the Mediterranean,

Long ranks to vain their shining blades extend;
To downy gods their knees unhallo'd bend;
Wheel in wide circles, form in hollow squares;
And set they fly, and now they front the air;
Plume the deaf trumpet with lamenting cries
From their peacock lips, and close their bloodshot eyes.
Gnomes! o'er the waste you led your myriad powers,
Clomb'd on the whirls, and arm'd the flinty showers!
Onward restless rolls the infuriate surge:
Clouds follow clouds, and mountains mountains urge:
Wave over wave the driving desert swins,
Barsts o'er their head, inhumes their struggling limbs;
Man mounts on man; on camels camels rush:
Hoofs march o'er hoofs; and nations nations crush:
Wheeling in air, the winged islands fall,
And one great earthy ocean covers all.
Then ceased the storm. Night bow'd her Eihion brow
To earth, and listened to the graves below:
Grim Horror shook: awhile the living hill
Heaved with convulsive throes, and all was still."

DARWIN.

The remainder of the reign of Cambyses was a tissue of the most extravagant cruelties and excesses of every kind, committed against the Egyptians, the Persians, and his own family. According to Herodotus, he slew the magistrates of Memphis at his return for suffering public rejoicing on the occasion of finding their new divinity Apis, wounded their calf god in the thigh, and commanded the priests to be scourged. He grew jealous of his brother Smerdis, because he was the only Persian able to bend the Ethiopian bow, sent him home to Persia, and soon after, on account of a dream portending that Smerdis would be advanced to the throne, had him put to death. He married two of his own sisters, and killed the younger for lamenting the death of her brother Smerdis. He shot the son of Prexaspes, one of his principal officers, through the heart with an arrow, by way of proving that he was neither drunk nor mad. He violated the tombs of the Egyptians, to examine the mummies. He insulted the pigmy statue of their chief god Vulcan, and burned those of the Cabiri. Finally, when Croesus ventured, as his father's friend, to remonstrate on the enormities he was committing, and to set before him the probable consequences, he snatched his bow to shoot him with an arrow, Croesus escaped by a precipitate flight, and he was instantly ordered to be put to death. His officers delayed the execution till the next day, which gave him apparent satisfaction, but he ordered them to be put to death for disobedience of orders.

It was about this time, B. C. 523, that Orastes, one of the satraps of Cambyses, who had the government of Sardis, brought about the death of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos, to which reference has been made in the history of the Egyptians, page 57.

In the beginning of the eighth year of the reign of Cambyses, he left Egypt in order to return into Persia. On his way thither, he discovered that Smerdis Magus, who personated his brother whom he had slain, had been proclaimed king at Susa. This aroused him from his lethargy. He instantly prepared to lead his army thither, in order to crush the rebellion. But his days were numbered. As he hastily mounted his horse to set out, his sword fell from the scabbard, and wounded him mortally in the thigh.

Herodotus says, that when the accident occurred, he anxiously inquired the name of the place, and

found it was Echabana, an obscure town in Syria, where the Egyptian oracle of Buto warned him he should die; but which he mistook for Echabana the capital of Media, and the depot of his treasures. Upon this it is recorded, that he bitterly lamented his error in destroying his brother Smerdis: "for," he said, "it was Smerdis Magus whom the deity foretold in vision should rise up against me." That Cambyses felt compunction for his guilt when death stared him in the face can be readily believed; for guilt sooner or later brings misery, and his was guilt of no ordinary nature. Reader, the life of Cambyses shows what a monster man may become if left to himself; if his actions have not a restraint put upon them by power from on high. It should teach us to pray with the psalmist,

"Keep back thy servant also from presumptuous sins;
Let them not have dominion over me:
Then shall I be upright,
And I shall be innocent from the great (or much) transgression."—*Ps. xix. 14.*

SMERDIS MAGUS.

As soon as Smerdis the Magian ascended the throne of Persia, in order to secure himself thereon, he sought to gain the affections of his subjects. His first act was to grant them an exemption from taxes and from all military service for three years. But his reign was brief. His gross imposture was discovered, and he was slain with his brother in a conspiracy formed by seven Persian nobles of the first rank and consequence in the state, at the end of seven months.

It is probable that Smerdis was raised to the throne by a conspiracy of the priestly caste, who were desirous of restoring their own supremacy, and that of their allies, the Medes. The result of the attempt was very calamitous to them. When the head of the false Smerdis was shown to the people, and the imposture explained, they were so enraged, that they fell upon the magi, and put to death as many as could be discovered. The day on which this transaction occurred thenceforward became an annual festival among the Persians, by whom it was celebrated with great rejoicings. It was called "The slaughter of the magi;" and none of that sect would venture to appear in public upon that festival.

Herodotus gives a romantic account of the adoption of a monarch by the conspirators after the tumult had subsided. He says that he gained the crown from his competitors by the stratagem of his groom procuring the first neighing of his horse, as recorded by a public monument: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, gained the kingdom of the Persians by the merit of his horse and of his groom Oebares." The account which Eschylus gives of the transaction is more probable, and more consistent with the after character of Darius Hystaspes. According to this ancient writer, the seven conspirators agreed to reign in rotation. The first that governed was Maraphia, who is not found in the list of Herodotus; the next was Artaphernes, whom Herodotus calls Intaphernes; and the next Darius. This last nobleman was possessed of superior abilities and a spirit of enterprise; he was also of the Achaemenian or royal line, and his father, Hystaspes, was governor of Persia, the first province of the

empire. Upon these accounts, therefore, when the government came to his turn, he contrived to retain the possession of it for himself, and to transmit it to his family. That he was the most formidable competitor for the crown, appears even from the pages of Herodotus; for he relates, that his merit excited the jealousy of Cyrus himself, who expressed his suspicions to Hystaspes, the father, that Darius, then a youth, was engaged in some treasonable designs. Herodotus also represents him as possessing greater enterprise than the rest of the conspirators, by compelling them to a prompt execution of their plan, under a threat of informing against them if they delayed.

DARIUS HYSTASPES, OR GUSHTASP.

Darius Hystaspes commenced his reign B.C. 521. He appears to have been the first who used the old title of royalty, Darawesh, or Darius, as a proper name.

Before Darius obtained the kingdom, he had married the daughter of Gobryas, whose name is unknown. When seated on the throne, in order to secure himself thereon, he married two of the daughters of Cyrus, Atossa, formerly the wife of Cambyses, and Artistona. He likewise married Parmys, daughter of the true Smerdis, thereby freeing himself from all fear of a competitor for the crown.

One of the first acts of Darius was to regulate the state of the provinces, and the finances of the empire. Before his era, Cyrus and Cambyses had contented themselves with receiving from the conquered nations such free gifts only as they offered, and with requiring a certain number of troops when they were needed. Darius perceived that it was impossible for him to preserve all the nations subject to him in peace and security, without an establishment of regular forces; and that it was also impossible to maintain these forces without a revenue. In order, therefore, to effect these objects, he divided the whole empire into twenty districts or governments, each of which was to pay annually a certain sum to the satrap appointed for that purpose, as before recorded. The natural subjects, that is, the Persians, were exempt from all imposts.

Plutarch observes, that Darius, in imposing these tributes, showed great wisdom and moderation. He sent for the principal inhabitants of every province, such as were best acquainted with the condition and ability of their country, and were interested in giving him a true and impartial account. When they arrived, he asked them if such sums which he proposed to each exceeded what they were able to pay; his intention being, as he said, not to oppress his subjects, but to require of them such aid as was proportioned to their incomes, and required by the exigencies of the state. They replied, that the propositions were reasonable, and such as would not be burdensome to the people; but Darius reduced the proposed sums to one-half, choosing rather to keep within bounds, than to risk a possibility of exceeding them.

Concerning these imposts, it may be here mentioned, however, that the coinage of money was not known in Persia till about this time. Darius,

wishing to leave behind him some monument which should exceed the efforts of his predecessors, struck off a coin of the purest gold, the Daric, which retained its name down to the Macedonian dynasty. The impression on this famous coin, was Darius the king, crowned, in the attitude of an archer, with a bent bow, and kneeling on the right side, to take aim at the enemy.

After the death of Smerdis Magnus, and the establishment of Darius on the throne, it was agreed that the Persian noblemen who had conspired against him should, besides several marks of distinction, have the liberty of free access to the king's presence at all times, except when the queen was with him. Intaphernes, one of these noblemen, being refused admittance under these circumstances, attacked the officers of the palace, inflicting on them severe wounds with his scymitar. Darius, enraged at this insult, caused him, with his children and kindred, to be apprehended, and condemned them to death, confounding thereby the innocent with the guilty. Through the importunities of his wife, however, her brother was first saved from destruction, and eventually the eldest of her children: the rest perished.

It has been seen, in the life of Cambyses, that the perfidious Orastes, one of the king's governors in Asia Minor, brought about the death of Polystrates, tyrant of Samos, by treachery. His crime did not go unpunished. Darius, discovering that Orastes abused his power, by sporting with the lives of those persons who displeased him, sent an order to his troops at Sardis to put him to death, which order was executed without delay. All his effects were confiscated to the king, and all the persons belonging to his family and household were removed to Susa.

In the second year of the reign of Darius, the building of the temple at Jerusalem was resumed, chiefly by the exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. Zerubbabel, the governor, and Joshua, the high priest, made application to the Persian court, and obtained a renewal of the original decree of Cyrus concerning its erection. With so much alacrity did they now carry on their work, that the top-stone was raised in joy within four years and a quarter from its recommencement, that is, in the sixth year of the reign of Darius. See Ezra v. and vi. 1—15; Hag. ii. 1—18.

When Darius served in Egypt, under Cambyses, he had received favours at the hands of Syloson, brother to Polystrates, tyrant of Samos. About this time, B.C. 516, Syloson repaired to the Persian court at Susa to solicit his aid in the regaining of Samos from the person who had usurped the government since the death of his brother. Darius acknowledged him as his benefactor, and granted him the aid he sought. He sent an expedition, under the command of Otanes, one of the principal lords of his court, who performed it with success.

During this Sæmian expedition, the Babylonians, who had taken advantage of the confusion of the times during the magian usurpation, to provide against a siege, revolted. In order to prevent famine, they took the strange and unnatural resolution of strangling all their women

and children, except their mothers, and one female to bake their bread: thus fulfilling the prediction of the prophet:

"Therefore hear now this, thou that art given to pleasure,
That dwellest carelessly,
That sayest in thine heart,
I am, and none else beside me;
I shall not sit as a widow,
Neither shall I know the loss of children:
But these two things shall come to thee in a moment
in one day.
The loss of children, and widowhood:
They shall come upon thee in their perfection
For the multitude of thy sorceries,
And for the great abundance of thine enchantments."
Isa. xlii. 8, 9.

Darius besieged Babylon, and was derided by the insolence, and baffled by the vigilance of the enemy for a year and seven months. At the end of that time, as he was beginning to despair of success, it was put into his hands by a refined stratagem of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus. This nobleman, who was one of the seven counsellors, voluntarily mutilated himself, and then deserted to the Babylonians, gained their confidence by a piteous tale of the cruelty of Darius, and after a few preconcerted successes over some devoted detachments of the Persian army, he was appointed commander in chief of the Babylonian troops, and intrusted with the care of the city, which, on the first favourable opportunity, he delivered to Darius.

No sooner was Darius in possession of Babylon, than he ordered its one hundred brazen gates to be pulled down, and the walls of that proud city to be demolished, that its inhabitants might never have another opportunity of rebelling against him. Besides this, he impaled about three thousand of its inhabitants; after which, he obliged the neighbouring provinces to furnish fifty thousand women, to supply wives for the remaining citizens, from whom the race of Babylonians living in the time of Herodotus were descended. This siege had been predicted by the prophet Zechariah two years before, who warned the Jews to flee from thence.

"Ho! ho! come forth,
And flee from the land of the north, saith the Lord:
For I have spread you abroad
As the four winds of the heaven, saith the Lord.
Deliver thyself, O Zion,
That dwellest with the daughter of Babylon.
For thus saith the Lord of hosts;
After the glory hath he sent us
Unto the nations which spoiled you:
For he that toucheth you
Toucheth the apple of his eye."—*Zech. ii. 6-8*

Dr. Hales remarks: "It is truly remarkable, that the Persian kings who punished the Babylonians, patronized the Jews. The first capture of Babylon was followed by the decree of Cyrus for liberating the Jews from captivity; when 'the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus' to make it, *Ezra i. 1*. And the second capture by Darius was followed by the finishing of the second temple, in the seventh year of his reign; when the Lord turned the heart of Darius unto them, 'to strengthen their hands in the work of the house of God, the God of Israel,'" *Ezra vi. 1-22*.

After the reduction of Babylon, Darius made

great preparations for the invasion of Scythia,* under the pretence of retaliation for their invasion of the Medes, nearly one hundred and twenty years before. His real motive was, the extension of his conquests and empire.

Darius crossed the Ister, or Lower Danube, over a bridge of boats, at the place where it first begins to branch off to form the different channels by which it enters the Euxine, a little above the fortress of Iamail, in Bessarabia. The Persian army is said by Herodotus and Justin to have consisted of seven hundred thousand men: it is probable that the real number was seventy thousand. When Darius had passed the Danube, he resolved upon having the bridge broken down, that his army might not be weakened by leaving the detachment necessary for its protection. In this, however, he was overruled by one of his officers, who represented to him, that, should the war prove unfortunate, they would not be able to escape from the enemy.

After crossing the Danube, it would appear that Darius marched eastward to the Tanais, or Don. After crossing the Tanais, he entered the territories of the Sarmatæ, extending north-east to the main branch of the Don itself, which he may be supposed to have crossed below the mouth of the Melæritza, or Lycus of Herodotus. From thence Darius entered the country of the Budians, which having also traversed, he finally entered a great desert that separated them from the Thyssagete, where he halted, and erected eight fortresses on the banks of the Oarus, probably the Volga.

In the mean time, the Scythians hovered round his army, laying waste the country, stopping up the wells, intercepting convoys, cutting off stragglers, and keeping the army on the alert by incessant skirmishes, without running the hazard of a general engagement. The whole of the Persian army was eventually, indeed, reduced to so deplorable a condition, that they had nothing before their eyes but inevitable ruin. Darius saw his danger, and began to think of a retreat. Accordingly, in the dead of the night, the Persians, leaving the sick behind them in the camp, retraced their steps toward the Danube. The Scythians did not discover that they had retreated before the next morning, when they sent a considerable detachment to the Danube, in order to persuade the Ionians, who had the charge of the bridge, to break it down and return home.

The Ionians consulted among themselves whether they should comply with the request of the Scythians. Miltiades, prince of the Chersonesus of Thrace, having the public interest at heart, was for embracing this opportunity of shaking off the Persian yoke, and all the other commanders agreed with him, except Hystæus, prince of Miletus, who represented to the Ionian chiefs that their power was linked to that of

* The ancients divided Scythia into two large portions, European and Asiatic; the former extending along the north of the Danube and the Euxine, and the other beyond the Caspian and the Jaxartes, now Amu. The latter was again subdivided into two parts by the chain of Imass, or the Belour Tagh, a branch projecting north from the Indian Caucasus, now the Hindu Koo, or western part of the Himalays; which subdivisions were designated Scythia intra and extra Imaum, or Scythia on this side and beyond Imaus. It was the European Scythia which the monarchs of Persia invaded.

Darius, since it was under his protection, that each of them was lord in his own city, and that the cities of Ionia would not fail to depose them, and recover their liberty, upon the downfall of the Persian power. This was sufficient; their own private interests were dearer to them than the public good, and they determined to wait for Darius. In order, however, to deceive the Scythians, and prevent them from using any violence, they declared that they would retire pursuant to their request, and the better to impose upon them, they began to break down the bridge, encouraging the Scythians, at the same time, to return back, meet Darius, and engage his army. The Scythians complied with the request, but misled Darius, who arrived safe at the bridge, re-passed the Danube, and returned into Thrace.

On his way towards Scythia, Darius had sought the subjugation of Thrace: he now left Megabysus, one of his chief generals, with part of his army, to complete the conquest of that country. With the rest of his troops, Darius passed the Bosphorus, and took up his quarters at Sardis, where he spent the winter and the greatest part of the year following, to retrieve his losses. This disastrous expedition may be dated B.C. 513.

Herodotus relates an instance of wanton cruelty committed by Darius, on his departure for Scythia, which well deserved such a disastrous issue. Oebazus, a Persian, who had three sons serving in the army, petitioned the monarch that one of them might be left at home. The king replied, that since he was a friend, and had made a modest request, he would leave him all his sons. Oebazus was rejoiced, and hoped that they would be discharged from the service; but Darius ordered them to be slain, and delivered to the parent. And yet this same prince soon after set up an inscription to this effect: "Darius, son of Hystaspes, the best, and fairest of all men, king of the Persians, and of all the continent, in his expedition against the Scythians, came hither to the springs of the river Taurus, which afford the best and fairest water of all rivers."

Plutarch pertinently remarks, "What made Nero erect his tragic theatre, and wear the mask and buskins as an actor, but the plaudits of adulators? Were not kings in general styled, while they sang, Apollos? while drunk, Bacchuses? while wrestling at the games, Hercules? and, delighting in these titles, led on by flattery to the lowest depravity." Thus it was with the kings of Persia. Their courtiers spoiled them by their base and gross adulation, and by it they were led to commit the most fearful crimes without compunction, and without fear of restraint: so true it is, that flattery and indulgence make the passions eager and ungovernable. Flattery is, indeed, a most base disposition. It often betrays a man to his ruin, and it declares the man who covets it totally unconcerned about the misery or welfare of his brother. The cynic Diogenes, being asked what beasts were apt to bite the worst, answered, "Of all wild beasts, the detractor; and of all tame beasts, the flatterer." In a word, flattery is an ensnaring quality, and leaves a dangerous impression on the mind, against which we should carefully guard. One of the chief objects of our lives should be, to be-

come acquainted with ourselves; to know what we really are, not only in the sight of men, but also in the sight of God.

Megabysus continued some time in Thrace, whose inhabitants, according to Herodotus, would have been invincible, had they possessed the discretion of uniting their forces, and of choosing one commander. Being however divided, they were subdued one by one, and brought under the yoke of Persia. Some of the tribes, as the Pæonians, the Syropeonians, the Paopli, etc., were removed from their habitations, at the command of Darius, and transported to Asia.

Darius, on his return to Sardis, having learned that he owed his safety to Hystaspes, who had persuaded the Ionians not to destroy the bridge on the Danube, sent for him, and desired him to name what reward he wished for his services. Hystaspes, who was tyrant of Miletus, requested Mircina of Edonia, a territory upon the river Strymon in Thrace, with the liberty of building a city there. His request was granted, and he was proceeding with his designs, when, upon the representations of Megabysus, he was recalled, under the plea of seeking his counsel in some great matter, and with a promise of ample possessions in Persia, in lieu of those in Thrace. Hystaspes, pleased with this distinction, accompanied Darius to Susa, leaving Aristagoras, his son, to govern in Miletus.

Having subjected Thrace, Megabysus sent seven Persian noblemen to Amyntas, king of Macedon, to require earth and water in the name of Darius, as a token of his submission to that monarch. Amyntas complied with their request, and entertained them hospitably; but the conduct of the Persians towards his wife and daughters so enraged his son Alexander, that, by a stratagem, he caused them to be slain. Search was made by Megabysus for these ambassadors, but Alexander having bribed Bubares, who was sent to inquire after them, with large presents, their death was concealed, and the matter glossed over.

About the same time, B.C. 506, the Scythians, to be revenged on Darius for invading their country, passed the Danube, and laid waste the country of Thrace, under the government of Persia, as far as the Hellespont. They returned home laden with booty, without meeting any opposition either from the Persians or the Thracians.

During this period, Darius appears to have paid considerable attention to maritime affairs. He finished a canal of communication between the Nile and the head of the Red Sea, which had been commenced by Pharaoh-Necho, but failed, after a great loss of life among the workmen. According to Rennell, this canal, with others made by Ptolemy Philadelphus, Adrian, and the caliph Omar afterwards, were more for ostentation than use. They soon, at least, became un-navigable, either from the failure of the Pelasice, or eastern branch of the Nile, which supplied them with water, or from the stoppage of their outlet at the head of the Red Sea, and by the operation of the tides.

About the same time, Darius, ambitious of extending his conquests eastwards, resolved to obtain a proper knowledge of the country. For

this purpose, he employed Syclax, and other able navigators, on a voyage of discovery down the river Indus to its mouth. From this point they coasted westwards, along the Persian Gulf, and after a voyage of two years and a half, they reached the port on the Red Sea from which the Phenicians, employed in the circumnavigation of Africa, had set out about a hundred years before. From thence Syclax returned to Susa, where he gave Darius an account of his discoveries.

After this, says Herodotus, Darius subdued the Indians, and became master of the ocean, which probably means no more than that he possessed himself of the tract adjacent to the Indus and its branches. History does not record the particulars of this expedition.

According to the Greek historians, the latter part of the reign of Darius was turbulent, and embarrassed both abroad and at home.

In the seventeenth year of his reign, *B.C.* 504, from a small spark, kindled by a sedition at Naxos (which, according to Hawkins, is the largest and most circular of all the Cyclades in the *Ægean Sea*.) a flame arose, which occasioned a considerable war. In this sedition, the principal inhabitants, being overpowered by the populace, were banished the island. They fled to Miletus, and implored the assistance of Aristagoras, who was at that time governor of that city, as lieutenant to Hystieus, to whom he was both nephew and son-in-law.

Aristagoras promised to restore the exiles to their native country; but not being powerful enough to accomplish his design alone, he went to Sardis, and communicated the matter to Artaphernes, the king's brother, who governed in that city, in order to obtain his assistance. He represented to Artaphernes, that if he were once master of that island, all the rest of the Cyclades might be brought under subjection, that the isle of Eubœa, now Negropont, which was as large as Cyprus, and lay very near them, would be easily conquered; and that from thence Darius would have a free passage into Greece. He concluded by saying that 100 ships would be sufficient for the enterprize.

Artaphernes was pleased with the project, and promised 200 ships, if the king's consent could be gained. In this matter there was no difficulty. Charmed with the mighty hopes held out, and regardless of the injustice of the enterprize, as well as of the perfidy of Aristagoras and Artaphernes, the king approved of the project, and preparations were made for putting it into execution.

During the next spring, *B.C.* 503, Artaphernes sent the number of ships he had promised to Miletus, under the command of Megabates, a noble Persian, of the Achaemenian family. The order Megabates received was, to obey Aristagoras. This gave him great offence, and led to a breach between the two generals; and Megabates, to be revenged of Aristagoras, gave the Naxians secret intelligence of the design formed against them. They prepared for their defence, and the Persians, after having spent four months in besieging the capital of the island, and consumed all their provisions, were compelled to retire.

This project having thus miscarried, Megabates threw all the blame upon Aristagoras, and ruined his credit with Artaphernes. Aristagoras foresaw the loss of his government, and his own ruin, and he resolved upon a revolt, as the only expedient whereby he could save himself. His design was seconded by the secret counsel of Hystieus, who, imagining that if any troubles should arise in Ionia, he should be sent to quell them, took this step in order to be restored to his native country. Aristagoras, therefore, after having communicated his designs to the principal persons of Ionia, began to prepare for the revolt with great activity.

At this date, *B.C.* 502, the people of Tyre, who had been reduced to slavery, when their city was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, having groaned under that oppression for seventy years, were restored, according to Isaiah's prophecy, to the possession of their ancient privileges, with the liberty of having a king of their own, which liberty they enjoyed till the time of Alexander the Great. The prophecy reads thus:—

“And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years,
That the Lord will visit Tyre,
And she shall turn to her hire,
And shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of
the world
Upon the face of the earth.
And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to
the Lord,
It shall not be treasured nor laid up,
For her merchandise shall be for them that dwell before
the Lord,
To eat sufficiently, and for durable clothing.”
Isa. xlii. 17, 18.

It seems probable, that this favour was granted them by Darius, in consideration of the services he expected to receive from the Tyrians, who were powerful at sea, in reducing the Ionians to their ancient subjection.

The next year, *B.C.* 501, Aristagoras reinstated the Ionians in their liberty, and in all their former privileges. He began with Miletus, where he divested himself of his power, and resigned it into the hands of the people. He then travelled through Ionia, where, by his example and influence, he prevailed upon all the other petty princes, or, as the Greeks then called them, “tyrants,” to do the same. Having thus united them all into one common league, of which he himself was the acknowledged leader, he openly revolted from Darius. To strengthen himself the more against the Persians, in the beginning of the following year, he went to Lacedæmon to engage that city in his interest. He made tempting offers to Cleomenes, who was at that time king of Lacedæmon; but Cleomenes was proof against them, and declined sending him any succours. Aristagoras then proceeded to Athens, and the Athenians being at this time at variance with the Persians, for having shown favour to Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, whom they had exiled ten years before, availed themselves of this opportunity of revenge, and ordered a fleet of twenty ships to be sent to the assistance of the Ionians.

In the year *B.C.* 500, the Ionians, having collected their forces, and being reinforced with these twenty vessels, and five more from Eretria, in the island of Eubœa, set sail for Ephesus, and

leaving their ships there, they marched by land to Sardis. The city was soon taken, and an Ionian soldier having set fire to one house, the flames spread and communicated to the rest; most of them being built with reeds, the whole city was reduced to ashes. The citadel only, into which Artaphernes had fled, escaped the general conflagration.

After this accident, the Persians and Lydians assembling their forces together for their defence, the Ionians retreated, in order to re-embark at Ephesus; but before they had reached that city, they were overtaken by the enemy, and defeated with great slaughter. The Athenians, who escaped, immediately set sail, and returned home; and notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Aristagoras, they would not return to the combat.

Darius being informed of these proceedings, enraged with the Athenians for the part they had taken, resolved from that time to make war upon Greece. Shooting an arrow into the air, he exclaimed, "Suffer me, O Jove, to be revenged on these Athenians." And that his revenge might not slumber, he commanded one of his attendants to repeat to him three times every day, when he sat down to table, "Remember the Athenians." A wiser admonition, and more conducive to the happiness of the monarch, would have been the following sentiment, so well expressed by one of our own poets:—

"Bids o'er revenge the charities prevail."—CAWTHORN.

In the burning of Sardis, the temple of Cybele, the tutelar goddess of that country, was totally destroyed, which was afterwards used as a pretence by the Persians for burning the temples of the Greeks. Their true motive will fall under observation in a future page.

The Ionians, though deserted by the Athenians, and weakened by their late overthrow, nevertheless pursued their point with great resolution. Their fleet sailed towards the Hellespont and the Propontis, where they reduced Byzantium, and most of the other Greek cities on those coasts. As they returned, they obliged the Carians to join with them in this war; the people of Cyprus likewise entered into the confederacy, and openly revolted from the Persians. The Persian generals, however, having divided their forces, marched three different ways against the rebels, and defeated them in several encounters, in one of which Aristagoras was slain: the island of Cyprus was again subjected to the Persians.

According to the expectations of Hystieus, he was sent back to Ionia, in order to restore the king's affairs in that province. No sooner, however, had he arrived at Sardis, than he formed a plot against the government, into which he drew a great number of Persians. For fear of detection, he retired to the isle of Chios, where by artifice he justified himself to the Ionians, and engaged them to prosecute the war with vigour.

The generals of the Persian forces, finding that Miletus was the centre of the Ionian confederacy, resolved to march thither with all their forces. When the Ionians received intelligence of this armament, which not only menaced Miletus, but the rest of Ionia, they sent delegates

to the Panionium.* The result of their deliberations was, that the people of Miletus should vigorously defend their city; that the allies should provide and equip every vessel in their power; and that as soon as their fleet should be in readiness, they should meet at Lada,† and risk a battle in favour of Miletus.

The Ionians assembled at Lada, as had been appointed, and so vigorous had they been in their preparations, that they had collected a fleet of 353 sail. At the sight of this fleet, the Persians, though double their number, were afraid to join issue, till by their emissaries they had secretly corrupted the greatest part of the confederates, and engaged them to desert the common cause. The defection took place at the commencement of the engagement; the Samians and Lesbians, with others, hoisting sail, returned to their respective countries. The remaining fleet of the confederates did not consist of above 100 ships, and these were quickly overpowered by the Persians, and almost entirely destroyed. After this, the city of Miletus was besieged, and became a prey to the conquerors, who levelled it with the ground.

This event occurred six years after the revolt of Aristagoras. All the other cities that had revolted returned to their allegiance soon after, either voluntarily, or by compulsion. Those that opposed the victors were treated in a barbarous manner. The handsomest of their youths were made eunuchs; the young women were sent into Persia; and the cities and temples were reduced to ashes. Such were the effects of the revolt of the Ionians, a revolt into which the people had been drawn by the ambition of two designing men, Aristagoras and Hystieus.

Hystieus was soon after taken by the Persians, and carried to Sardis, where he was crucified by order of Artaphernes, who hastened his end without consulting Darius, lest his affection for him should incline him to mercy. The conjecture of Artaphernes was well grounded. When the head of Hystieus was brought to Darius, he expressed his displeasure at the act, and caused it to be honourably interred, as the remains of one to whom he owed great obligations. Hystieus was the most bold, restless, and enterprising genius of his age. With him all means were good and lawful that served to promote the end he had in view, acknowledging no other rule of his actions than his own interest and ambition, to which he was ever ready to sacrifice the good of his country, and even his own kindred. In the page of history, his name stands forth as a witness

* It is supposed that the Panionium here mentioned suggested to Milton the idea of his Pandemonium.

"Meanwhile the winged heralds by command
Of sovereign power, with awful ceremony
And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
A solemn council forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers."

† According to Pausanias, this island was divided into two, one of which parts was called Amerius, from Asterius the son of Anactes. At the present period, by the alluvions of the Meander, it is joined to the main land, and is a full mile within the margin of the sea; so that the *Ladrasia Sium* is become an inland lake, seven or eight miles distant from the sea.

to the truths that human nature, uncontrolled by a Divine power, is capable of committing the most fearful deeds; that man is very far departed from original righteousness.

The name of revenge, which had been long smoldering in the breast of Darius, at length burst forth. In the twenty-eighth year of his reign, a.c. 494, having recalled all his other generals, he appointed Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, a young Persian nobleman who had lately married one of his daughters, to the command in chief throughout all the maritime parts of Asia, with a particular order to invade Greece, and to revenge the burning of Sardis upon the Athenians and Eretrians. Mardonius, pursuant to his orders, marched through Thrace into Macedonia, ordering his fleet first to reduce Thasus, and then to coast along the shore, that they might act in concert with each other. On his arrival in Macedonia, all the country took the alarm at such a mighty army, and submitted; but the fleet, in doubling the cape at Mount Athos, now called Cape Santo, was dispersed by a storm; 300 ships, and 20,000 men perished in the mighty waters. His land army met at the same time with a misfortune no less fatal. Being encamped in a place not sufficiently secured, the Bryges,* a people of Thrace, attacked him under cover of the night, broke into his camp, and wounded Mardonius himself. These misfortunes obliged him to return into Asia, from whence he was soon after recalled by Darius.

Darius, perceiving too late that the inexperience of Mardonius had occasioned the defeat of his troops, put two other generals in his place, namely, Datis, a Mede, and Artaphernes, son of his brother Artaphernes, who had been governor of Sardis. Before, however, he made any farther attempts upon Greece, he deemed it politic first to sound the Greeks, to discover how these different states stood affected to, or were averse from the Persian government. With this view, he sent heralds to all their cities, to demand earth and water, in token of submission. On the arrival of these heralds, many of the Greek cities, dreading the power of the Persians, complied with their demands, as did all the inhabitants of Ægina, a small island near Athens. At Athens and Sparta, the heralds met with a different reception. One of them was thrown into a well, and the other into a deep ditch, and were bid to take thence earth and water. This they did under the influence of anger. When that was passed, they were ashamed of the transaction, looking upon it as a violation of the law of nations; and they accordingly sent ambassadors to the king of Persia at Susa, to offer him what satisfaction he pleased for the affront they had put upon his heralds. But Darius, declaring himself satisfied with the embassy, sent the ambassadors back to their respective countries, though those of Sparta voluntarily offered themselves as victims, to expiate the crime of which their countrymen had been guilty.

This incident affords an excellent lesson on that sinful passion, anger, which has been justly characterised by an ancient sage as a "short madness." Reader, beware of doing irrevocable

acts in thy passion. The hair of Samson grew again, but his eyes no more drank in the blessed light of heaven. Time may restore some losses, but others are never to be repaired. Do not, therefore, in an instant what an age cannot recompense. An old divine has said, "As a good man would not wish to be taken out of the world in a fit of anger, into that place which is all peace and quietness, so he should never indulge passion, lest he should die in that state."

"Be all mad rage, all anger then resigned,
A cruel heart ill suits a human mind."

Bent upon the reduction of Greece, Darius hastened the departure of his generals, Datis and Artaphernes. Their instructions were, to plunder the cities of Eretria and Athens, to burn down to the ground all their houses and temples, and to make all the inhabitants slaves, and to send them to Darius; for which purpose they were provided with a great number of chains and fetters. The generals having appointed their fleet to meet at Samos, set sail from thence with 600 ships, and an army of 500,000 men. After having made themselves masters of the islands in the Ægean Sea, which they did without difficulty, they turned their course towards Eretria, a city of Eubœa, which they took, after a siege of seven days, by the treachery of some of the principal inhabitants. They reduced the city to ashes, put all the inhabitants in chains, and sent them to Persia, and then sailed for Attica.

When the Persians had arrived at Attica, Hippas, of whom mention has before been made, conducted them to Marathon. In order to strike terror into the citizens of Athens, they sent heralds from thence to acquaint them with the fate of Eretria, hoping thereby to induce them to surrender immediately.† It had the contrary effect. Despair inspired them with courage, and not being able to gain assistance from their allies, except 1000 men from Plataea, they armed their slaves, which was contrary to their usual practice.

The Persian army commanded by Datis consisted of 100,000 foot, and 10,000 horse; that of the Athenians amounted in the whole but to 10,000 men. It was commanded by ten generals, of whom Miltiades was chief, and these ten were to have the command of the whole army, each for a day, in rotation. There was a division among the generals whether they should hazard a battle, or simply fortify and defend the city. Miltiades argued that the only way to raise the courage of their own troops, and strike terror into the enemy, was to advance fearlessly, and attack them with intrepidity. Aristides, convinced by this argument, embraced the opinion, and brought over to it some of the other commanders; and eventually it was agreed upon by all that it would be wise to engage the enemy in the open field; and under this feeling, the conduct of the battle was yielded to Miltiades. Thus all sentiments of jealousy gave way to the love of the public good; this was noble, and it resulted in the redemption of their country from Persian domination.

† The distance of Marathon from Athens is about twenty-four miles.

* These Bryges were probably the Phrygians.

Although honoured with the general command, Miltiades would not engage in battle till his own day for governing arrived. When that day came, he endeavoured by the advantage of the ground to make up for his deficiency in strength and number. He drew up his army at the foot of a mountain, that the enemy should neither be able to surround him, nor charge him in the rear. On the two sides of his army he caused large trees to be thrown, in order to cover his flanks, and render the Persian cavalry useless.

Datis, the commander of the Persians, was sensible that the place was not advantageous for him; but relying upon the number of his troops, he determined to sustain a battle.

All things being disposed, and the sacrifice, according to the custom of the Greeks, performed, Miltiades commanded the signal to be given for battle. Betwixt the two armies there was an interval of about eight furlongs; and the Persians seeing the Athenians approach by running, prepared to receive them as men devoted to destruction. As soon, however, as the Greeks mingled with the enemy, they discovered that they were no mean foes.* After a long and obstinate contest, the barbarians in the centre, composed of the Persians and the Sacæ, obliged the Greeks to give way, and pursued the flying foe into the middle of the country. At the same time, however, the Athenians and Platæans, who were in the two wings, having defeated the wings of the enemy, came up to the relief of the centre, and obtained a complete victory, killing a prodigious number, and pursuing the rest to the sea, where they set fire to the vessels.

It was on this occasion that Cynægirus, brother of the celebrated tragic poet, Æschylus, who had laid hold of one of the ships in order to get into it with those that fled, had his right hand cut off, and was drowned; of which we find a similar example in Lucan :

"He, the bold youth, as board and board they stand,
Fix'd on a Roman ship his daring hand;
Full on his arm a mighty blow descends,
And the torn limb from off his shoulder rends:
The rigid nerves are cramp'd with stiff'ning cold,
Convulsive grasp, and still retain their hold.
Nor sunk his valour, by the pain deprest,
But nobler rage inflam'd his mangled breast.
His left remaining hand the combat tries,
And fiercely forth to catch the right he flies;
The same hard destiny the left demands,
And now a naked, helpless trunk he stands."

Amongst those that were slain on the side of the Greeks were Callimachus and Stasileus, two of their chief commanders. They had not above 300 men killed on their side in this engagement; whereas on the side of the Persians about 6000 fell, besides those who were drowned in their

attempts to escape, and those that were consumed in their burning ships.† The Greeks, moreover, obtained possession of seven of the enemy's vessels.

Hippias was killed in the battle. That perfidious citizen, in order to recover the unjust dominion usurped by his father, Peisistratus, over the Athenians, had put himself at the head of those who were come with a design to reduce to ashes that city to which he owed his birth. An ignominious death, with lasting infamy entailed upon his name, was the result of his treachery.

The Persians had considered victory so sure, that they had brought marble to Marathon, in order to erect a trophy. The Grecians took this marble, and caused a statue to be made of it by Phidias, in honour of the goddess Nemesis, whose business, it was supposed, was to punish injustice and oppression, and who had a temple near Marathon.

Plutarch relates, that immediately after the battle, an Athenian soldier, stained with blood, hastened to Athens, to acquaint his fellow-citizens with the success of their army at Marathon. When he arrived at the public palace, where the magistrates were assembled, he was so spent that, having uttered these words, "Rejoice, the victory is ours!" he fell down, and expired.

The news of this victory spread a general joy throughout the nations around, to which the poet Wordsworth has a fine allusion :

"When far and wide, swift as the beams of morn,
The tidings passed of servitude repealed,
And of that joy which shook the Isthmian field,
The rough Ætolians smiled with bitter scorn.
'Tis known," cried they, "that he who would adorn
His envied temples with the Isthmian crown,
Must either win through effort of his own,
The prize, or be content to see it won
By more deserving brows. Yet so ye prop,
Sons of the brave who fought at Marathon,
Your feeble spirits! Greece her head hath bowed,
As if the wreath of liberty thereon
Would fix itself as smoothly as a cloud,
Which, at Jove's will, descends on Pelion's top!"

Instead of sailing by the islands, the Persian fleet, in order to return to Asia, doubled the cape of Sunium, with the design of surprising Athens before the Athenian forces should arrive to its defence. The latter, however, had the precaution to march thither with nine tribes, to secure their country, and these performed the march with so much expedition, that they arrived there the same day, and the designs of the Persians were frustrated. This battle occurred a.c. 490.

The Lacedæmonians had promised assistance to the Athenians, but they were hindered by a ridiculous superstition from taking a part in the action. Mankind, in all ages of the world, from observing the visible operations of the moon upon the ocean, have supposed its influence to

* Xenophon relates, that the Athenians made a vow to sacrifice to Diana as many goats as they should kill enemies; and being unable to procure a sufficient number, they determined every year to sacrifice 500. Ælian relates the same fact with some slight variation; and we read in the Scholiast on Aristophanes, that Callimachus, one of the Athenian generals, vowed to sacrifice as many oxen as they should slay enemies; and unable to obtain a sufficient number, he substituted goats in their room. Herodotus is silent on this matter, for which he is blamed by Plutarch. The account which Xenophon gives is, however, the most probable; for Callimachus being killed in the battle, could not have performed a vow.

† It was between the foot of the Ageriichi and the Charadrus mountains that Miltiades ranged his troops. The Persians being driven across the Charadrus by the Greeks, the whole body made for the delta, where the only passage afforded was hardly broad enough to admit of two persons abreast of each other. Every attempt to escape in this direction was impossible, as the sea or the swamp interposed to prevent it. The consequence of such an attempt is obvious; and hence it follows, that the vast loss of the Persians was as much owing to their ignorance of the existence of this swamp, and desire leading to it, as to the valour of the Greeks.

extend not only to human affairs, but to the state of the human body. Travellers have observed, that in the countries of the east it is customary to prefer the time of the new moon to begin a journey. And to this there appears to be reference made in Scripture. Thus Solomon puts into the mouth of the adulterous wife these words :

"The goodman is not at home,
He is gone a long journey;
He hath taken a bag of money with him,
And will come home at the day appointed."

Prov. vii. 19, 20.

Or, in other words, at "the new moon." Reference is also made to this observance, 1 Sam. xx. 24, where Saul is represented as sitting down to meat, or to a feast, when the new moon was come. It was under the influence of this superstition that the Lacedæmonians deferred sending their promised aid to the Athenians. After the moon, however, had passed the full, they sent a body of 3000 men, which arrived only to offer them their congratulations on the victory. Happily, this superstition is now exploded by the more satisfactory deductions of a sound philosophy. It has been reasonably urged, that as the most accurate and subtle barometers are not affected by the various positions of the moon, it is very unlikely that the human body should be within the sphere of its influence.

The lesson conveyed in these disasters was lost upon Darius. His revenge was, indeed, still more excited against the Athenians, and he resolved to head another armament in person, which put all Asia in a ferment for three years. But his designs were frustrated. In the year a.c. 487, the Egyptians revolted, which caused him to delay his expedition, that he might increase his preparations against both nations; and two years after, as he was upon the point of carrying his plans into execution, he died, after having reigned thirty-six years.

During the last six years of his reign, Darius, according to oriental writers, was engaged also in reforming the corruptions that had crept into the national religion, by the progress of the Sabian superstition and adoration of fire, and of the other elements of nature; and by the prevalence of the notion of the two principles, the good and evil, which are referred to in Isaiah's prophecies respecting Cyrus, who acknowledged Jehovah as "the God," Ezra i. 1—3. According to Mohammed Mustapha, Darius was assisted in his salutary work by Hystaspes, then master of the magi in succession to the prophet Daniel, who held that high office from a.c. 569 to a.c. 534; and who, from his rank and residence at Susa, the capital, from the time of Belshazzar, (Dan. viii. 2,) must have been well known to Hystaspes, and probably to Darius himself.

The chief associate of Hystaspes and Darius, says Dr. Hales, was the younger Zerdusht, or second Zoroaster, who is represented by the Arabian and Persian historians as a native of the province of Aderbijan, and a disciple of one of the Jewish prophets, either Elijah, Jeremiah, or Oseir, Ezra. The real prophet was Daniel.

The design of the reform was to bring back the religion of Persia to its primitive purity, in the days of Abraham and of the Pischadian

kings; to revive the supremacy of the God of heaven over Ahriman, the evil principle; and to teach a future judgment, in which the apparent mixture of good and evil in this life, designed in the state of probation to promote God's glory, should be redressed in the next, by the reward of the good in heaven, and the punishment of the wicked in hell; all which articles appear to have been derived from some superior teacher to the magi, to have been, in fact, collected from the sacred writings, or the oral instructions of Daniel himself.

Instead of the former mode of keeping the sacred fire in caves, and on mountains in the open air, where it was liable to be extinguished, Darius built fire temples throughout his dominions, as at Jerusalem. His principal fire temple, called Azur (Gushtasp, was erected at Balch, the capital of the province of Bactria.* After the death of Zerdusht, in the fifth year of his reformation, Darius assumed the office of archmagus himself, but died the following year. Hence the succeeding kings of Persia were always initiated into the sacerdotal order of the magi before their inauguration, as related in the section on the polity of Persia.

Next to Cyrus, says Dr. Hales, Darius was the greatest prince of this dynasty. If Cyrus founded, Darius Hystaspes unquestionably established the empire. His political wisdom and moderation, his system of laws and finance, and his reform of the national religion, were all admirable; and his attention to maritime discoveries and commerce distinguished him from all the other kings of Persia. His greatness, however, was sullied by the indulgence of those evil principles, ambition and revenge, which brought ruin not only on his enemies, but on his own subjects. Notwithstanding, he was endowed with many excellent qualities; and his wisdom, justice, and in many instances, clemency, are much commended by the ancients. His greatest honour is, that he was appointed by the Almighty to complete the work begun by Cyrus, namely, the restoration of the Jews to the Holy Land.

Before his death, Darius appointed Xerxes, his eldest son by Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, to succeed him, in preference to Artobasanet, his eldest son by his first wife, the daughter of Gobryas; because the former was born when his father was king, but the latter when he was only in a private station. It is probable that the influence Atossa had over the mind of Darius decided the choice.

XERXES.

Xerxes having ascended the throne, employed the first year of his reign in carrying on the preparations begun by Darius for the reduction of Egypt.

In the same year, the Samaritans wrote to

* Balch is situated on the river Dehesh, the Bactrian of Curtius, Pliny, and Strabo, and the Zariaspis of Ptolemy. By different writers it is called Zariaspis, Balk, Balakh, and Balak. It is considered to be the oldest city in the world, and is hence denominated Omel Balak, "The mother of cities." Euphrates says it is now reduced to comparative insignificance.

him, (Ahasuerus,*) in accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem, Ezra iv. 6: but notwithstanding this opposition, he confirmed to that people all the privileges granted them by his father, especially the grant of the Samaritan tribute, for carrying on the building of the temple, and the support of the temple worship and sacrifices.

In the second year of his reign, a.c. 484, Xerxes marched against the Egyptians, and having defeated and subdued them, he made the yoke of their subjection more grievous: then giving the government of that province to his brother Achæmenes, he returned to Susa.

The poet Æschylus, in his tragedy of the Persians, represents Xerxes as following his predecessor's plan of conquest. Atossa, the mother of Xerxes, is introduced as addressing the ghost of her husband Darius thus:

"This from too frequent converse with bad men,
The impetuous Xerxes learned: these caught his ear
With thy great deeds, as winning for thy son
Vast riches with thy conquering spear: whilst he,
Timorous and sinful, never saw in sport,
Lifted his lance, nor added to the wealth
Won by his noble fathers. This reproach,
Oft by bad men repeated, urged his soul
To attempt this war, and lead his troops in Greece."

Accordingly, the reduction of Egypt was only preparatory to his grand expedition against Greece. Plutarch represents him as boasting that it was not his intention to have the fogs of Attica, which were excellent, bought for him any longer, and that he would eat no more till he was master of the country. Before, however, Xerxes engaged in this important enterprise, he assembled his council, in order to obtain the advice of the most illustrious persons of his court. He laid before them the design he had in view, and acquainted them with his motives, which were, the desire of imitating his predecessors; the obligation he was under to revenge the burning of Sardis; the necessity of recovering their lost honours; and the prospect of the advantages that might be reaped from this war, which would be attended with the conquest of all Europe. He added further, that this war had been resolved on by his father Darius, and consequently that he was only completing his designs; he concluded by promising large rewards to those who should distinguish themselves in the expedition.

It is probable that the poet had the speech of Xerxes in his mind when he wrote the following lines, which he makes Mardonius utter on entering Athens:

"Is this the city whose presumption dar'd
Invalidate the lord of Asia? sternly said
Mardonius entering. Whither now are fled
The audacious train, whose firebrands Sardis felt?
Where'er you lurk, Athenians, if in sight,
Soon shall you view your citadel in flames;
Or if retreated to a distant land,
No distant land of refuge shall you find
Against avenging Xerxes."—Glover.

Mardonius, the same who had been so unsuccessful in the reign of Darius, grown neither

wiser nor less ambitious by his ill success, and anxious to obtain the command of the army, not only approved of the determination of Xerxes, but extolled him above all his predecessors, and endeavoured to show the necessity of avenging the dishonour done to the Persian name. The rest of the council, perceiving that this flattering speech was well received by Xerxes, remained for some time silent, fearful of opposing the will of the monarch. At length Artabanus, the king's uncle, who was venerable both for his age and prudence, deriving confidence from his relationship, addressing Xerxes, used all his endeavours to divert him from his present resolution, and at the same time reproached Mardonius with want of sincerity, and showed how much he was to blame for desiring rashly to engage the Persians in a war which nothing but his own ambition and self-interest could tempt him to advise.

The ear of Xerxes was open to flattery, but deaf to wholesome advice. Although Artabanus delivered his sentiments in a respectful manner, and with great sincerity, Xerxes was indignant at the liberty, and assured him that if he were not his uncle, he should have suffered for his presumption. Tacitus has well observed, that it is the misfortune of princes spoiled by flattery to look upon every thing as austere that is sincere and ingenuous, and to disregard all counsel delivered with a generous and disinterested freedom. They do not consider that even an honest man durst not tell them all he thinks, nor discover the whole truth; and that what they stand most in need of is a sincere and faithful friend. A prince ought to think himself happy if in his whole reign he finds one who ventures to speak honestly, for he is the most necessary and rare instrument of government. Cicero justly remarks, that there is nothing so agreeable to nature, or so convenient to our affairs, whether in prosperity or adversity, as true friendship; and who is so sincere a friend as he who imparts good advice in an hour of difficulty?

"Take sound advice proceeding from a heart
Sincerely yours, and free from fraudulent art."—DANIEL.

But, alas! advice is seldom welcome, and those who want it the most like it the least, as in the case of Xerxes. The reason may be, that the acknowledgment of our weakness and another's better sense are implied in the act of taking advice. Whence the pride of human nature stifles the voice of conviction, and makes us turn a deaf ear to the charmer, charm he never so wisely.

According to Herodotus, when the ebullitions of his rage were over, Xerxes repented of his conduct towards Artabanus, and sent for him to acknowledge his fault, and express his intention of foregoing the war upon Greece, which gave the nobles great joy. After this, the same author relates a romantic account of a vision, which changed their opinion, and made even Artabanus himself become a sanguine and zealous promoter of the war.

The greatness of the preparations was in proportion to the grandeur of the scheme. Nothing was omitted which could contribute to the success of the undertaking. Xerxes entered into a confederacy with the Carthaginians, who were at

* The reader must remember that this is a title, and not a proper name. Dr. Hales says that this title is applied to Xerxes, Ezra iv. 6; to Artaxerxes Longimanus, Esther i. 1; and to Artaxanes, the father of Cyrus, or of Darius the Mede, Dan. ix. 1.

that time the most potent people of the west, and made an agreement with them that, while the Persians invaded Greece, they should fall upon the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy, that thereby they might be diverted from rendering each other assistance. The Carthaginians appointed Hamilcar general, who not only raised what forces he could in Africa, but with the money sent him by Xerxes hired mercenaries in Spain, Gaul, and Italy; so that it is said his army consisted of 300,000 men, and a proportionate number of ships, in order to execute the projects and stipulations of the league. See the History of the Carthaginians.

In the beginning of the fifth year, after war had been determined on, Xerxes began his march from Susa, the metropolis, with his mighty army. The time of his departure, says Dr. Hales, is critically determined by an eclipse of the sun, visible at Susa about eight in the morning, April 19, B. C. 481. Herodotus represents this eclipse as total; "for the sun disappeared in a cloudless and clear sky, and day became night;" but it appears from Dr. Brinkley's computation that it was somewhat less than a half eclipse. This was sufficient to excite observation, and create alarm at Susa, especially at the moment of their departure, and might easily have been magnified into total, by tradition, at a time when eclipses were considered portentous, and the cause known but to few of the learned. Xerxes was alarmed at the incident, and consulted the magi upon what it might portend. The magi affirmed that God prognosticated to the Greeks the failure of their states, saying that the sun was the prognosticator of the Greeks, but the moon of the Persians. With this futile and lying exposition Xerxes was satisfied, and proceeded on his march.

From Susa Xerxes marched to Sardis, which was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of all his land forces, while his navy advanced along the coasts of Asia Minor towards the Hellespont.

It was on his way thither, at Celenae,* Pythius,

* This city was situated in Phrygia Major, on the road from Susa to Sardis. It was a city of great note in the days of the Lydian and Phrygian kings, and during the time of the Persian empire. It is now in ruins, and modern geographers are much divided in opinion respecting its ancient site. It is noted in the march of the younger Cyrus, and a description of its site has been given in the Anabasis of Xenophon. It was the usual residence of the Persian satrap, and was adorned with a palace, probably erected by Xerxes, as well as with other establishments, and a park of such extent, as not only to afford room for great numbers of wild animals, but to permit an army of 12,000 men to encamp within its precincts. Through the middle of this park, says Xenophon, runs the river Mæander, but the head of it rises in the palace. It runs also through the city of Celenae. A similar description is given of this river, also, by Quintus Curtius, in his life of Alexander the Great. The confluence of these two streams would naturally be below the city. In after ages, Celenae was abandoned for a new city built by Antiochus Soter, son of Seleucus, which was surrounded by the streams of the Mæandrus, Obrinus, and Orga, which empty themselves into the Mæander. This city was called Apamea Ktenia.

According to Bannet, the modern Sandaky occupies the site of the ancient Celenae. This place is actually situated on one of the sources of the Mæander, now Mender, which was generally allowed to have its principal source at Celenae, and the branch to form by some fine springs which flow from the foot of a ridge of lofty hills, as is reported of that city. Fifty miles the hill Sığir, and 10 miles sixty English miles almost north-east of Celenae,

a noble Lydian, who was considered the richest of mankind after Xerxes, entertained the Persian army with great magnificence, for which he was ill rewarded, as related on page 33 of this history.

As soon as the spring of the year arrived, B. C. 480, Xerxes left Sardis, and directed his march towards the Hellespont. Being arrived at Abydos, he wished to witness a naval combat. A throne was erected for him upon an eminence, and in that situation, seeing all the sea crowded with his vessels, and the land covered with his troops, he felt a secret joy diffuse itself through his soul, considering that he was the most powerful and the most happy of mortals. Reflecting, however, soon afterwards, that out of so many thousands, in a hundred years' time there would not be one living on the earth, his joy was turned into grief, and he could not forbear weeping at the uncertainty and instability of human things.

" — — — — — As down
The' immense, noble trunk his sight was lost,
A momentary gleam o'ercast his mind;
While this reflection fill'd his eye with tears:
That, soon as time a hundred years had told,
Not one among those millions should survive!
Whence, to obscure thy pride, arose that cloud?
Was it, that mere humanity could touch
A god's breast? Or, rather, did thy soul
Repine, O Xerxes, at the bitter thought,
That all thy power was mortal?" — GILGAL.

Xerxes might have found another subject of reflection, which would have more justly merited his tears and affliction, had he turned his thoughts upon himself. He might have considered the reproaches he deserved for being the instrument of shortening that fatal term to millions of people, whom he was going to sacrifice as victims to his cruel ambition.

Artabanus, who neglected no opportunity of making himself useful to the young prince, and of instilling into him sentiments of goodness, took advantage of this moment of the workings of nature, and led him into farther reflections upon the miseries with which the lives of most men are attended, and which render them so painful and unhappy; endeavouring, at the same time, to make him sensible of the duty and obligation of princes to alleviate the sorrows of mankind.

In the same conversation, Xerxes asked Artabanus if he would still advise him not to make war upon Greece; and, for the moment, he himself appears to have been staggered at his mighty project. Artabanus replied, that the land and the sea still gave him great uneasiness: the land, because there is no country, said he, that can feed and maintain so numerous an army; and the sea, because there are no ports capable of

about the same distance south of Cotyrium, and 116 east of Sardis. Matzen, a German geographer, supposed Ophiium Kara Hisar, which is twenty-two geographical miles north-east of Mandaly, to answer the site of the ancient Celenae; and Dr. Pococke regarded Askly as its site; but both these opinions are evidently erroneous. Neither the Marasus nor the Mæander exist at Ophiium Kara Hisar, and Askly is too far down the latter river to answer to the description. Kinner thinks that Celenae stood seven miles south of Kara Hisar, where there is a village embosomed in wood, said to be erected on the site of an ancient town, not far from one of the sources of the Mæander, so difficult is it to identify this ancient city of renown.

receiving such a multitude of vessels. These objections, however, were overruled by Xerxes, and ambition again prevailing, the momentary irresolution was succeeded by a fixed determination to go forward.

Xerxes commanded a bridge of boats to be laid over the Hellespont, for the transmission of his forces from Asia into Europe; which was a work of more ostentation than use, since Alexander, and afterwards the Ottomans, passed the same straits, in after ages, with less parade, and vastly greater effect. The space that separates the two continents, formerly called the Hellespont, now the Dardanelles, is seven stadia in breadth, or nearly one English mile. A violent storm arose on a sudden, and broke down the bridge first erected; and Xerxes appointed more experienced architects to build two others in its room, one for the army, and the other for the beams of burden and the baggage. Major Rennel has ingeniously explained the construction of these two bridges, and shown the angle which they formed with each other, the one to resist the strong current from the Propontis, the other to withstand the strong winds in the *Ægean Sea*, each protecting the other.

Herodotus relates a story concerning the conduct of Xerxes on the occasion of the failure of the first bridge, the import of which is, that he threw two pair of chains into the sea, as if he meant to shackle and confine it, and that he ordered 300 strokes to be given it, by way of chastisement. Now, water among the Persians was held to be one of the symbols of Divine nature, and this story may, therefore, be accounted fabulous; for Xerxes would not have acted so directly opposite to the tenets of his religion. The perforation of Mount Athos, and the circumstance of sending a letter to it, threatening to throw it into the sea, may also justly be doubted. Xerxes was not one of the wisest of princes, but he certainly was no idiot; and these actions could only have been committed by a madman. They do not accord, moreover, with the anecdote that Xerxes, after having reviewed his army at Abydos, burst into tears upon reflecting on their short term of life.

When the second bridge was completed, a day was appointed for the commencement of their passage over. Accordingly, as soon as the first rays of the sun appeared, sweet odours of various kinds were spread over the bridges, and the way was strewn with myrtle. At the same time, Xerxes poured out libations into the sea, and turning his face towards the sun, the principal object of the Persian worship, he implored the assistance of that god in his enterprize: this done, he threw the vessel he had used in making his libations, together with a golden cup and a Persian scimitar, into the sea. His army was seven days and seven nights in passing these straits. It was an immense host, but there were few real soldiers among them.

Xerxes spent a month at Doriscus, in Thrace, near the mouth of the Hebrus, in reviewing and numbering his army and fleet.* From thence

he marched southwards with his army in three divisions, attended by his fleet, through Thrace and Macedonia, several cities of which entertained him hospitably. Herodotus says, that the Thracians expended 400 talents of silver on a single banquet; and that a witty citizen told the Abderites, "they should bless Heaven that Xerxes did not require two repasts in the day, or they would be ruined."

Herodotus gives a minute account of the different amount of the various nations that constituted this army. Besides the generals of every nation, who commanded the troops of their respective country, the land army was under the command of six Persian generals, namely, Mardonius, Trintahmes, Masistes, Smerdones, Geris, and Megabyzus. The 10,000 Persians, called the Immortal Band, were commanded by Hydarnes. The cavalry had, also, its particular commanders. Rennel observes, that the Persians may be compared, in respect to the rest of the army of Xerxes, with the Europeans in a British army in India, composed chiefly of seapoys and native troops.

Xerxes having ranged and numbered his armament, was desirous of reviewing the whole. Mounted in his car, he examined each nation in turn, to all of whom he proposed questions, the replies to which were noted down by his secretaries. The procession of Xerxes in his car through the ranks of his army, is well described by Glover, in his "Leonidas:"

"The monarch will'd, and suddenly he heard
His trampling horses. High on silver wheels
The ivory car, with azure sapphires shone,
Cerulean beryl, and the jasper green,
The emerald, the ruby's glowing blush,
The flaming topaz, with its golden beam,
The pearl, the emurpured amethyst, and all
The various gems which India's mines afford
To deck the pomp of kings. In burnish'd gold
A sculptured eagle from behind display'd
His stately neck, and o'er the royal head
Outstretch'd his dazling wings. Eight generous steeds,
Which on the famed Nisiran plain were nursed,
In wintry Media, drew the radiant car.

"At the signal, bound
The attentive steeds: the chariot flies; behind
Ten thousand horse in thunder sweep the field;
Down to the sea-beat margin, on a plain
Of vast expansion, in battalia wait
The eastern bands. To these the imperial wheels,
By princes followed in a hundred cars,
Proceed. The queen of Caria,† and her son,
With Hyperanthes rode. The king's approach
Swift through the wide arrangement is proclaim'd.
He now draws nigh. The innumerable host
Roll back by nations, and admit their lord
With all his satraps. As from crystal domes,
Built underneath an arch of pendant seas,
When that stern power whose trident rules the floods,
With such cerulean deity ascends,
Throned in his pearly chariot, all the deep
Divides its bosom to the emerging god,
So Xerxes rode between the Asian world
On either side receding."

After viewing the land forces, Xerxes, exchanging his chariot for a Sidonian vessel, re-

writers of a later age, conceive that such statements are beyond the bounds of belief, and reduce the numbers to about one-fifth, which would still leave a mighty army, compared with the handful of soldiers Greece could oppose to such a force. The latter statement is more consistent with probability, and with the narrative of the results of the invasion, which the attentive reader will observe.

* Justin observes of this woman: "Artemide, queen of Halicarnassus, who joined her forces with those of

* Herodotus states, that the number of the followers of Xerxes was 1,363,320. Isocrates estimates the land army, in round numbers, at 1,000,000. Plutarch agrees with these statements; but Diodorus, Piny, Ælian, and other

viewed his fleet in a similar manner, passing betwixt the prows of the ships and the shore. Elated at the prospect before him, when he had reviewed his forces, Xerxes asked Demaratus, an exiled king of Sparta, who had taken refuge at the Persian court,* whether he thought the Grecians would venture to oppose his progress through their country. After being assured by Xerxes that he wished him to speak his thoughts freely and sincerely, Demaratus replied to the effect, that, bound by their laws to defend their country, they would conquer or die.

"——— Spread on Eurota's banks.

Avoid a circling of soft rising hills,
The patient Sparta stood; the sober, hard,
And man-subduing city, which no shape
Of pain could conquer, nor of pleasure charm;
Lycurgus there built, on the solid base
Of equal life, so well a tempered state.
Where mix'd each government in each just poise,
Each power to checking, and supporting each,
That firm for ages and unmoved it stood,
The fort of Greece, without one civil home,
One shock of faction, or of party rage
For, drained the springs of wealth, far upon there
Lay withered at the root. Thrice from the soil
Had not neglected art with weedy vine
Confounded sunk; but if Athenian arts
Loved not the soil, yet then the civil strife
Of wisdom, virtue, philosophic ease,
Of manly sense, and wit, in frugal phrase,
Confined and press'd into lacunar force
There, too, by rooking thence shot treacherous self,
The public and the private grew the same
The children of the nursing public all,
And at its table fed. For that they told,
For that they lived entire, and even for that
The tender mother urged her son to die."—THOMSON.

This is a just description of the people against whom Xerxes was leading his hosts: and though he laughed at the reply of Demaratus, he soon found that the battle is not always accorded to the strong, and that

"Thrice is he arm'd that bath his quarrel just."

The first information of this formidable invasion of Greece was given to the Lacedæmonians by Demaratus himself, whose patriotism prevailed over his private wrongs. By an ingenious stratagem, he carved an account of the king's determination on two tablets of wood, and then covered the writing with wax, so that they appeared to be blank tablets. When these were delivered at Sparta, they puzzled the people exceedingly, till Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, sagaciously removed the wax, when the alarming truth was revealed. The Lacedæmonians circulated the intelligence throughout the country.

Xerxes proceeded through Achaia and Thesely, and without meeting any opposers, reached the famous and important straits of Thermopylae, the key of Greece, while the Carian and Olympic games were celebrating.

At this time, a furious Hellespontine wind, blowing from N.W., raised such a hurricane as

Xerxes, appeared amongst the forwardest commanders in the hottest engagements. And as on the man's side there was an admirable cowardice, on the woman's was observed a masculine courage." Herodotus speaks to the same effect, and adds, that there was not one who gave such good advice and counsel to Xerxes; but he was not prudent enough to profit by it.

* Demaratus was a favourite of Xerxes, because he suggested his plea to the crown in preference to his elder brother, on the grounds before recorded.

destroyed and sunk 400 ships of war, besides an immense number of transports and provision vessels, at the promontory of Sepia. From this station they therefore removed to Apheta, farther southward. The Grecian fleet, of 300 ships, assembled in their neighbourhood, at Artemisium, the northern promontory of the island of Eubœa, to oppose their passage southward.

The Greeks were not inactive whilst the enemy was approaching. They sent to Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse, and to the isles of Corcyra and Crete, to desire succour from them, and to form a league against the common enemy. Gelon was prevented from joining them through his ambitious views; the inhabitants of Corcyra deceived them; and the people of Crete, having consulted the Delphic oracle, refused to enter into the league.

Added to these disappointments, was the defection of many other cities of Greece, of whom Xerxes had demanded by his heralds earth and water. Fear so wrought upon them generally, that none but the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, and the people of Thespia, and Platœa, remained to combat the enemy. These were resolved to conquer or die; and the first thing they did in this emergency was to put an end to all discords and intestine divisions. Accordingly, peace was concluded between the Athenians and the people of Ægina, who at this period were at war. This was a great point gained; for their attention thereby was left undiverted from the coming danger, and they were enabled to direct the whole force of their genius to prevent its realization. This was the one object of their deliberations; and the result shows how wisely they acted.

The principal points of their deliberations were the choice of commanders, and at what place they should meet the Persians, in order to dispute their entrance into Greece. The Athenians chose Themistocles, and the Spartans conferred the supreme command of their forces upon Leonidas, one of their kings. The situation they adopted for the conflict was the straits of Thermopylae.

The appellation, Thermopylae, means "The Pass of the Hot Springs." On the north is an extensive bog, or fen, through which a narrow paved causeway offers the only approach to Greece. It is bordered on either side by a deep and impracticable morass, and it is further bounded by the sea towards the east, and the precipices of Mount Œta to the west. Here is situated the Turkish dervene, or barrier, upon a small narrow stone bridge, marking the most important point of the whole passage. It is still occupied by sentinels, as in ancient times, and is, therefore, even at the present time, considered as the pylæ of the southern provinces. The Thermas, or hot springs, are at a short distance from the bridge, a little farther on to the north. Their principal issue is from two mouths at the foot of the limestone precipices of Œta, on the left of the causeway which here passes close under the mountain, and at this part of it scarcely admits two horsemen abreast of each other. The most critical part is at the hot springs, or at the bridge where the Turkish dervene is placed. At the former, the traveller has

the mountain close to him on the one side, and the bog on the other; and a few brave troops might, therefore, intercept the march of the mightiest army ever mustered.

It was at this situation that Xerxes found Leonidas waiting for him, with a band of only 6800 men. The haughty monarch was surprised to find that they were determined to dispute his passage. He had flattered himself that, on his approach, the Grecians would betake themselves to flight. Perceiving that this was not their disposition, he sent out a spy to view the enemy. This spy brought him word that he found the Lacedæmonians out of their entrenchments, and that they were diverting themselves with military exercises, and combing their hair. Such was the Spartan manner of preparing themselves for battle, and it indicated that they were fully determined to conquer or die.

To such effect Demaratus informed Xerxes; but the monarch was still incredulous, and maintained his position for four days, in expectation of seeing them retreat.

During this interval, Xerxes used his utmost endeavours to corrupt Leonidas, promising to make him master of all Greece if he would join his party. Leonidas rejected his proposals with contempt; and when Xerxes afterwards summoned him to surrender up his arms, he returned this laconic reply: "Come and take them."

On the fifth day, Xerxes, enraged at the pertinacity of the Greeks in retaining the pass, sent a detachment of Medes, with a command to bring them alive to his presence. These were defeated with great slaughter; and the Immortal Band, which were next sent against them, shared the same fate. After successive efforts, indeed, made with large bodies of their troops, to gain the pass, the Persians were obliged to desist from the attempt.

Xerxes was perplexed; but in the midst of his perplexity, treachery pointed out his path to Greece. One Epialtes, a Melian, in the hope of a great reward, discovered a secret passage to the top of the hill, and which led to the rear of the Grecian camp. This point is beyond the hot springs, in the north, and it is still used by the inhabitants of the country in their journeys to Salona, the ancient Amphiſsa. Xerxes despatched a detachment thither, which, marching all night, possessed themselves of that advantageous post at day-break.

Leonidas saw his danger, and convinced that it was impossible to oppose successfully so overwhelming a force, with so small a number of troops, he obliged his allies to retire; but he remained himself with his 300 Lacedæmonians, resolving to die in their country's cause; in obedience to an oracle, which foretold that "either Sparta or her king must fall." Glover makes Leonidas exclaim, on hearing that the enemy had circumvented him:

"I now behold the oracle fulfill'd.
Then art thou near, thou glorious sacred hour
Which shall my country's liberty secure!
Thrice hail, thou solemn period! thee the tongues
Of virtue, fame, and freedom shall proclaim,
Shall celebrate in ages yet unborn."

Prodigies of valour were performed by this

little band; but at length, oppressed by numbers, they all fell, except one man, who escaped to Sparta, where he was treated as a coward and traitor to his country. The brave Leonidas was one of the first that fell on this memorable occasion. On the barrow, or tomb of this devoted band, an appropriate epitaph was inscribed, which reads thus:

"The Lacedæmonians, O stranger, tell,
That here, obeying their sacred laws, we fell."

Herodotus records that Xerxes lost on this occasion above 20,000 men, which probably is an exaggeration. It appears, however, that he was dismayed at the valour of the Lacedæmonians; for he interrogated Demaratus, if they had yet many such soldiers; to which he replied, that they numbered about 8000 equal in valour to those who had fallen. Herodotus also says, that he caused great numbers to be buried secretly, lest the remainder of his troops should be dismayed. Thus lightly could he sport with human life. Surely, in all ages of the world,

"War is a game, which, were their subjects wise,
Kings would not play at Nations would do well
To extort their truncheons from the puny hands
Of heroes, whose inborn and baby minds
Are gratified with mischief; and who spoil
Because men suffer it—their toy the world."

COWPER.

The same day on which the action at Thermopylæ occurred, the two fleets engaged at Artemisium, a promontory of Eubœa. The fleet of the Grecians consisted of 271 vessels, exclusive of galleys and small boats; that of the enemy was much more numerous, notwithstanding its recent losses by the storm. The Persians sent 200 ships with orders to sail round the island of Eubœa, and encompass the Grecian fleet, that none of their ships might escape. The Greeks had intelligence of this design, and set sail in the night, in order to attack them by day-break. They missed this squadron, and advanced to Apheta, where the bulk of the Persian fleet lay, and after several brief encounters, they came to a considerable engagement, which was long and obstinately maintained, and resulted in nearly equal success.

Though the Persians suffered very severely, yet the Grecians suffered also, and half of their ships were disabled. Such being the case, they deemed it expedient to retire to some safer place to refit; and, accordingly, they sailed to Salamis, an island in the Saronic Bay, nearly midway between Athens and Corinth. Herodotus justly observes, that though the engagement at Artemisium did not bring matters to an absolute decision, yet it contributed greatly to encourage the Greeks, who were now convinced that the enemy, notwithstanding their great number, was not invincible. The struggle for liberty is

"——— A cause
Not often unsuccessful: power usurp'd
Is weakness when opposed: conscious of wrong,
'Tis pusillanimous and prone to flight.
But aye, a cause that once conceive the glowing thought
Of freedom, in that hope itself possesses
All that the contest calls for—spirit, strength,
The scorn of danger, and united hearts.
The surest passage of the good they seek."—COWPER.

After his inglorious victory over the brave

Leonidas and his devoted companions, Xerxes passed through the country of Phocia, by the upper part of Doris, burning and plundering the cities of the Phocians. The inhabitants of Peloponnesus, intent only upon saving their own country, resolved to abandon the rest, and to bring all the Grecian forces together within the isthmus, the entrance of which, they purposed securing by a strong wall, from one sea to the other, a space of nearly five English miles. The Athenians were provoked at this desertion, and seeing themselves ready to fall into the hands of the enraged Xerxes, consulted upon the best means of escape. Some time before, they had consulted the oracle of Delphi, the replies of which, Dr. Hales observes, were truly remarkable. The burden of them was, that their city should be destroyed, and that they should escape only by taking refuge within wooden walls. Themistocles interpreted this to denote their fleet, and, accordingly, the Athenian squadron took on board their families and effects, and deserted their city. Plutarch suspects (and this may form the key to these otherwise mysterious replies of the Pythian) that the oracle was indoctrinated by Themistocles, on this occasion, wishing to revive the drooping spirits of his countrymen. His sagacity, also, would foresee that this was the only means by which his countrymen could escape destruction.

Xerxes, arriving in the neighbourhood of Athens, wasted the whole country, putting all to fire and sword. A detachment was sent to plunder the temple of Apollo, at Delphi, in which there were immense treasures.

Herodotus relates a romantic tale concerning the escape of this temple from the violence of Xerxes. Thunder-bolts from heaven, he says, fell upon them; and two huge fragments from the tops of Parnassus rolled down with a great crash among them, and destroyed multitudes, while a shouting and clamour issued from the temple of the god. Depriving this tale of the preternatural machinery, it may be, that the priests planned a bold and uncommon stratagem, which they executed with equal prudence and courage, thereby delivering their temple from the spoiler. This will obtain more ample notice in the History of the Grecians.

The following lines, descriptive of the advance of Xerxes to Athens, are very appropriate:

" Her olive groves now Attica displayed;
The fields where Ceres first her gifts bestowed,
The rocks, whose marble crevices the bees
With sweetness stored: unparallel'd in art,
Rose structures growing on the stranger's eye
Where'er it roam'd delighted. On like Death
From his pale counter, scattering waste around,
The regal homicide of nations pass'd,
Unchaining all the furies of revenge
On this devoted country."—GLOVER'S *ATHENS*.

Arriving at Athens, Xerxes found it deserted by all its inhabitants, except a small number of citizens, who had retired into the citadel, there to await death. That death was too soon found. They fell, fighting for their liberties, and Xerxes reduced the city to ashes. Enraged over the city, he despatched a messenger to Susa with the tidings of his success to his uncle Artabanus, in

whose hands he had left the government during his absence.

Demosthenes has preserved a curious trait of the Athenian spirit on this occasion. One Cysias, a citizen, advised the people to remain in the city, and receive Xerxes. The citizens indignantly stoned him to death, and the women his wife, as traitors to their country.

The affairs of Xerxes had hitherto been prosperous, notwithstanding his severe losses: they were now about to suffer a reverse. While he was triumphing over Athens, the Grecian fleet, being reinforced by a great many ships from several parts of Greece, Eurybiades, commander in chief of all the naval forces, summoned a council. Many contended, and among them was Eurybiades, that it would be better to retire to the isthmus of Corinth, that they might be nearer the army which guarded that passage, under the command of Cleombrotus, brother of Leonidas. Others, at the head of whom was Themistocles, who commanded the Athenian fleet, contended that Salamis, where they were, was the most advantageous place they could choose to engage the numerous fleet of the enemies. Eurybiades and the other commanders came over to his opinion, and it was unanimously resolved to wait for the Persian fleet in the straits of Salamis.

Xerxes, on his part, also held a council of his principal naval commanders, placing them according to their rank; the king of Sidon first,* the king of Tyre next, and the rest in order. The general opinion was in favour of the engagement; but queen Artemisia advised, either to remain in their present station, which would force the Grecian fleet, confined at Salamis, to separate soon for want of provisions, and retire to their respective homes, or else to sail towards Peloponnesus, in which case it was not to be imagined that the confederates would remain behind, or risk a battle for the sake of the Athenians, when their own country was threatened; whereas, from the superior seamanship of the Grecians, the Persian fleet would be in great danger of a defeat. This wise counsel was unheeded.

The same night on which the resolution for an engagement was taken, Xerxes made his army proceed towards the isthmus of Corinth. Alarmed at this movement, the Peloponnesians at Salamis held a second council, in which they overruled the Athenians, *Agincotes*, and *Megareans*, and resolved to sail to the succour of the Peninsula. But it was too late.

" Dissensions past, as puerile and vain,
Now to forget, and nobly strive who best
Shall serve his ancient country, Artides wars
His ancient foe, Themistocles. I hear
Thou giv'st the best of counsels, which the Greeks
Reject, through mean solicitude to fly.
Weak men! throughout these narrow seas the foe
Is stationed now, preventing all escape."—GLOVER.

This was the effect of artifice.† Themistocles, foreseeing the result of a division of the Greek forces, sent a trusty friend by night to Xerxes,

* Dr. Hales says this precedence was due to the king of Sidon, because "Sidon was the eldest son of Ham," Gen. x. 15; profane history thereby agreeing with sacred in this place, in a remarkable manner.

to apprise him of their design, and advise him not to let slip this favourable opportunity of attacking the Greeks when they were divided among themselves, and incapable of resistance. Xerxes credited the report, and ordered the Persian fleet to range themselves in three divisions, and stretch across the bay, so as to cut off the retreat of the Greeks, and in that array to advance towards Salamis.

Imputing the ill success of his former engagements at sea to his own absence, Xerxes resolved to witness this from the top of an eminence, where he caused a throne to be erected. Around him were several scribes, after the manner of the Persian monarchs, who were to write down the names of such as should signalize themselves in the conflict. This was, no doubt, a wise arrangement, inasmuch as it tended to animate his hosts; rewards and honours being the only motives they had to incite them to deeds of arms.

"——— Xerxes, who enthroned
High on Egaleo anxious state to view
A scene which nature never yet display'd.
Nor fancy painted. The theatre was Greece,
Mankind spectators, equal to that stage,
Themistocles, great actor."—*CLAYTON.*

When the Peloponnesians found themselves encompassed by the Persian armament, they prepared to share the same dangers with their allies. Both sides prepared for battle. The Grecian fleet consisted of 350 sail; that of the Persians, upwards of 2000. Themistocles avoided the engagement till a certain wind began to blow, as was the case each day about the same time, knowing that it would be unfavourable to the enemy. As soon as he found himself favoured by this wind, he gave the signal for battle, which is thus finely described by Æschylus, who fought in this battle himself:—

"Advance, ye sons of Greece, from thralldom save
Your country, save your wives, your children save,
The temples of your gods, the sacred fountains
Where rest your honoured ancestors—this day
The common enemy of all demands your aid."

The engagement was desperate. The Persians, knowing that they fought under the monarch's eye, advanced with great resolution; but the wind blowing directly in their faces, and the size and number of their ships embarrassing them in a place so narrow, their courage soon abated. The Greeks noted this circumstance, and rushed onwards.

"——— Amidst the ruins of the fleet,
As through a shoal of fish caught in the net,
Spreading destruction"—*ÆSCHYLUS.*

The Ionians were the first that betook themselves to flight. Queen Artemisia had a narrow escape. Her galley was pursued by an Athenian vessel, commanded by the brother of the poet Æschylus, and would have been captured had she not turned suddenly upon one of her own side, a Calyndian vessel, with the commander of which she was on ill terms, attacked, and sunk it, with all the crew. Deceived by this stratagem, the Grecian, conceiving that she had now deserted the barbarians, quitted the pursuit. In the battle, she had behaved with such intrepidity, that Xerxes exclaimed, "My men are become

women, and the women men." To a reflective mind, the sight would have been a painful one. To woman belongs only the offices of love and tender affection. These are her prerogatives; and when they are laid aside for the savage din of war, the corruption of the human heart is exhibited in its most fearful forms. Many such, however, are instanced in the annals of profane history; and it may be safely asserted, that this was one of the bitter fruits of paganism. In the school of Christianity, woman is taught to walk the earth as an angel of mercy, to soothe the rugged path of human life.

Such was the battle of Salamis, one of the most memorable actions recorded in ancient history. According to Plutarch, it was fought on the 20th of the Attic month Boedromion, corresponding to the 15th of September, B.C. 480, which was the sixth day of the Eleusinian rites,* on which the procession of the mystic Iacchus was held by the Greeks.

"A king late on a rocky brow,
Which looks o'er sea-born Salamis,
And ships by thousands lay below,
And men in nations—all were his;
He counted them at break of day,
But when the sun set, where were they?"

Themistocles, taking advantage of the alarm of Xerxes caused by his defeat, contrived, in order to hasten his departure from Greece, to inform him that it was the intention of the Greeks to break down the bridge over the Hellespont. Xerxes immediately sent the remainder of his fleet thither to protect it, and to secure his retreat. This he commenced under cover of the night, leaving Mardonius, with an army of 300,000 men, to subdue Greece.

The Grecians, who expected that Xerxes would have renewed the combat the next day, having learned that the fleet had departed, pursued it as fast as they could. But it was to no purpose. They had destroyed 200 of the enemy's ships, besides those which they had captured: the rest, having suffered by the winds in their passage, retired towards the coast of Asia, and finally entered into the port of Cumæ, a city of Æolia, where they passed the winter. They returned no more into Greece.

Xerxes marched with a portion of his army towards the Hellespont. As no victuals had been provided for them, they underwent great hardships during their whole march, which lasted forty-five days. After having consumed all the fruits they could find, the soldiers were obliged to live upon herbs, and even upon the bark and leaves of trees. This occasioned a great sickness in the army, and great numbers died, so that he arrived at the Hellespont with "scarcely a pittance of his army."

When Xerxes reached the Hellespont, he found the bridge already broken down and destroyed by storms. His fleet, however, conveyed him and the shattered remains of his host from the Chersonese to Abydos, on the coast of Asia,

* So called, it is said, from Eleusis, son of Mercury. The Eleusinians submitted to the dominion of Athens, on condition of having the exclusive privilege of celebrating these mysteries, which proved to them a source of great wealth.

whence he returned to Sardis, where he remained during the continuance of the war.*

The earliest care of the Grecians after the battle of Salamis was to send the first-fruits of their victory to Delphi, where they enriched the temple with the spoils of those who not long before sought to pillage it. Their next thought was to reward those who had signalized themselves above the rest, and by universal consent this honour was bestowed upon Themistocles.

But the liberty of the Greeks was not yet secure. Xerxes had commenced this unjust war by the advice of Mardonius; hence it was that when the monarch was defeated at Salamis, Mardonius, for fear he should feel the royal vengeance, deemed it better to propose the subjugation of Greece by his means, or in some great effort to meet death. His counsel to Xerxes, as narrated by Herodotus, is graphically given by Glover in his *Athenaid*:—

"Be not discourag'd, sovereign of the world!
Not oars, not sails and timber can decide
Thy enterprise sublime. In shifting strife,
By winds and billows governed, may contend
The sons of traffic. On the solid plain
The generous steed and soldier, they alone
Thy glory must establish, where no swell
Of fickle floods, nor breath of casual gales
Assist the skilful coward, and control
By nature's wanton, but resistless might,
The brave man's arm."

Mardonius concluded with offering himself for the enterprise, which was accepted. The haughty monarch had not yet been taught wisdom by the lesson of adversity,—had not yet learned the lesson of mercy from a sight of suffering humanity.

On the approach of spring, a.c. 479, Mardonius made an attempt to gain over the Athenians, and draw them off from the confederacy. With this view, he sent Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king of Macedon, with very advantageous offers. These offers were, to rebuild, at the king's charge, their city, and every other edifice demolished the year before in Attica; to suffer them to live according to their own laws; to reinstate them in all their former possessions; and to bestow on them what other dominions they might desire.

Steady to the common cause, the Athenians replied, "Tell Mardonius, Thus say the Athenians, Whilst the sun holds its course, we will never compromise with Xerxes; but relying on the aid of the gods and heroes, whose temples and statues he has contemptuously burned, we resolve to resist him to the last extremity. And as for you, Alexander, appear no more among the Athenians with such messages; nor, under colour of rendering us good offices, exhort us to do what is abominable. For we wish not that you should suffer any unpleasant treatment on the part of the Athenians, as being a guest as well as a friend." Then turning to the Spartan deputies, who were fearful lest they should come to an accommodation with Xerxes, they said,

* By some historians Xerxes is said to have passed over the Hellespont in a fishing boat. Herodotus rejects this story; and the whole of the narration of this event does appear to be introduced to calumniate Xerxes, whence it is rejected in these pages.

"Not all the gold in the world, nor the greatest, richest, and most beautiful country, shall ever tempt us to enslave Greece. Many and cogent reasons forbid us to do this, even if we were so disposed: the first and greatest is, the temples and statues of the gods, burned and reduced to ashes, which we are bound to avenge to the uttermost, rather than compromise with the perpetrator; in the next place the Grecian commonwealth, all of the same blood and same language, having common altars and sacrifices of the gods, and similar customs, which it would not well become Athenians to betray. Know, therefore, now, if ye knew it not before, that whilst one of the Athenians shall survive, we never will compromise with Xerxes. We admire your forththought with respect to us, now that our houses and harvests are destroyed, in offering to entertain our families, and we thank you abundantly; but we shall seek to procure subsistence without burdening you. In the present posture of affairs, be it your care to bring your forces into the field with as much expedition as possible; for the barbarian will not fail to invade our territories, so soon as he shall hear the account of our utter refusal to comply with his proposals. Before he shall be able to penetrate into Attica, it becomes us to march into Boeotia, and divert his attention to that quarter."

As the Greeks foresaw, so it happened. As soon as Mardonius heard from Alexander the fixed resolutions of the Athenians, he led his troops from Thessaly into Attica, wasting and destroying the whole country over which he passed, and collecting troops from every quarter. On his way through Boeotia, the Thebans advised him to halt and encamp in their country, as the most convenient; and by so doing, he might reduce all Greece, by bringing the leading men in the several states.

Had Mardonius listened to this treacherous counsel, it is possible Greece would have been conquered. It was overruled, however, by his desire to take Athens a second time, and his vanity; for he wished to show the king at Sardis, by fire signals, stationed throughout the islands, that he was in possession of that city. Mardonius entered Athens, which he found deserted, in the tenth month after it had been taken by Xerxes, and he demolished whatever had escaped the monarch's fury.

Not being able to withstand such a torrent alone, the Athenians again retired to Salamis. Mardonius still entertained hopes of bringing them to some terms of accommodation, and sent another deputy to renew the former proposals. Lycidas, a member of the council of five hundred, either approving the proposals, or bribed by Mardonius, recommended that they should be referred to the people. Fired with indignation, the Athenians gathered round him, and stoned him to death; and the women, following their example, rushed to his house, and stoned his wife and children. By this second tragedy, Mardonius perceived they were obstinately determined to carry on the war till either he should

* The term "barbarians" was used by the ancients in a much milder sense than we use it: generally it imports strangers, occasionally an enemy, in which sense it is here used.

be expelled, or they buried in the ruins of their country.

In the mean time, the Athenians had sent despatches to Sparta, to complain of their tardiness, their breach of promise, and desertion of the common cause, in not opposing the enemy in Boeotia; and next to require that they would send an army to their assistance, in order that they might oppose him in Attica, recommending the Thracian plain as the fittest to give him battle. Freed from immediate danger, the Peloponnesians seemed careless about the matter; but at length, fearing that the Athenians, who were exasperated at their conduct, would realize their threat of quitting the confederacy, making peace with the king, and becoming his allies, they sent off hastily a force of 5000 troops to their assistance, toward the isthmus.

Mardonius, discovering this, and fearing to be attacked by the confederates in Attica, which was disadvantageous for his cavalry, and if defeated by them, to be intercepted in the narrow passes, retired into Boeotia. When he reached the Theban territory, which was convenient for his cavalry, in which his chief strength consisted, he fortified a large camp near the river Asopus, for a place of refuge should he be defeated.

The disposition which prevailed among the Persians at this time, and the fear that possessed them respecting the issue of the campaign, is well illustrated by an anecdote related by Herodotus: "Whilst the barbarians were employed on this work, Attagians, a Theban, prepared a magnificent entertainment, to which Mardonius and fifty Persians were invited. At table, they chequered, a Persian and a Theban reclining on every couch.* After supper, as they were drinking freely, the Persian who was the associate of Thersander, a man of the first consideration at Orchomenos, asked him in Greek what countryman he was; and when he answered, 'An Orchomenian,' the Persian proceeded thus: 'Since you and I share the same table, and the same libations, I wish to leave you a memorial of my sentiments, that being forewarned, you may have an opportunity of consulting your own interest. Do you see those Persians at supper, and the army which we left encamped on the banks of the river? Of all these, in a very short space of time, you will see very few surviving.' Saying this, the Persian shed many tears. Thersander, astonished at the remark, replied, 'Does it not become you to communicate this to Mardonius, and to those next him in dignity?' 'My friend,' returned the Persian, 'it is not for man to counteract the decisions of Providence. None of them are willing to hearken to faithful advisers. A multitude of Persians share the same sentiments with me; but, like me, they follow on from necessity. Nothing in human life is more deeply to be regretted, than that the wise man's voice should be disregarded.'" "This," says Herodotus, "I heard from Thersander, the Orchomenian, who also told me that he had communicated the same to many before the battle of Plataea."

* In more remote times, the ancients sat round a table as we do, as we read in Homer. This passage shows, however, that the custom of reclining on a couch at meals was of a very early date.

Æschylus, with powerful effect, has put a similar prediction in the mouth of the ghost of Darius, when evoked by Atossa and the chorus:

"——— In Plataea's plain,
Beneath the Doric spear, the clotted mass
Of carnage shall arise: that the high mounds,
Piled o'er the dead, to late posterity
Shall give this silent record to men's eyes:
*That proud aspiring thoughts had ill become
Weak mortals! For oppression, where it springs,
Puts forth the blades of vengeance, and its fruit
Yields a ripe harvest of repentant woe.*"

Shortly before the battle of Plataea, Mardonius was furnished with a striking specimen of Grecian spirit. Among his auxiliaries, he was joined by a body of a thousand Phocians, who were driven to his ranks from necessity. Either suspecting their fidelity, or to prove their courage, Mardonius menaced them with destruction by his cavalry, which surrounded them on all sides. The Phocian commander exhorted his men to "die like heroes," and to show that they were Grecians: upon which they faced about every way, and closed their ranks in column. The Persian cavalry retired, as Mardonius had directed, and he sent a herald to inform them that he only meant to test their courage, and exhorted them to act with alacrity in the war, at the same time holding out large promises of reward for their services.

Roused by the example of the Lacedæmonians, the rest of the Peloponnesians prepared to prosecute the war with vigour. They raised their quotas, and joined the Lacedæmonians and Athenians at the isthmus. From thence they marched into Boeotia, to Mount Cithæron, in the neighbourhood of the Persian army. Their army was under the conduct of Pausanias, king of Sparta, and of Aristides, commander in chief of the Athenians. Mardonius, in order to try the courage of the Greeks, sent out his cavalry to skirmish with the enemy. This led to a fierce engagement, wherein the Persians were routed, and their leader, Masistius, who was next in consideration to Mardonius himself, slain; an event which caused great dismay and sorrow in the Persian army. To denote their grief for the loss of Masistius, they cut off their hair, and the manes of their horses, and all Boeotia resounded with their cries and lamentations. After this conflict, the Grecians removed to Plataea, not far from Thebes.

The army of the Greeks consisted of 110,000 men, the flower of which were the Lacedæmonians, Tegeates, and Athenians, who numbered in the whole 19,500 men. The Persian army, it is said, amounted to 300,000 men, besides 50,000 Grecians who joined them voluntarily, as the Thebans, or by compulsion, as the Phocians, Thessalians, and others.

From superstitious motives,* the two armies

* The soothsayers, upon inspecting the entrails of the victims, according to Herodotus, foretold to both parties that they should be victorious if they acted only upon the defensive; and threatened them with an utter overthrow if they made the first attack.

Potter gives a particular account of the mode of divination by inspecting the entrails. If they were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour, and proportion, all was well: if any thing was out of order, or wanting, evil was portended. The palpitation of the entrails was un-

remained in their posts for ten days, encamped on each side of the river Asopus. Mardonius, who was of an impatient temper, grew uneasy at so long a delay. Famine, also, was menaging him, for he had only a few days' provisions for his army. Accordingly, he held a council of war, and, contrary to the wise counsel of Artabazus, who advised Mardonius to retire under the walls of Thebes, where they would be able to obtain forage and provisions, and eventually to prevail on some of the confederates by bribes to desert the common cause, a battle was decided upon the next day.

The attack was to be made by surprise; but Alexander of Macedon came secretly about midnight to their camp, and informed Aristides of all that had passed; an event to which Glover alludes in his "Athenaid:"

"——— Aristides hastes:
To whom the stranger,—"Wulwark of this camp!
Hear, credit weigh the tidings which I bear
Mardonius, press'd by fear of threatening want,
At night's fourth watch the fatal streum will pass.
Inflexibly determined, though furth
By each adviser, to assail your host
With all his numbers. I, against surprise,
Am come to warn you:—tho' alone I trust,
My name revealing
I who thus hazard both my realm and life,
Am Alexander, Macedonian Foe
Of Athens. Kindly, on a future day,
Remember me."

Acting upon this timely information, the Greek generals ordered their officers to prepare for battle. The next day, however, passed without any decisive engagement, and night coming on, numbers of the Greeks deserted from the confederate army, in order to escape the enemy's cavalry, which had annoyed them greatly; and, retiring about twenty stadia towards Plataea, they encamped near the temple of Juno, opposite to the city.

The movement of these deserters brought on a general engagement on the ensuing day. Mardonius, imagining that the foe fled before him, led on his army, shouting as though they were sure of their prey. As soon, however, as they had passed the Asopus, they encountered the Lacedæmonians, Athenians, and Tegeans, to the number of 53,000 men, which led to a general engagement, in which the Persians were completely defeated, chiefly by the determined valour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. Mardonius himself was slain, and of the Persian host, according to the Greek historians, not more than 3000 escaped, except a select body of 40,000 men, under the command of Artabazus, who marched with all expedition towards the Hellespont, whence he transported the remnant (for many of these were slain by the Thracians, or died with fatigue and hunger on the way) from Byzantium, or Constantinople, to Asia. The loss of the Grecians, according to Plutarch, amounted only to 1360 men. The spoils taken from the Persians were immense, consisting of vast sums of money, gold and silver cups, vessels, tables, bracelets, and all kinds of furniture. The tenth of these, after devoting a certain portion to

fortunate; if the liver was bad, they inspected no farther. Thus, it may be seen, that their replies depended solely upon the chaos of the animal.

sacred purposes, was given to Pausanias, and the others were rewarded each according to his merit.

Diodorus Siculus says, that the battle of Plataea was fought in the second year of the seventy-fifth Olympiad, when Xanthippus was archon of Athens, B.C. 479, and on the third or fourth day of the month Boedromion, corresponding to the 28th or 29th of August, nearly a twelvemonth after the battle of Salamis.

The day on which the Greeks gained the victory at Plataea is memorable for another gained by their fleet over that of the Persians, at Mycale, in Ionia, wherein most of the Persians were put to the sword, their ships burned, and an immense booty captured. This battle was fought in the evening, and that of Plataea in the morning. They were each decisive in their nature. By them the great designs of Xerxes were frustrated, and the liberation of Greece and of Ionia (colonized from Greece) restored and secured. Nor were the benefits resulting from these contests of a momentary nature. They freed Europe for ages from Asiatic invasion, during the subsistence of the Persian monarchy, and even till the erection of the fanatical empires of the Saracens and Turks, of whom the one subverted the Constantinopolitan empire, and the other penetrated through Africa into Spain.

The Persian invasion, says Dr. Hales, furnishes a salutary and awakening lesson to all free states to dispute their liberties to the last, and never to compromise with the enemy, let them be ever so numerous and formidable. It affords, also, a striking comment upon the words of the psalmist:

"There is no king saved by the multitude of an host:
A mighty man is not delivered by much strength."
Ps. xxiii. 16.

Victory belongs unto God alone; and none can read the account of this struggle for liberty, without observing his overruling providence in the result. A little band of patriots, inflexibly determined to conquer or die in their country's cause, to preserve their religion, their laws, and their liberty, triumphed over the mightiest host that was ever assembled for the purposes of desolation. Who gave success? Not Jove, or Juno, or Mercury, or Ceres, or Bacchus, or any of the fabled gods of Greece, but Him in whom are "the issues of life and death," and who overrules all events on earth for his own glory. What, though both the armies of the Persians and Grecians were pagans, He ruled over them; and though they were unmindful of Him, the one was exalted, and the other humbled by his almighty hand. To ourselves, the patriotism of the Greeks reads an important lesson. If they fought so nobly, and struggled so ardently, for their religion, laws, and liberty, which were all founded on the principles of paganism, surely we ought to prize our own, which are established upon the enlightened and broad foundations of Christianity, and to contend for their maintenance against the host of infidel foes with which we are surrounded. Our weapons, it must be remembered, and that with thankfulness, are not, at the present day, those of life-destroying steel;

We need only use "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Christian patriots, wield this to the honour of God, and the salvation of mankind; for the principles of infidelity are as subversive of order in the state, and as destructive of domestic happiness, as the hosts of Xerxes in their wild career.

"Or own the soul immortal, or invert
All order."—*YOUNG.*

The defeat of the Persians at Mycale, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, drove Xerxes from that city, where he had resided since he retired from Greece. He was driven with disgrace and dismay to Susa, his capital. His route thither was marked by plunder and devastation through Asia. He pillaged and destroyed all the Grecian temples in his way;* nor did he respect even the ancient and venerated temple of Belus at Babylon. He carried off from thence a statue of solid gold, twelve cubits high, probably the work of Nebuchadnezzar, as mentioned Dan. iii. 1, and slew the high priest, who endeavoured to prevent conduct which he deemed sacrilege. Perhaps the desire of making himself amends for the expenses incurred in his Grecian expedition, might be a prevailing motive for such proceedings; for it is certain he found immense treasures in the temples, which had been amassed through the supererogation of princes and people during a long series of ages, or been deposited there for safety.

The remainder of the reign of this "son of violence," as he was described by the Grecian oracles, was clouded by the most horrid and unnatural crimes, raging through, and ravaging his own household and his own family. The atrocious and complicated injuries which he committed upon the family of Masistes, his brother, and over which we draw a veil, so roused the indignation of that prince, that he fled with his sons and some attendants towards Bactria, of which he was governor, intending to rouse the warlike Saces to revolt. Xerxes apprehending this, intercepted him on the way, and put him, his sons, and his adherents to death. To crown the horrid measures of his cruelties, in a transport of rage, he slew his own mother Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, to whose influence he owed the crown. These atrocities at length, however, drew down vengeance upon his head. His chamberlain, Mithridates, introduced into his bed-chamber at night Artabanus, the captain of his guards, who assassinated him while he slept, B. C. 464.

"O joyless power, that stands by lawless force!
Curses are his dire portion, scorn, and hate,
Internal darkness, and unquiet breath;
And if old judgments keep their sacred course,
Him from that height shall Heaven precipitate
By violent and ignominious death."—*WORDSWORTH.*

It was wisely said by the psalmist, that

Evil shall hunt the violent man to overthrow him."
Psa. cxi. 11.

After the murder of Xerxes, Artabanus meditated securing the crown for himself, by the

* Xerxes spared only two temples in the Grecian war; those of Apollo at Delos, and of Diana at Ephesus.

annihilation of the whole of the royal family. He falsely accused the eldest son, the hapless Darius, of killing Xerxes, to the third Artaxerxes, and prevailed on him, through fear of death himself, rashly to consent to the assassination of Darius, after which he placed

ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS

upon the throne, in exclusion of Hystaspes, the second son, who was governor of the province of Bactria, in which he had succeeded Masistes, intending to put him away in his turn. But his career of wickedness was brief. Artaxerxes anticipated his treason, and cut off Artabanus and his family before his plans were ripe for execution. Thus the mischief that he designed for, and which he had brought upon others, returned upon his own head.

After this, Artaxerxes was called upon to sustain a war with his brother Hystaspes, who claimed the throne. The unhallowed conflict continued for two years, when Hystaspes was defeated, and Artaxerxes secured to himself the quiet possession of the empire. To prevent further disturbances, he placed governors in every province, on whose fidelity he could depend; after which he applied himself to the reform of abuses in the government.

Artaxerxes Longimanus is celebrated as the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther, and some other parts of Scripture. In the third year of his reign, Ahasuerus gave a sumptuous entertainment, and sent for his queen Vashti to grace the banquet. This mandate was contrary to oriental notions, and the queen refused to obey; but the monarch being inflamed with wine, was enraged at her refusal, and consulted with his sycophant council what steps he should take to punish her for her disobedience. They represented that her disobedience to her husband was likely to have the worst effects upon society at large, and advised, as a prevention, that she should be discarded from his presence. Their advice was listened to; he deposed her for her contumacy: upon which it has been said,

"Severe the punishment for so slight a fault,
If it was indeed a fault."

After a probation of four years, he chose Esther, an orphan Jewess, who possessed peculiar gracefulness and beauty, to be his queen, in preference to all the virgins who were candidates for that dignity.

In the fifth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, B. C. 459, the Egyptians revolted, and chose Iuarius, a Libyan prince, for their king. The Egyptians called in the Athenians to their assistance, who having a fleet of forty sail lying off the island of Cyprus, considered it a favourable opportunity of weakening the Persian power, and sailed to Egypt for that purpose. [The particulars of this revolt will be found in the History of the Egyptians.]

In the seventh year of his reign, B. C. 457, Artaxerxes issued a decree, empowering Ezra, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, to go to Judea, to restore and enforce the law of Moses, to appoint magistrates and judges throughout the land, and to punish all transgressors of

the law with confiscation of goods, banishment, or death, Ezra vii. 1-26.

The Jews, however, were in great danger of extermination by the edicts of this monarch in the fourteenth year of his reign, B.C. 450. Haman, the Amalekite, an inveterate foe of the Jewish nation, and a lineal descendant of Agag, the king of the Amalekites, in the days of the prophet Samuel, (1 Sam. xv. 33,) was at this date prime minister of Persia. Haman, who was an ambitious and revengeful man, had an undue ascendancy over the mind of the monarch, which he failed not to use for his own unhallowed purposes. On one occasion, he obtained a royal edict for all persons to do him homage. The servile multitude respected this edict; but Mordecai, the kinsman of Esther, doubtless from some scruple of conscience, refused to bow the knee to the Amalekite. Haman's haughty spirit could not brook such a slight, and he resolved to take revenge of the most ample, unjust, and sanguinary nature. For this one man's offence he sought the destruction of the Jewish race; thus displaying the ancient enmity of the Amalekite towards Israel, as well as his own personal revenge. Haman proposed this measure to the king, alleging that the Jews were dangerous to the state; and Artaxerxes, in a moment of weakness, passed a royal decree for their public proscription and massacre throughout the Persian dominions. After much deliberation of the conspirators, in selecting the most lucky day, it was determined that the tragical event should take place on the thirteenth day of the twelfth month Adar.

In the meantime this dreadful plot was defeated by the piety and address of Esther the queen, and turned upon Haman himself, who was destroyed, with all his family. Thus did this wicked man fall into the snare which he had laid for others, and his name stands in the page of history as a warning to mankind of every generation not to encourage those evil passions incident to human nature from the fall—ambition and revenge. See Esther iii.—viii. Thus, also, did God exhibit his providential care over his people, from whence the Christian may take courage in his pilgrimage on earth. If Israel according to the flesh was tenderly watched over by the great Father of mankind, how much more shall the spiritual Israel share in his Divine and watchful care!

On this occasion was displayed the mischievous effect of that law of the Medes and Persians, which set forth that the king's decree, when signed by him, and sealed with his seal, could not be revoked. Artaxerxes was obliged to issue a counter decree, empowering the Jews to arm themselves in self-defence, and to slay all those who might attack them. The result of this was, the slaughter of 75,000 men, among whom were the ten sons of Haman. See Esther ix.

The Greeks, who sailed to the rescue of Egypt under the command of Inarus, as related in that history, defeated the Persians in the first battle, and slew their leader Achæmenes. Afterwards, the Persian monarch having assembled an overwhelming force, re-established his authority in Egypt, and expelled the Greeks from that country,

as well as Amyrtaeus, who fought for the Egyptian crown. In the year A.C. 450, however, the Athenians exerted themselves to send another fleet of 200 sail to Cyprus, under the command of Cimon, the son of Miltiades, whence he sent sixty sail to the assistance of Amyrtaeus, in the fens. Artabazus, the Persian admiral, being then off the island of Cyprus, with a fleet of 300 ships, Cimon attacked and defeated him, and took the third part of his ships, and destroyed many more. He pursued the rest to Cilicia, and landing his men by stratagem, as if Persians, he surprised and defeated Megabyzus at Eurymedon, whose army consisted of 300,000 men, and returned to Cyprus with a double triumph.

Artaxerxes, acting upon the advice of his council, now sought an accommodation with the Athenians. His proposals were listened to; and accordingly they sent ambassadors to Susa, amongst whom was Cullias; and the Persians on their side sent Artabazus and Megabyzus to Athens. The conditions of peace were very humiliating to the Persian monarch. They were as follows:—1. That all the Greek cities in Asia Minor should be free, and governed by their own laws. 2. That no Persian governor of the provinces should march an army within three days' journey of the coast. 3. That no Persian ship of war should sail between the Cyprian rocks, at the northern extremity of the Thracian Bosphorus, and the Chelidonian Isles, near the southern promontory of Lycia; thus excluding the Persians from the entire Egean Sea, and that part of the Mediterranean bordering upon Asia Minor. 4. That the Athenians should not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Persia.

This peace, so advantageous to the Athenian states, established the independence of the Grecian colonies on the Asiatic coast. It was concluded B.C. 449, in the fifteenth year of Artaxerxes, thirty years after the victories of Plataea and Mycale, and forty years after the first Persian invasion of Greece. The loss of life was immense during this period, and the blood that was shed in the various conflicts must stain the memory of all those at whose instigation it was undertaken throughout all generations.

"Ye monarchs, whom the lure of honour draws,
Who write in blood the merits of your cause,
Who strike the blow, then plead your own defence,
Glory your aim, but justice your pretence;
Behold in *Atina's* emblematic fires
The mischiefs your ambitious pride inspires!

The trumpet sounds, your legions swarm abroad;
Through the rude harvest lies their destined road.
At every step beneath their feet they tread
The life of multitudes, a nation's bread!
Earth seems a garden in its loveliest dress
Before them, and behind a wilderness.
Famine and pestilence, her first-born sons,
Attend to finish what the sword begun;
And echoing praises, such as brands might earn,
And folly pays, resound at your return.
A calm succeeds—but plenty, with her train
Of heartfelt joys, succeeds not soon again;
And years of pining indigence must show
What scourges are the gods that rule below."—*COWPER.*

In the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, B.C. 444, he granted to the Jews that permission which he had long refused, to rebuild

the walls of Jerusalem. This favour was granted at the instance of Nehemiah, whom he appointed tirshatha, or governor of Judea. Nehemiah was empowered to repair the wall, and set up the gates, to build a palace for himself, and afterwards to rebuild the city; and, in conjunction with Ezra, the priest and scribe, to establish the civil and ecclesiastical polity of the nation, all which he accomplished—notwithstanding he met with great opposition from Sanballat the Samaritan and his army, Tobiah the Ammonite, the Arabians, and the Asbdoites—in the course of his administration of twelve years. See Nehemiah ii.—iv.; vi. 15; vii. 1—4; and xi. 1, 2.

This change in the conduct of Artaxerxes respecting the Jews, says Dr. Hales, may be accounted for upon sound political principles, and not merely from regard to the solicitations of Nehemiah, or the influence of his queen; and the humiliating conditions of the treaty with the Athenians corroborates this opinion. Thus excluded from the whole line of sea coast, Dr. Hales adds, and precluded from keeping garrisons in any of the maritime towns, it became a matter both of prudence and necessity to conciliate the Jews, to attach them to the Persian interest, and detach them from the Grecian, by further privileges, that the Persians might have the benefit of a friendly fortified town like Jerusalem, within three days' journey of the sea, and a most important pass, to keep open the communication between Persia and Egypt. To confirm this conjecture, it may be remarked, that in all the ensuing Egyptian wars, the Jews remained faithful to the Persians, and even after the Macedonian invasion; and it may reasonably be supposed, that Artaxerxes had some such argument as this to oppose to the jealousy and displeasure this measure excited in the neighbouring provinces hostile to the Jews, whose remonstrances had so much weight with him in former days.

In the engagement in which the Greeks had been driven from Egypt, Iarax, and a body of his auxiliaries, had surrendered themselves to the Persian monarch, after obtaining a promise of pardon from Megabyzus. The queen-mother, a haughty and cruel princess, enraged at the loss of her son Achemenes, entreated Artaxerxes to violate the capitulation granted to Iarax by Megabyzus, and to deliver the prisoners taken at Byblus to her revenge. He resisted the proposal for five years, but was at length wearied into compliance, and the unhappy captives perished by cruel tortures. Indignant at such conduct, Megabyzus revolted, (B. C. 447,) and being supported by the Syrians, repeatedly defeated the royal forces. He was at length allowed to dictate his own terms, and he returned to court. Shortly after, however, he was perfidiously seized for the slight offence of shooting a lion at a royal hunt before the king had discharged his arrow, and he was condemned to perpetual exile at Cyrtia, a city standing on the Red Sea. This cruelty provoked afresh the hostility of the sons and friends of Megabyzus, whose turbulence again disturbed the state; but after five years' banishment, he secretly returned to Susa, when, by the intercession of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reinstated in the king's favour, and enjoyed

it till his death. To Megabyzus the king of Persia owed both his life and crown, when he ascended the throne, which makes his conduct appear in a more unfavourable light: it may be, that the monarch, by reviving the renown of the valour and wisdom of Megabyzus, for he was the best counsellor and greatest general of the Persian empire.

In the thirty-fourth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, the oppressive system of the Athenian policy armed the confederates against that state in the Peloponnesian war, which lasted twenty-seven years, ending in the overthrow of the Athenian dominion. The assistance of Artaxerxes was sought by both parties, but he wisely declined to assist either. The Athenians sent another embassy, but when they reached Ephesus they received news of the death of Artaxerxes.

"Put not your trust in princes,
Nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help.
His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth;
In that very day his thoughts perish."—*Psa. cxlvi. 3, 4.*

By Persian writers, Artaxerxes was surnamed Bahaman, signifying "kind," or "beneficent." According to Thucydides, his favourite maxim was, that "the gates of a king should never be shut." He carried this noble maxim into practice with Themistocles, who had done so much mischief to Persia, and for whose head he had offered a reward of 200 talents, (nearly 40,000*l.*) on his accession to the throne. When banished from Greece and every part of Europe by the inveterate persecution of his countrymen, he threw himself upon the mercy of Artaxerxes, who, as we have seen in the history of the polity of Persia, made a princely provision for him. Themistocles used to say to his children, in reference to this treatment, "We should have been undone if we had not been undone;" and the strongest inducement afterwards held out by any Persian to a Greek was, that "he should live with him, as Themistocles did with Artaxerxes."

The chief praise due to Artaxerxes is the regard he had for the temple of Jehovah, as displayed in these verses: "And I, even I Artaxerxes the king, do make a decree to all the treasurers which are beyond the river, that whatsoever Ezra the priest, the scribe of the law of the God of heaven, shall require of you, it be done speedily, unto an hundred talents of silver, and to an hundred measures of wheat, and to an hundred baths of wine, and to an hundred baths of oil, and salt without prescribing how much. Whatsoever is commanded by the God of heaven, let it be diligently done for the house of the God of heaven: for why should there be wrath against the realm of the king and his sons? Also we certify you, that touching any of the priests and Levites, singers, porters, Nethinims, or ministers of this house of God, it shall not be lawful to impose toll, tribute, or custom, upon them. And thou, Ezra, after the wisdom of thy God, that is in thine hand, set magistrates and judges, which may judge all the people that are beyond the river, all such as know the laws of thy God; and teach ye them that know them not. And whosoever will not do the law of thy God, and the law of the king, let judgment be

executed speedily upon him, whether it be unto death, or to banishment, or to confiscation of goods, or to imprisonment." *Esra* vii. 21—26. This decree shows that Artaxerxes was acquainted with the true religion; and Dr. Hales rightly observes, that "he was happy in two such master-counsellors as *Esra* and *Nehemiah*."

On the death of Artaxerxes, a. c. 423, his only legitimate son,

XERXES II.,

ascended the throne. Within forty-five days, however, Xerxes was murdered by his natural brother

SOGDIANUS;

who usurped the throne, but was quickly deposed* by another illegitimate prince, Ochus, who, on his accession, took the name of

DARIUS II.,

but who is usually called Nothus, that is, "illegitimate," to distinguish him from the other princes of the same title.

The reign of Darius Nothus was turbulent and unfortunate. His own brother Arsites, born of the same mother, seeing in what manner Sogdianus had supplanted Xerxes, and had been afterwards driven from the throne by Ochus, first rebelled against him, but he was decoyed into a surrender, and smothered in ashes, a death Sogdianus had previously suffered. Arsites was assisted in his rebellion by Artaphrus, son of Megabyzus, who shared a similar fate.

One of the most dangerous rebellions Darius Nothus had to encounter occurred in Lydia. Pisuthnes, governor of that province, was ambitious of making himself king, for which purpose he enlisted in his service a body of Grecian troops, under the command of Lycan the Athenian. Darius sent Tissaphernes against this opponent, giving him, at the same time, the commission of governor of Lydia, of which he was to dispossess Pisuthnes. By bribes and promises, Tissaphernes brought over the Greeks to his side, and Pisuthnes, thus weakened, was compelled to surrender. A promise of pardon was held out to him, but the instant he was brought before the king he was doomed to undergo the same cruel death as Sogdianus and Arsites. The death of Pisuthnes, however, did not put an end to all danger in this quarter. Amorgus, his son, with the remainder of his army, withstood Tissaphernes, and for two years laid waste the maritime provinces of Asia Minor, till at length he was taken by the Greeks of Peloponnesus in Iasus, a city of Ionia, who delivered him up to Tissaphernes, by whom he was put to death.

A plot within the precincts of his own court had nearly proved fatal to Darius. Three eunuchs had usurped all power therein, but one of these three presided over and governed the rest. This man, whose name was Artaxares, had wormed himself into the confidence of Darius. He had studied all his passions, in order to indulge them, and govern the monarch by their means. He plunged him continually in

pleasures and amusements, to engross the whole authority to himself. Under the name and protection of queen Parysatis, indeed, to whose will and pleasure he was devoted, he disposed of all the affairs of the empire. The name only of king was wanting, and, to obtain this, he formed a design to rid himself of Darius, and ascend the throne. The plot, however, was discovered, and he was seized and delivered up to Parysatis, by whom he was put to a cruel and ignominious death.

By this it will be perceived, that eunuchs had at this date acquired considerable power in the court of Persia: at a later period they governed absolutely in it, to the great danger of the princes. Some idea may be formed of their character by the picture which Diodorus, after he had resigned the empire, and reduced himself to a private station of life, drew of the freedmen who had gained a like ascendancy over the Roman emperors. "Four or five persons," says he, "who are closely united, and resolutely determined to impose on a prince, may do it very easily. They never show things to him but in such a light as they are sure will please. They conceal whatever would contribute to enlighten him; and as they alone beset him continually, he cannot be informed of any thing but through their channel, and knows nothing but what they think fit to suggest to him. Hence it is that he bestows employments on those whom he ought to exclude from them; and, on the other side, removes from offices such persons as are most worthy of filling them. In a word, the best prince is often sold by these men, though he be ever so vigilant, and in despite of his suspicion of them."

The greatest misfortune which happened to Darius during the whole course of his reign was the revolt of the Egyptians, the particulars of which are related in that history, (page 60.) After this, the Medes rebelled, but were defeated, and reduced to their ancient allegiance. To punish them for their revolt, their yoke, which hitherto had been light, was made burdensome: a fate rebellious subjects generally experience when they are subdued.

About a. c. 407, Darius gave Cyrus, the youngest of his sons, the supreme command of all the provinces of Asia Minor: an important commission, by which he made all the provincial governors of that part of the empire dependent upon him.

The hatred which Darius possessed against the Athenians, led him to deviate from his father's policy respecting the Grecian states. Artaxerxes assisted the weaker against the stronger, and so balanced matters between them, that they continued to harass each other, and thereby were prevented from uniting against the Persians. On the contrary, Darius commissioned Cyrus to assist the Lacedæmonians with large subsidies against the Athenians, which enabled Lysander, their general, to finish the Peloponnesian war with the overthrow of the Athenians, and demolition of their fortifications, about a. c. 404.

Shortly after the appointment of Cyrus to the government of the provinces of Asia Minor, he put to death two of the nephews of Darius, because they had not folded their hands in their sleeves, as was customary among the Persians in

* The two brief reigns of Xerxes and Sogdianus, amounting only to eight months, are omitted in Prosemy's *Annals*, but their account is included in the last year of Artaxerxes, according to his usage.

presence of their kings. Darius was incensed against him, both for the heinous deed, as well as for challenging honours due only to himself in the empire, and designed to deprive him of his government. He was recalled for this purpose, but Parysatis his mother, who tenderly loved him, reconciled Darius to him, and used all her influence to have him declared heir to the crown, for the same reason which had exalted Xerxes to the throne; namely, that he was born after his father's accession. Darius resisted this request, but bequeathed to him the government of his provinces in Asia Minor, confirming his own crown to Arsaces, his eldest son, by the same mother. This struggle for supremacy gave rise to the most fearful display of human depravity between the two brothers, as will be seen in the succeeding article.

In the same year that the Lacedæmonians, by the aid of Cyrus, triumphed over the Athenians, Darius Nothus died, and was succeeded by Arsaces, to whom Athenæus says he gave the best instruction in the art of reigning: namely, "to do justly in all things, toward God, and toward man."

The reign of Darius is memorable in history by the reference thereto in sacred prophecy. He was the first of the four kings foretold to precede the dissolution of the Persian empire: the prophecy of the seventy weeks, pointing out the time of the coming of the Messiah, also commenced in the fourth year of his reign, or B.C. 420. See Dan. ix. and xi.

On his accession to the throne, Arsaces assumed the title of

ARTAXERXES;

and he was distinguished by the Greek writers from others of that name by the epithet *Memoria*, or "memory," he being remarkable for that "intellectual power," which is one of the choicest faculties bestowed upon man.

It has been recorded in the life of Darius Nothus, that Parysatis, his queen, had sought the kingdom for Cyrus, because, like Xerxes, he had been born after his father's succession to the throne, and that she had been disappointed in her views. The monarch, influenced either by the dictates of affection, or a sense of justice, disregarded her importunities, and gave the crown to Arsaces, bequeathing the provinces to Cyrus.

This action of Parysatis, and perhaps her private conduct, kindled the flames of ambition in the breast of Cyrus; and when ambition has once engrossed the heart, there is no crime, however foul in its nature, which man is not ready to perpetrate to advance himself towards the summit of his desires, however unhallowed they may be. Thus it was with Cyrus. Despairing of otherwise ascending the throne of Persia, which his too fond mother had taught him to consider as his legitimate right, he resolved upon the death of his brother; and, regardless of the near ties which united them, he decided upon inflicting that death with his own hand.

If any circumstances could deepen the guilt of this atrocious project, it was the time at which, and the place where, the dark deed was intended to be performed. It was on the day of his brother's rejoicings, when he was about to strip himself of his own robe, and put on that of the ancient Cyrus—the robe worn by the latter ere he came to the throne! It was on the day of that brother's coronation—in sight of the court of Persia, and in the very temple of the gods!

But the design of Cyrus was frustrated. He had entrusted the fatal secret to one only, the priest who educated him, and by him it was revealed to the king, who condemned Cyrus to die the death of a traitor. But the intercession of his mother prevailed with Artaxerxes; he pardoned him, and even dismissed him again to his government.

Artaxerxes had scarcely ascended the throne of Persia when he was engaged, through the influence of his wife Statira, in a most tragical scene; than which history presents nothing more terrible. Adultery, incest, and murder marked every step of it; and it brought the queen-mother, Parysatis, and the reigning queen, Statira, into such a fiery collision, that the flames of revenge could only be quenched by the death of one or the other of the unlovely princesses.

The generous forgiveness which Artaxerxes had extended to his brother Cyrus ought for ever to have bound the latter in the bonds of love and fealty to the former. But the nature of Cyrus was not thus affected: "he had injured and could not forgive;" his ambition remained as mounting as before it had received a check; and superadded to this active principle, was one of equal fire and buoyancy—that of resentment for the disgrace he had suffered. A fierce desire of revenge burned within him, and he resolved upon the dethronement of his brother. With this view he employed Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian general, to raise a body of Grecian troops, under the pretence, among others, of a war meditated against Thrace; and, doubtless to forward the same object, he presented to Lysander a galley of two cubits in length, as a congratulatory compliment upon a naval victory. This gift was subsequently consecrated to Apollo in the temple of Delphi; and afterwards we find Lysander at Sardis, charged with rich presents from the allies to Cyrus.

It was upon occasion of this visit that Cyrus had the celebrated conversation with Lysander, related page 32.

The seeming virtue which Cyrus displayed in this conversation, was only the instrument for forwarding evil designs. This, and all other pretences of a similar kind, he made use of to attract the notice and win the esteem of the powerful, who were unwary, or degenerate enough, to abet his unnatural rebellion. By arts of a like description he won the affections of the barbarians under his government; and with the aid of Clearchus and others, he raised secretly, in several places, and under various pretexts, a body of Grecian troops, on whom he placed his chief reliance. Nor was this all. Influenced by his intrigues, several provinces of the government of Tissaphernes revolted, and placed themselves under his jurisdiction; and this incident giving rise to a war between him and Tissaphernes, was used as a cloak to cover his designs upon the life of his brother, and the crown of Persia. Under the pretence of warring with

Tissaphernes, he now assembled troops from various quarters; and more speciously to amuse the court, he forwarded complaints against Tissaphernes to the king, and submissively implored his protection.

Artaxerxes, deceived by these appearances, reposing in imprudent and indolent security, believed that the preparations made by Cyrus were directed against Tissaphernes alone. Taking advantage of this supineness, Cyrus redoubled his efforts; and, by means of emissaries, endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people for the approaching change. These emissaries inflamed discontent where they discovered it, and sought to create it where it was not. They laboured industriously in their fiend-like avocation, exalting the feigned merits of Cyrus, and depreciating the qualities of Artaxerxes, whom they represented as a moth of peace, saying that the state required such a ruler as Cyrus, one who loved war, and showered favours on those who served him, a valiant king, fired with the noble ambition of upholding and extending the glories of the state.

At the same time, Cyrus was endeavouring to crown the whole of his designs by obtaining succours from the Lacedæmonians, whom he had assisted to become masters of Greece. In a letter he wrote them, he spoke of himself in magnificent terms. He told them he had a greater and more royal heart than his brother; that he was better versed in the philosophy and knowledge of the magi, by which was meant the science of religion and government; and that he could take more wine without being intoxicated—a very meritorious quality amongst the barbarians, but not so proper to recommend him to the good opinion of those he addressed. Nevertheless, the Lacedæmonians sent orders to their fleet to join that of Cyrus immediately, and to obey the commands of Tamos, his admiral, in every particular; but without the least mention of Artaxerxes, or intimation of the evil designs of Cyrus.

At length, troops to the amount of 130,000 men were collected, and placed under the command of experienced leaders. Clearchus commanded the Peloponnesian troops, except the Achæans, who were led by Socrates of Achaia. The Boeotians were under Proxenus the Theban, and the Thessalians were headed by Menon. The barbarians had Persian generals, the chief of whom was Ariæus. The fleet consisted of thirty-five ships under Pythagoras, and twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Egyptian, admiral of the whole fleet.

With this formidable host, Cyrus set forward, still keeping his unholy purpose a profound secret from all, save Clearchus the Greek. To this policy he was instigated by the fear that so bold an enterprise might dismay his soldiers, no less than by the necessity of concealing his intention from the Persian court.

Nevertheless, the wily stratagist was baffled, and his object was made known. He had given out that he was leading this force against the Pisidians, who had infested his province with their incursions; but Tissaphernes saw through a pretext so shallow, and assured that preparations could never be made on so mighty a scale for so

slight a purpose, he sent information of the proceedings to the king, accompanied with an intimation of what he believed to be the real designs of Cyrus.

The intelligence roused Artaxerxes from his lethargy, and threw the whole court into alarm. Recollections of her former criminality now drew all eyes upon the mother of these belligerent brothers, and all employed in her service were suspected of being in league with Cyrus. The two queens, the mother and the wife of Artaxerxes, evinced on this occasion the most deadly hatred for each other. "Where," cried the latter, "where is now the faith which you have so often pledged for the conduct of your son? This is our reward for listening to those ardent prayers that preserved from death a traitor against the king his brother! It is your unhappy fondness that has kindled the flame of war, and plunged us into an abyss of evil."

Summoning a numerous force in haste, Artaxerxes marched in all the pomp and pride of war to meet his brother.

The expedition of Cyrus is amongst the most remarkable recorded in ancient history and classical geography. It is interesting, not only from the importance of the prize at stake—the diadem of Asia, but also from the circumstance of its combining together a military history and a journal of travels.

The first part of the march of Cyrus was from Ephesus to Sardis, about fifty-eight miles in a direct distance. He then crossed Mount Mægis, and the river Alexander, south-east of Sardis; and then turning north-east, came in four days' marches to Colosse, to the inhabitants of which St. Paul addressed an epistle upwards of four centuries afterwards, about eighty-five miles more. From Colosse the army of Cyrus came in three marches to Cebaze, about sixty miles north-east. From thence in two marches they came to Peltæ, which Rennel recognises in the Pelotî of Edris, situate on the road from Tarsus to Ahydos, a distance of twenty-eight miles north, where the Greeks were allowed to celebrate the Arcadian festival called *Lycæa*.* In two marches more, north, they came to the Forum of the Kramians, the ancient Cotyrium of the Roman times, and the modern Kutshiah. This city stands on the road leading from Broussa to Cilicia, Syria, and Cyprus through Iconium, so that Cyrus would have to pass for upwards of two hundred miles through deep and extensive valleys, lying at the northern foot of the Pisidian and Cilician Taurus. The first city his army came to was Caystrus, about eighty-five miles south-east from the Forum of the Kramians, and which answers to the modern Sakli, called Ketchluk by Kinnier. From Caystrus, or Sakli, in two marches they came to Thymbrium, Rennel's modern Karatepe, and Kinnier's Akshêr, or

* An Arcadian festival resembling the Roman Lupercalia. It was celebrated with games, in which the conquerors were generally rewarded with a suit of brazen armour. A human sacrifice was anciently offered at this festival. It was first observed by Lycæon, in honour of Jupiter, surnamed *Lycæus*, either from Lycæon's own name, or the Arcadian mountain Lycæon, which the Arcadians pretended was the true Olympus, whence they called it "the sacred hill," because Jupiter was supposed to have received his education there.

the White City, a distance of twenty-eight miles. In the same distance they came to Tyrissum, considered by Kienler to be the modern Elgoen, but which Rennel thinks lies twelve geographical miles farther east. In three marches more, or fifty-six miles, they came to Iconium, the ancient capital of the Aladinian sultans, and standing in the ancient Lyconia* mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (chap. xiv. 6, 11.) From this city the march continued five days almost due east through Lyconia, and terminated a little to the south of Ereklî, anciently Hieraclea, a few miles from the northern foot of Mount Taurus. The distance traversed in this five days' march was eighty-five miles. At the end of it, Cyrus made a division of his army. With one division he marched himself to the valley of Tyana, seventy miles distant; whilst Menon, with the other, took the route of Ereklî, south-east, and ascended the north-west face of Taurus. This part of Taurus is called by the Turks Ramadan Oglu Balaklar, and is so broad that it requires twenty-five hours to cross it, and there are several difficult passes in the way. That by which Cyrus himself entered Cilicia is denominated the Northern Pass, and is on the direct road from Cosarea Mazaca, in Cappadocia, to Tarsus. Rennel says that when Cyrus arrived at Tyana,† he found the pass occupied by Syennesis, king of Cilicia, and that therefore he encamped in the plain before it, which was since denominated from him, "The plain of Cyrus." According to Xenophon, the army of Cyrus reached Tarsus;‡ in four marches, the probable distance of which is sixty miles. At Tarsus, Cyrus halted for twenty days, after which he marched to the Sarus, or modern Seihoon, twenty-eight miles in two days. Another day's march, eastward, fourteen miles, brought his army to the Pyramus or Jelhoun; and two more, forty-two miles, to Issus, where the battle was afterwards fought between Alexander and Darius. From Issus, in another day's march of fifteen miles, they came to the Syrian Strait, or gates of Cilicia and Syria; and in another of the same distance they reached Myriandrus, which was a large maritime city, no traces of which now remain. From this place Cyrus made twelve marches to Thapsacus, now U' Der.

While at Thapsacus, Cyrus declared to his generals the real object of the expedition, and desired them to communicate it to the soldiers, and to endeavour to gain their willing service.

* Lyconia formed part of the satrapy of Cappadocia, and was a steppe impregnated with salt, and containing a salt lake named Taita. The sole occupation of its inhabitants appears to have been that of pastors or shepherds.

† This city was at the foot of the Anti-Taurus, and it gave name to the district. It was the birth-place of a celebrated impostor called Apollonius, who lived a.d. 98, and whose life and feigned miracles are recorded by Philostratus.

‡ Tarsus, now Tersus, or Tarasso, was the principal city of Cilicia, situated at the mouth of the river Cydnus. In the Greek annals it is celebrated for the learning and refinement of its inhabitants. In Scripture it excites an interest as the birth-place of St. Paul, who calls it "no mean city," Acts xxi. 39. It was made a free colony by the Greeks, an honour which was conceded to it by the Romans also, whence St. Paul asserts his privilege as a free-born Roman, Acts xxii. 28.

These tidings were ill-received at first; but induced by the promise of a considerable gratuity, as well as encouraged by an artifice of Menon's, they passed from thence over the Euphrates: thus devoting themselves to the service of Cyrus.

After having passed the Euphrates, in nineteen marches further, Cyrus reached the Araxes, the modern Khabour, about two hundred and eighty miles distant, which is about fifteen miles *per diem*. On crossing the Araxes, Cyrus entered the desert of Arabia, now called the Desert of Sinjar. This vast tract he crossed by forced marches to the Pylæ Babylonis, or "Pass out of the hills into the plains of Babylonia," which he reached in eighteen days. The first five of these marches were through a perfect flat, without trees, and often covered with abeyanthum. The other thirteen marches were through a rugged and hilly tract, on both sides of the river Euphrates, extending to one hundred miles in breadth. At the end of the fifth march they came to Corote, a large uninhabited city, surrounded by the rugged Masca, the modern Saccoras, where they stayed three days, and made their provisions. From Corote they came to Carmande, which Rennel supposes to be the modern Hit, about twenty geographical miles above the Pylæ. From the Pylæ, Cyrus marched thirty miles across the plains of Babylonia, and then, after reviewing his troops at midnight of the third day, he marched about ten miles farther on the fourth day in order of battle. On the sixth day he arrived at a place called Cunaxa, from whence was discerned a thick dust like a white cloud, which was succeeded first by a darkness, which enveloped the entire plain, and then by the resplendent glitter of the armour, lances, and standards of an almost countless host. This was the army of Artaxerxes, his brother, for whose crown Cyrus had undergone so many hardships in his expedition.

The two armies were soon arrayed in order of battle. On his right hand Cyrus posted a thousand Paphlagonian horse, supported by the Euphrates, and the light armed infantry of the Greeks; and next them, Clearchus, Proxenus, and the rest of the general officers to Menon, at the head of their several corps. The left wing, composed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Asiatic nations, was commanded by Arius, who had a thousand horse. Cyrus placed himself in the centre, where the chosen troops of the Persians and the barbarians were posted. He had round him six hundred horsemen, armed at all points, as were their horses with frontlets and breastplates.

The army of Artaxerxes was commanded by Tissaphernes on the left, which division consisted of cavalry, armed with white cuirasses, and of light-armed infantry. In the centre was the heavy-armed foot, a great part of whom were Egyptians,* and entirely covered with wooden bucklers. The rest of the light-armed infantry, and of the horse, formed the right wing. The foot were drawn up with as much depth as front,

* Zenne supposes that the Egyptians, here mentioned, were the descendants of those who are spoken of as having been received into the favour and confidence of the eldest Cyrus.

and in that order composed square battalions. The king had posted himself in the main body, with the flower of the whole army, and had 6000 horse for his guard, commanded by Artageres. Though he was in the centre, he was beyond the left wing of the army of Cyrus, so much did the front of his own exceed in extent that of the opposing force. A hundred and fifty chariots armed with scythes were placed in the front of the army, and they were so fixed as to mow down all before them.

The army of Artaxerxes, numerous as it was, moved on without noise or confusion. When they had nearly reached that of Cyrus, the Greeks began to sing the hymn of battle: and drawing still nearer, they shouted after their usual wont, striking their darts upon their shields to frighten the horses, and then moving onwards in a body, they sprang upon the barbarians, who fled at the onset.

The savage spirit of war was now fully exerted, and Cyrus exultingly beheld the advantages which were occasionally presented to his forces: and these were so successfully improved by the Greeks, that he was boldly though prematurely proclaimed king by all around him.

The crown was not to adorn his brows. He had climbed the unstable ladder of ambition to be precipitated to destruction. Perceiving that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in the flank, he marched directly against him with his 600 horse. With his own hand he destroyed Artageres, who commanded the king's guard of 6000 horse, putting the entire body to flight. Then, discovering his brother, his eyes sparkled with fury as he cried, "I see him!" and he spurred forward his horse, eager to commit the two-fold crime of destroying his brother and his king.

The battle now became a single combat between Artaxerxes and Cyrus; and the brothers were seen transported with the deadliest rage, each endeavouring to plunge his sword into the other's heart, and thus rid himself of a rival—reminding the spectators of Eteocles and Polyneices, of whom the Greek poets say, that their ashes separated on the burning pile, as if sensible of resentment, and hostile to reconciliation.

For a time, the advantage was with Cyrus, who succeeded in killing the horse of Artaxerxes, which fell with him to the ground. The king recovered himself, and mounted another, when Cyrus again rushed upon him, inflicted a second wound, and had uplifted his arm for the infliction of a third, when Artaxerxes, like a lion wounded by the hunters, only the more furious from the smart, sprang forward, impetuously pushing his horse against his opponent, who, running headlong, and without regard to his person, threw himself into the midst of a flight of darts aimed at him on all sides, and at that instant receiving a wound from his brother's javelin, Cyrus fell dead: his chief lords were slain likewise, resolving not to survive him.

Behold, reader, the fitting reward of indomitable courage, energy, and ability, admirable qualities when directed to the accomplishment of proper ends, but only casting additional blackness on the crime when employed in the furtherance of unworthy ones! Behold, too, in

the daring efforts and final overthrow of an ambitious spirit, whose aims were narrowed to the attainment of mere worldly power and grandeur, a lesson for thine own! Happy he, the humble wayfarer, who, during his sojourn on earth, prepares for an inheritance that fades not, and looks forward to a crown that is eternal.

Artaxerxes, after having caused the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off, pursued the enemy to their camp, and there possessed himself of great part of their baggage and provisions. The Greeks had defeated the king's left wing, commanded by Tissaphernes; and the king's right wing, under his own command, had routed the enemy's left; and as neither knew what had occurred elsewhere, both parties imagined they had gained the victory. Tissaphernes, however, acquainting the king that his men had been put to flight by the Greeks, he immediately rallied his troops, in order to attack them. The Greeks, under the command of Clearchus, easily repulsed them, and pursued them to the neighbouring hills.

As it was almost night, the Greeks now laid down their arms to refresh themselves with rest. They were surprised that neither Cyrus nor any one from him appeared, and imagined that either he was engaged in the pursuit of the enemy, or was making haste to possess himself of some important place. They determined, therefore, to return to their camp, where they arrived about nightfall, and found the greatest part of their baggage taken, with all their provisions, which obliged them to pass the night in the camp without refreshment.

The next morning, the Greeks heard of the death of Cyrus, and the defeat of that part of the army. Upon this they sent deputies to Artaxerxes, offering him, as conqueror, the crown of Persia. Artaxerxes refused the offer, and acquainted them that he intended to set out early next morning on his return to Ionia, advising them to join him in the night. They followed his directions, and, under the conduct of Clearchus, began their march, and arrived at his camp about midnight, whence they set out on their return to Greece.

At this time, the Greeks were in the very heart of the Persian empire, surrounded by a numerous and victorious army, and they had therefore no way to return into Greece, but by forcing their retreat through a vast tract of the enemy's country. Their valour and resolution, however, surmounted all these difficulties, and, despite of a powerful army, which pursued and harassed them all the way, they made good their retreat, travelling over the space of 2325 miles, through provinces belonging to the enemy, and reached in safety the Greek cities on the Euxine Sea. Clearchus had the conduct of the army at first; but he being slain by the treachery of Tissaphernes, the military historian Xenophon was appointed in his stead, and it was chiefly owing to his valour and wisdom that his countrymen surmounted their dangers.

The retreat of the 10,000 is equally celebrated in history with the expedition of Cyrus, but that more properly belongs to the history of Greece.

The victory which Artaxerxes had gained over his brother Cyrus was followed by a succession of atrocious crimes in his court. Fearful

as the deed of abetting the blood of a brother in, the monarch was ambitious that the action should be attributed to him alone. Mithridates, a young Persian nobleman, boasted that he gave the mortal wound, and he suffered the most cruel and revolting death for his boast. A Carian soldier also claimed the glory, and he was delivered to Parysatis, whose tender mercies were at all times cruel, and who inflicted on him the most exquisite torments for ten days, and then put him to a cruel death. Massabates, by whom, at the king's order, the head of the fallen Cyrus was decapitated, suffered death for the deed also, by the command of queen Parysatis. Nor did she stop here. Having, as before stated, conceived an implacable hatred against Statira, she was poisoned by her command in a most refined manner. Artaxerxes, being afflicted for the loss of his beloved Statira, and suspecting his mother, caused all her domestics to be put to the rack, when Gygis, one of her accomplices, discovered the whole. Artaxerxes put the informant to death, and confined his mother to Babylon; but at length, time having alleviated his griefs, he allowed her to return to court, where, by an entire submission to his will, she regained his favour, and bore much away at court till her death.

After the death of Cyrus, Tissaphernes being sent back to his former government, and invested with the same power as the fallen prince, began to harass and oppress the Greek cities within the limits of his authority. These cities sought the aid of the Lacedæmonians, who sent Thimbro, B.C. 399, with an army against them, which being strengthened by the forces brought back from Persia, they took the field against Tissaphernes. Thimbro was, however, recalled upon some complaints, and sent into banishment, and the next year Dercyllidas was appointed his successor.

Dercyllidas was a brave general, and a famous engineer, and his movements were attended with some success. Having heard that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were at variance, he made a truce with the former, and entered the province of the latter, advancing as far as Æolis. Pharnabazus was driven from city to city, and at length, fearing that the conqueror would invade Phrygia, the chief province of his government, he made a truce with him, leaving him in possession of the cities he had captured.

The conqueror now turned his arms against Tissaphernes in Caria, where he usually resided. Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus united against him, and surprised him in a disadvantageous post. Pharnabazus advised an attack upon the Greeks, but Tissaphernes, who had experienced their valour at Cunaxa, sent heralds to Dercyllidas to invite him to a parley, and a truce ensued till the answers of their respective masters should be known.

In the mean time, the Lacedæmonians, receiving accounts from Asia, that Artaxerxes was equipping a powerful fleet under Conon the Athenian, then an exile in Cyprus, and supposing, rightly, that it was designed against them, resolved to send Agesilaus, one of their kings, into Asia, to make a diversion.

Accordingly, Agesilaus set sail with a considerable body of troops, and arrived at Ephesus before his expedition was heard of at the court

of Persia. Agesilaus swept all before him, whereupon Tissaphernes sent a messenger to inquire to what end he was come into Asia, and why he had taken up arms. Agesilaus replied, that he was come to assist the Greeks inhabiting Asia, and to restore them their ancient liberty.

Tissaphernes, unprepared for war, now had recourse to stratagem. He assured Agesilaus, that Artaxerxes would grant him his demands, provided he committed no acts of hostility till the return of his couriers. Agesilaus believed him, and a truce was agreed upon; but Tissaphernes made no other use of it than to assemble troops on all sides, and to obtain aid from Artaxerxes.

As soon as Tissaphernes had received the aid he sought, he commanded Agesilaus to depart from Asia, denouncing war against him in case of refusal. The Lacedæmonians and their confederates were alarmed: but Agesilaus heard the heralds of Tissaphernes with composure, and desired them to tell the wily satrap that he was under great obligations to him for having made the gods, by his perjury, enemies to Persia and friends to Greece. Having thus dismissed the heralds, he made a show of invading Caria; but finding that Tissaphernes had caused all his troops to march into that province, he turned towards Phrygia, the greater part of which he overran: after which, loaded with the spoils of that province, he marched back by the sea-coast into Ionia, and wintered at Ephesus.

The next spring, Agesilaus took the field, giving out that he would march into Lydia. Tissaphernes believed that he would march directly for Caria, and marched his troops thither for its protection. But he was deceived. Agesilaus entered Lydia, and approached Sardis. Tissaphernes hastened to its relief; but his horse having arrived before the infantry, Agesilaus attacked and defeated them with great slaughter, and enriched both himself and his army with the spoils of the conquered Persians.

In the greatest prosperity he should be mindful of a change. Hitherto, Tissaphernes had revelled in the smiles of Artaxerxes. The loss of this battle forfeited the monarch's favour. At the same time, Conon, arriving at the Persian court, made the breach wider by a complaint he brought against him of depriving the soldiers on board Conon's fleet of their pay, thereby disabling him from rendering the king any service. The charges were aggravated by queen Parysatis, who was actuated by an irreconcilable hatred against all who had a share in the defeat and death of Cyrus. Artaxerxes resolved upon the destruction of Tissaphernes; but, being afraid to attack him openly, on account of the great authority he had in Asia, recourse was had to treachery for the accomplishment of his designs. He charged Tithraustes, captain of the guards, with this commission. He gave him two letters, the one directed to Tissaphernes, empowering him to pursue the war against the Greeks at his own discretion; the other was addressed to Arius, governor of Larissa, commanding him to assist Tithraustes with his counsel and forces in seizing Tissaphernes. The will of the kings of Persia was law; and had this not been the case, it is to be feared that his wishes would have been too readily com-

plied with, base though they may have been, in order to obtain his favour. In every country, and in all ages of the world, those have been met with who would readily immerse their hands in the blood of their fellow man in order to gain the favour of their superior, utterly setting aside the rights of humanity, and disregarding the laws of Heaven. Such an one was Arius. Upon the receipt of this letter, he desired Tissaphernes to come to him, that they might confer about the operations of the ensuing campaign. Tissaphernes went with a guard of 300 men; but while he was bathing, according to the Persian custom, he was seized, and disarmed, and put into the hands of Tithraustes, who caused his head to be struck off, and sent into Persia. It was given, says Xenophon, by the king to Parysatis, an acceptable present to one of her revengeful temper. Well has it been said of revenge, that it sits like poison upon the stomach: it swells and convulses nature, and there is no good health to be expected till it is conquered and expelled.

This dark deed of Artaxerxes seems to have been considered by ancient writers as a retributive act of justice; and it is certain that Tissaphernes looked upon probity and honour as empty names; that he made a jest of the most sacred oaths; and believed the whole ability and policy of a statesman consisted in knowing how to deceive others by hypocrisy, fraud, perfidy, and perjury. The fact is, in these dark ages of the world, there was no bond of union betwixt man and man. All had strayed into the paths of error, and none of the rulers of the earth sought after that light from heaven which could alone guide them into the paths of truth. It remained for revealed religion in the gospel of the Redeemer mildly beaming on the heart of man, to teach the world true honour, humanity, and justice.

As a reward for the execution of the command of Artaxerxes, Tithraustes was appointed to succeed Tissaphernes. His first act was, to send presents to Agesilaus, telling him that the cause of the war being removed, nothing could prevent an accommodation; and that Artaxerxes would allow the Greek cities in Asia to enjoy their liberty, paying him the customary tribute, which was all that the Lacedæmonians required when they first commenced the war. Agesilaus replied, that he could do nothing without orders from Sparta. As he was willing, however, to give Tithraustes the satisfaction of freedom from danger, he removed out of his province, and marched into Phrygia, Tithraustes defraying the charges of his march. On his way thither, Agesilaus received a letter from the magistrates of Sparta, giving him the command of the fleet, as well as of the land forces; by which new commission he became sole commander of all the troops in Asia. This drew him down to the sea-coast, where he put the fleet in order, and appointed Pisander admiral, ordering him forthwith to stand out to sea.

Having settled the maritime affairs, Agesilaus renewed his design of invading Phrygia. He spoiled the country, and from thence marched by the invitation of Spithridates, a noble Persian, into Paphlagonia. He concluded a league with Cotys, king of that country, and returning into Phrygia, took the strong city of Dascylium, and wintered in the palace of Pharnabazus, obliging

the surrounding countries to supply his army with provisions.

Tithraustes, finding that Agesilaus was for carrying on the war in Asia, sent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with large sums of money, to corrupt the leading men in their cities, to rekindle a war against the Lacedæmonians. Gold, which is at all times a powerful incentive to good or evil, had in this case the desired effect. The cities of Thebes, Argos, Corinth, and others, entered into a confederacy, and war raged again among these unhappy states, *b.c.* 395.

In the beginning of the next spring, Agesilaus, who had already made the provinces of Ionia and Asia tremble at his name, formed the design of attacking the king of Persia in the heart of his dominions. As he was upon the point of putting his designs into execution, the Spartan Epicydidas arrived to let him know that Sparta was threatened with a furious war, and that the Ephori recalled him for the defence of his country. Agesilaus obeyed the summons, thereby demonstrating the truth of what was said, "That at Sparta the laws ruled men, and not men the laws." On his departure, he said, "That 30,000 of the king's archers drove him out of Asia," alluding to a species of Persian coin, the Daric, which had on one side the figure of an archer, and which had been dispersed to that number in Greece, to corrupt the leading men in the other states. It was by these acts of deceitful and deceiving policy that the Greeks were led onward to ruin. The poet has well said:

"Unless corruption first deject the pride
And guardian vigour of the free-born soul,
All cruel attempts of violence are vain:
For firm within, and while at heart untouch'd,
Ne'er yet by force was freedom overthrown.
But soon as independence stoops the head,
To vice enslaved, and vice-creating wants,
Then to some foul corrupting band, whose waste
These heightened wants with fatal bounty feeds,
From man to man the slackening ruin runs
Till the whole state, unnerve'd, in slavery sinks."

THEOPHRASTUS

On his return from the Persian court, Conon, having brought money to pay the soldiers and mariners their arrears, and to supply the fleet with arms and provisions, took Pharnabazus on board, and sailed in quest of the enemy. The Persian fleet consisted of nearly 100 vessels; that of the Lacedæmonians was not so numerous. They met with each other near Cnidus, a maritime city of Asia Minor. Conon, who had in some measure occasioned the capture of Athens, by losing the sea-fight at *Ægospotami*, or "The Goat's River," determined to make an effort to regain his lost honour. On the other hand, Pisander was desirous of justifying his conduct and valour the choice which Agesilaus, his brother-in-law, had made in appointing him admiral. The struggle was a severe one; but Conon having boarded Pisander's own vessel, slew him, when the rest of the fleet sought refuge in flight. Conon pursued them, and took fifty of their ships, which destroyed the power of the Lacedæmonians by sea.

After this victory, Conon and Pharnabazus sailed round the islands and coasts of Asia, and reduced most of the cities which, in those parts, were subject to the Lacedæmonians. The

consequence of the victory was, the revolt of almost all the allies of Sparta, several of whom declared for the Athenians, and the rest resumed their ancient liberty.

The Lacedæmonians saw with concern this great revolution; and finding themselves unable to maintain a war with men of equal bravery with themselves, they despatched Antalcidas, one of their citizens, to Tiribazus, governor of Sardis, entreating him to conclude a peace with Artaxerxes upon the best terms he could. The other cities of Greece in alliance with the Athenians sent at the same time their deputies, with Conon at their head. The terms which Antalcidas proposed were, that the king should possess all the Greek cities in Asia; but that the islands and other cities in Greece should enjoy their liberty, and be governed by their own laws. The Athenian deputies were unanimous in rejecting these proposals. Setting aside the interests of the Greeks in Asia, they saw themselves exposed by this treaty: the Athenians to the loss of the isles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; the Thebans to the cities of Boeotia; and the Argives to Corinth, with the loss of Argos in prospect. The deputies therefore withdrew without concluding anything.

Tiribazus, however, was resolved to carry into effect so desirable a treaty. The first thing he resolved upon was, the ruin of Conon, who was the great barrier in the way of its accomplishment. In this he was aided by the Lacedæmonians. Revenge for this brave man's success in the restoration of Athens dictated to them a line of policy which reflects the greatest disgrace upon the Spartan character of this period. Antalcidas was charged by them to accuse Conon of purloining the king's money for the re-establishment of the Athenian state, in which accusation there was not the shadow of truth. But Tiribazus grasped at it, and imprisoned Conon, by which act he was assured that there would be no further opposition on his part. This done, Tiribazus next secretly aided the Lacedæmonians with large sums of money for the purpose of fitting out a fleet, that they might be able to oppose the other states of Greece. After this, he went to the court of Persia, to give Artaxerxes an account of the negotiation. Artaxerxes was pleased with the terms, and urged their adoption. At the same time, Tiribazus laid before the king the accusations which the Lacedæmonians had brought against Conon; and some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have affirmed, that he was executed at Susa by the order of Artaxerxes. Notwithstanding the silence of Xenophon on this subject, the statement may be correct; for it has ever been the policy of despotic rulers to put to death all those who were able to oppose their wishes and designs.

Upon the return of Tiribazus, A.C. 387, he summoned the deputies of the Grecian states to be present at the reading of the treaty, which read thus: "1. That all the Grecian cities in Asia Minor, with the important isles of Cyprus and Clazomenæ, should be subject to Persia; and, 2. That all the cities of Greece, both small and great, should be free, and governed by their own laws." Artaxerxes engaged to assist by sea and land, with ships and money, the states

which agreed to this treaty, against the refractory, by which clause the treaty was enforced upon all.

Such was the fruit of the jealousy and divisions which armed the Grecian cities against each other. By this treaty, the articles of the former Athenian peace of A.C. 449 were rescinded, and the paramount influence of Persia in Greece established. By it, all the various states were rendered independent of each other, and those powerful confederacies which had so long harassed and endangered the Persian empire, demolished; while the last clause of enforcing the peace "with ships and money," proved a fresh source of discord, and enabled Sparta to tyrannise afresh over the states that refused obedience to her authority, and involved her in a ruinous war with the Thebans under Epaminondas. Thus when Sparta shook the astonished Artaxerxes on his throne, from her division with the other states, in the language of the poet, she gave up,

"—— fair-spread o'er Asia's sunny shore,
Their kindred cities to perpetual chains.
What could so base, so infamous a thought
In Spartan hearts inspire? Jealous, they saw
Respiring Athens rear again her walls:
And the pale fury fired them, once again
To crush this rival city to the dust.
For now no more the noble social soul
Of Liberty my families combined;
But by short views, and selfish passions, broke,
Dire as when friends are rankled into foes,
They mixed avers, and waged eternal war;
Nor felt they, furious, their exhausted force;
Nor with false glory, discord, madness blind,
Saw how the blackening storm from Thracia came.
Long years rolled on, by many a battle stain'd
The bluish and boast of fame! where courage, art,
And military glory shone supreme;
But let detesting ages from the scene
Of Greece self-mangled, turn the sickening eye."

THOMSON.

Artaxerxes being now delivered from all fear of his long dreaded opponent, Greece, turned his whole power against Evagoras, king of Cyprus, who had refused to agree to the peace, and he reduced the whole island, A.C. 385.

During the next year, Artaxerxes engaged in another war against the Cardusians, who probably had revolted from him. This people inhabited the mountains between the Euxine and Caspian Seas, in the north of Media, and being insured from their infancy to a laborious life, were accounted a warlike people. Artaxerxes marched against them with an army of 300,000 foot, and 20,000 horse: but the country, by reason of its barrenness, not affording provisions sufficient to maintain so numerous an army, they were soon reduced to the extremity of feeding upon their beasts of burden. Their provisions became so scarce, that an ass's head was sold for sixty drachmas, about thirty-five pounds sterling. The king's provisions began to fail, and only a few horses remained. In this critical juncture, Tiribazus contrived a stratagem which saved the army from destruction. The Cardusians had two kings, who were encamped apart from each other. Tiribazus found that there was a division between them, and that jealousy prevented their acting in concert. Acting upon this, he advised the king to enter into a treaty with them, which being adopted, both princes were brought sepa-

rately to submit to Artaxerxes, and thus saved his army from impending ruin.

At this time, Tiribazus stood accused by a jealous rival, Orontes, of forming designs against Artaxerxes, and of secretly corresponding with the Lacedæmonians. On the king's return to Susa, the service which Tiribazus had rendered him, inclined him to have his cause examined, and to grant him a fair hearing. Three commissioners of distinguished probity were appointed for the purpose, and the result was, that he was restored to the king's favour, and Orontes banished the court in disgrace.

"From thirst of rule, what dire disasters flow!
How flames that guilt which pride has taught to glow!
With gains on wish, desire surmounts desire,
Hope fans the blaze, and envy feeds the fire.
From crime to crime aspires the furious soul,
Nor laws, nor oaths, nor fears, its rage control.
Till Heaven, at length, awakes, supremely just,
And levels all its haughty schemes in dust."

SMOLLET.

Artaxerxes had long meditated the invasion of Egypt; but the foregoing events had prevented him from carrying this design into operation. At length, in the first year of the reign of Nectanebis, *b.c.* 374, a powerful army of Persians was sent thither, under the command of Pharnabazus, which was augmented by Grecian mercenaries under Iphicrates. The war was to begin with the siege of Pelusium, but Nectanebis having had sufficient time to provide for the defence of that place, the approach to it was found to be impracticable, either by sea or land. The fleet, therefore, instead of making a descent there, sailed to the Mendesian mouth of the Nile, which not being so well fortified as the Pelusian, where the enemy was expected, they carried the fortress that guarded it, and put all the Egyptians that were found in it to the sword. After this action, Iphicrates advised the embarkation of the troops, and the attack of Memphis; but the main body of the army not being yet arrived, Pharnabazus would not undertake any affair of moment. This probably saved Egypt, for the delay gave the Egyptians time to recover their courage, and to prepare for the conflict. The expedition was virtually at an end; and the only effect that it produced was, a mutual enmity between the two generals: for Pharnabazus, to excuse himself, laid the whole blame of the failure upon Iphicrates, and he, with more reason, on Pharnabazus. Pharnabazus, however, was the strongest at court, of which Iphicrates was well assured, and, knowing the Persian character, he privately hired a ship, and returned to Athens.

Twelve years after, Artaxerxes resumed his designs of subjecting Egypt to his rule. Tachus, who had succeeded Nectanebis, drew together his forces to repel the invader; but having marched out of Egypt into Phenicia, in order to attack the Persians there, the Egyptians revolted in his absence, and placed his cousin Nectanebus on the throne. (See the History of the Egyptians.)

The close of the reign of Artaxerxes was embittered by domestic broils. The monarch had three legitimate sons, Darius, Ariaspes, and Ochus, and 115 that were spurious. To prevent contentions about the crown, and to

check the ambition of Ochus, who had shown a towering disposition, he declared Darius, the eldest, his successor, and allowed him to wear the royal tiara. But Tiribazus, whom Artaxerxes had provoked by successively promising him two of his daughters in marriage, and afterwards disappointing him by marrying them himself, drew Darius and fifty of his brothers into a conspiracy against the life of their father. The day was fixed for the execution of their design, when an eunuch, who was privy to the plot, discovered it to the king, and the conspirators were seized as they were entering the palace, and put to death.

A contest now arose between Ariaspes and Ochus, the legitimate sons, and Arsames, a favourite natural son of the king, about the succession. Ochus, however, contrived the death of both his brothers, and by these atrocious acts secured for himself the possession of the throne. He soon ascended it, for these domestic tragedies broke the old king's heart, in the ninety-fourth year of his age, and the forty-sixth of his reign.

Artaxerxes was a mild and generous prince, and governed with great wisdom, clemency, and justice; whence he was honoured, and his authority respected throughout his empire. The following anecdote, says Dr. Hales, as recorded by Plutarch, seem to mark his character, and to confirm the treason of Cyrus, his brother, before his open rebellion.

"At first," says Plutarch, "Artaxerxes Mucmon seemed entirely to imitate the mildness of the first Artaxerxes, whose name he bore, by behaving affably to all who addressed him, and by distributing honours and rewards to persons of merit with a lavish hand. He took care that punishments should never be embittered with insult. If he received presents, he appeared as well pleased as those who offered them, or rather as those who received favours from him; and in conferring favours, he always kept a countenance of benignity and pleasure. There was not any thing, however trifling, brought to him by way of present, which he did not receive kindly. Even when one Omisus brought him a pomegranate of uncommon size, he said, 'By the light of Mithra, this man, if he were made governor of a small city, would make it a great one.' When he was once upon a journey, and people presented him with a variety of things by the way, a labouring man, having nothing else to present to him, ran to the river, and brought him some water in his hands. Artaxerxes, pleased with the act, showed his humour by sending the man a gold cup and 1000 darics. When Euclidas, the Lacedæmonian, said many insolent things to him, he contented himself with ordering the captain of his guard to give him this reply, 'You may say what you please to the king; but the king would have you to know that he can not only say, but do.'" These anecdotes denote the merciful prince; nevertheless there were moments, as we have seen, when the king paid little respect to the rights of humanity, when bent on revenge. Yet Artaxerxes may be said to have been one of the best of the monarchs of the ancient empire of Persia; and it is strange that his reign is omitted by Persian historians.

DARIUS OCHUS, OR DARIUS I.

The death of Ariaspes and Arames had alienated the minds of the nobles and people from Ochus: and fearing this public odium, he concealed the death of his father for ten months, and conducted the administration of affairs in his name, until he deemed his own authority sufficiently established. By one of his decrees, he caused himself to be proclaimed king throughout the whole of the empire, as though by his father's order. At length, however, he openly ascended the throne, taking the name of Artaxerxes. He is known in history chiefly by his proper name, Ochus.

No sooner was the death of Artaxerxes made known, than all Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and many other provinces, revolted. By this general insurrection, half the revenues of the crown were diverted into different channels, and the remainder would not have been sufficient to carry on the war against so many mal-contented, had they acted in concert. But this formidable revolt, which menaced the destruction of the Persian empire, came to nought, through the treachery and corruption of the leading partisans, especially of Orontes and Rheomitres, chiefs of Asia Minor, who delivered up their forces into the monarch's hands. Datames alone, governor of Cappadocia, gave him much trouble, and according to Cornelius Nepos, he was assassinated by Mithridates, one of his intimates, who had been suborned to the act by Ochus.

Ochus was the most cruel and wicked monarch of this race of the princes of Persia. To prevent future disturbances at home and abroad, he cut off in one day all the royal family, without any regard to consanguinity, age, or sex. Ocha, his own sister and mother-in-law, (for he had married her daughter,) was buried alive; and he caused his archers to slay with their arrows one of his uncles, and 100 of his children and grandchildren. This uncle appears to have been the father of Sisigambis, who was mother of Darius Codomannus; for Q. Curtius relates, that Ochus caused eighty of her brothers to be massacred in one day. All the nobility who were suspected of disaffection throughout the empire, shared the same fate as the relatives of Ochus. The sorrows of mankind seem to have been his sport.

But the cruelties that Ochus practised had the reverse effect of that which he intended. If a monarch desires the fidelity of his subjects, he must gain it by a spirit of love; severity and, still more, cruelty only estrange their affections from the throne. In the fifth year of his reign, Artabazus, governor of one of the western provinces, revolted, and, by the assistance of Chares and an Athenian force, defeated 70,000 of the king's troops. Ochus threatened to make war on the Athenians, and they recalled Chares. Afterwards, however, Artabazus procured assistance from the Thebans, and defeated the armies of Ochus in two engagements; but the king having bribed the Thebans, Artabazus was again left single-headed, and after three years' resistance, he was forced to flee and take refuge with Philip of Macedon.

This rebellion was no sooner quelled, than the Sidonians, Phœnicians, and Cyprians revolted,

and joined the Egyptians, who still maintained their independence. At first, Ochus sent his generals against them; but these having failed to reduce them, Ochus himself took the command of the expedition. He besieged Sidon, which was betrayed to him by Mentor, the Rhodian, and Tennes, the king of that place. The Sidonians set fire to the city, and destroyed men, women, and children, with all their treasures. Ochus sold the ashes, which contained great quantities of melted gold and silver, for a high price, and rewarded Tennes, the traitor, with death. The fate of Sidon terrified the rest of the Phœnicians into submission, among whom the Jews may be included, who seem to have joined the common cause.

After this, Ochus invaded Egypt, *n. c.* 350, in the ninth year of his reign, which he reduced chiefly by the assistance of Mentor, the Rhodian, and his Greek mercenaries. See the History of the Egyptians.

All the revolted princes being reduced, and peace established throughout the empire, Ochus gave himself up to ease and luxury, leaving the administration of public affairs to his ministers. The chief of these were Bagoas, the Egyptian eunuch, who was a great favourite, and Mentor, the Rhodian; the former of whom governed the provinces of Upper Asia, and the latter those of Lower Asia.

About *n. c.* 344, alarmed by the greatness of Philip, king of Macedon, Ochus sent some of his trustiest ministers on an embassy to Philip, under pretence of offering him his friendship and alliance, but in reality to discover his strength, resources, and designs. The young Alexander, then about twelve years old, entertained the ambassadors in the absence of his father, and gained their affections by his politeness and good sense. Even at this early age, he exhibited signs of approaching greatness. The ambassadors were surprised at his questions, which related to their monarch and their kingdom, and the geography of their country. They counted the famed shrewdness of Philip as nothing compared with the vivacity and enterprising genius of his son, and said to each other, "This boy, indeed, will be a great king; ours is a rich one;" an observation which remarkably accords with the Scriptural characters of both kings, of the goat and the ram, Dan. viii. 5—7; xi. 2, 3.

It has been recorded in the history of the Egyptians in what a cruel manner Ochus acted towards that people; trampling alike upon their religion, laws, and liberties, and filling the whole country with dismay. In revenge for his country's wrongs, Bagoas, who had long waited for an opportunity to rid his country of its oppressor, at length, in *a. c.* 338, poisoned Ochus, and placed Arses, his youngest son, upon the throne, allowing him the name of king, while he himself retained all the authority.

ARSES.

Arses did not long enjoy his shadow of power; for in his third year Bagoas, finding that his treasons were likely to be punished by the young monarch, anticipated his intention, and put him and his whole family to death, in the third year of his reign, *B. c.* 335.

DARIUS CODOMANNUS, OR DARIUS II.

This prince was a collateral branch of this dynasty. His grandfather was brother to Darius Nothus, one of whose sons only, Ostanès, escaped the ruthless massacre of the family by Ochus. Ostanès married Sisigambis, his own sister, by whom he had Codomannus.

During the reign of Ochus, this prince lived in obscurity, and supported himself as an *astanda*, or courier, by carrying the royal despatches. At length, however, he signalized himself in killing a Cadusian champion, who had defied the Persian army to single combat in the same manner as Goliath defied the armies of Israel. For this exploit Darius Codomannus was rewarded by Ochus with the important government of Armenia, from whence he was advanced to the throne, upon the murder of Arses and his family by Bagoas.

On the accession of Darius Codomannus to the throne, he had no competitors; for the royal family and the principal nobility had been destroyed by Ochus and Bagoas. The latter, however, caused him some fear for his life. Finding that Codomannus was not to be entirely governed, Bagoas resolved to remove him as he had done his predecessor, by poison. The attempt was discovered, and Bagoas was compelled to drink the fatal potion himself. The empire was now, therefore, fully established, and Codomannus was "far richer" than "the last three kings" of Persia, because he was possessed of the vast additional treasures procured by the plunder of Ochus, after the reduction of Egypt and the other revolted provinces. His personal bravery gained him universal respect and admiration throughout the empire.

Darius ascended the throne shortly before the assassination of Philip of Macedon, which event took place near the end of the same year; and, as Alexander complained, by Persian instigation, and bribery of the assassins. This was alleged as one of his public grievances; and Bagoas, who then governed the Persian empire, would not have scrupled to remove a foe by such a mode, especially as Philip had been elected captain-general of the Grecian states, for the purpose of invading Persia. Codomannus himself set the price of 10,000 talents upon the head of Alexander, with which Alexander also openly reproached him by letter. The assassin employed was Alexander, son of Æropus, commander of the Thessalian cavalry; but the plot was discovered by Parmenio.

In his letter, Alexander complained of the underhand aggressions of Darius, and charged him with sending "improper letters" through all parts of Greece to excite them to make war on him, and with sending money to the Lacedæmonians and others, to corrupt his friends and break the peace. This accords in a remarkable manner with Scripture, which represents Darius as the first aggressor in the war that ensued. "And now will I show thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, [Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, and Darius Ochus;"]

* The short reign of Arses, which was merely nominal, is omitted both by Justin and Scripture. In chronology, it is sometimes added to that of Ochus, as in that of Dr. Hable's Analysis.

and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia," Dan. xi. 2.

Darius did not confine himself to such underhand measures: he raised a powerful army, collected a large fleet, and engaged able officers to command both, among whom may be mentioned Memnon the Rhodian.

Darius Codomannus, therefore, in the beginning of his reign, involved himself in a war with this mighty monarch, of whom the voice of prophecy had said, "And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will." Dan. xi. 3; which received a remarkable accomplishment in the event we are about to narrate, and others that will be found in the history of the Macedonians.

It was early in the spring of the year a. c. 334, that Alexander set out on his expedition. His army consisted of 30,000 foot, and 5000 horse. With these he arrived in twenty days at Sestos, on the Hellespont, over which he had them conveyed to Asia by a fleet of 160 galleys, besides transports. No army opposed his landing.

Before he set out, Alexander assembled his army at Dics, in Macedonia, where he exhibited games and sacrifices in all the pomp of Grecian superstition. It was on this occasion that he had a remarkable dream, or vision, in which, as he related himself, while he was considering how to subdue Asia, a person in the dress of the Jewish high priest appeared to him, and encouraged him not to delay, but to pass over with confidence; for that he himself would head his army, and give him the Persian empire.

This circumstance, which is related by Josephus, has been questioned, because it is not noticed by any heathen historians; but their silence is not sufficient to invalidate his positive testimony. As these questioners belong to the number of those who doubt the verity of the supernatural details of the sacred history itself, it is impossible not to see that the principle of their objection here is the same. There are five cogent reasons, however, which demand our belief of this statement. 1. Because Alexander had been a clear and conspicuous object of prophecy, and that an operation upon his mind by dream, or vision, was as likely as the cases of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar, and similar to them. 2. Because it seems to be as necessary that the Almighty should have been made known to him as the bestower of empires, as to the other great conquerors, all of whom had been brought to avow it. 3. Because an operation upon the mind of Alexander, showing him in what position he stood, was a necessary sequel to the operations upon the minds of those former conquerors. 4. Because the impression described as being made by this dream upon Alexander, and the conduct which resulted from it, is in unison with his character and conduct as described by other historians. 5. Because the Jews enjoyed the privileges which are described as the result of this transaction, and which it would not otherwise be easy to account for, or to refer to any other origin.

The spirit in which Alexander invaded Asia may be learned from the following circumstances. Before he left home, he disposed of almost all

the revenues of the crown among his friends, and he took with him only seventy talents, or a month's pay for his army. When Perdicas asked him what he reserved for himself, he replied, "Hope." This it was that furnished him with energy to advise and execute; this it was that set both his head and heart to work, and animated him to do his utmost; this it was that overcame all difficulties, and aided him in the accomplishment of designs that seemed almost beyond his reach. To hope is the way to have, and the issue is often owing to belief and expectation. Transcendent above all other hopes, however, is the Christian's hope, of which the poet has said,

"Hope! let the wretch once conscious of the joy,
Whom now despairing agonies destroy,
Speak, for he can, and none so well as he,
What treasures centre what delights in thee.
Had he the gems, the spices, and the land
That boasts the treasure all at his command,
The fragrant grove, the inestimable mine,
Were light when weighed against one smile of thine."
Cowper.

As soon as Alexander landed in Asia, he went to Troy,* and sacrificed to Pallas, the patroness of the Greeks, and offered libations at the tomb of the hero Achilles, whom he proposed for his model.

From Troy Alexander marched to Lampsacus,† which he had determined to destroy, in order to punish the rebellion of its inhabitants. Anaximenes, a famous historian, who had been very intimate with Philip his father, and his (Alexander's) own tutor, was a native of this city. Anaximenes came to meet him, and Alexander, suspecting that he would plead for his city to be spared, in order that he might be beforehand with him, declared that he would not grant any request he might make. "The favour I have to desire of you," said Anaximenes, "is, that you would destroy Lampsacus," by which witty evasion the city was saved.

Alexander passed onward from Lampsacus, and came to the river Granicus,‡ in the lesser Phrygia. On the banks of this river he found the governors of the western provinces assembled,

* Respecting the site of ancient Troy, modern geographers and classical antiquaries have been greatly at a loss. The plain of Troy has been repeatedly visited by classical travellers, in order to verify Homer's description of the tomb of Ilus, the green fig trees, the hot and cold springs, and the sources of the Scamander, Simois, and Thyrbrius; but none of them have agreed in fixing the localities of the Ilus. In the days of Strabo, however, ancient Troy was considered to have stood within three miles of New Ilum, which, as Strabo informs us, was only a small village, distinguished by a temple dedicated to Minerva.

† Lampsacus is about thirty miles in direct distance from Ilum, and was once renowned for its safe and capacious harbour at the entrance of the Propontis, or Sea of Marmora, opposite Gallipoli, and its noble temple dedicated to Cybele, the Phrygian goddess. It was also famous for its excellent wine, on which account it was given to Themistocles, the Athenian exile, by Artaxerxes Longimanus. By some travellers its ruins have been identified with those lately discovered at and around a village called Teberack.

‡ The Granicus lay thirty-five miles from Lampsacus in direct distance. It is a narrow, deep, and rapid stream, originating in the northern slope of the range of Ida, and running a north-east course of forty geographical miles to the Propontis. Its western banks are said to be high, steep, and rugged. Its modern name is the Gostrols.

with an army of 100,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, to oppose his passage; contrary to the advice of that experienced general, Memnon the Rhodian, whose opinion was, that they should not hazard a battle, but lay waste the plains, and even the cities, thereby to starve the invaders, and oblige Alexander to return into Europe; as well as to make a powerful diversion, by carrying war into Macedonia and Greece. This plan was rejected with scorn, as "unworthy of the magnanimity of the Persians." Arsites, governor of Phrygia, moreover, protested that he would never suffer the Greeks to lay waste the country over which he presided.

The Persian cavalry, which was very numerous, lined the banks of the Granicus; and the foot, consisting chiefly of Greek mercenaries, was posted behind the cavalry on an easy ascent. Parmenio, commander of the Macedonian infantry, observing the disposition of the enemy's army, advised Alexander to encamp on the opposite banks of the river, that his troops might have rest, and not to attempt the passage till the next morning, the river being deep, the banks craggy and steep, his troops fatigued with their march, whilst those of the enemy had rested for several days. Alexander replied that it would be a disgrace to him and his army should they, after crossing the Hellespont, suffer their progress to be stopped by a rivulet.

The two armies continued some time looking at each other on the opposite banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Persians waited till the Macedonians entered the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing, and the latter seemed to be making choice of a place proper for crossing, and observing the dispositions of their enemies. Alexander, at length, having ordered his horse to be brought, commanded his nobles to follow him. He himself commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king first caused a strong detachment to march into the river, himself following it with the rest of his forces. Parmenio advanced afterwards with the left wing; the trumpets throughout the whole host sounding, and the whole army raising cries of joy.

The Persians, seeing the detachment advance into the river, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not so great, in order to prevent the Macedonians from landing. As they drew near the bank, a fierce engagement ensued; the Macedonians endeavouring to land, and the Persians pushing them again into the river. As Memnon commanded in this place, the first ranks of the Macedonians perished; and the rest, after having with great difficulty gained the shore, were driven anew into the river. Alexander, however, who had followed them closely, reinforced them with his best troops, and putting himself at their head, routed the Persians, upon which the whole army followed after and attacked the enemy on all sides. A sickening scene ensued. The Persian horse was first defeated with great slaughter, and the infantry shared the same fate. The Grecian infantry retired in good order to a neighbouring hill, whence they sent deputies to Alexander, demanding leave to retreat unmolested; but Alexander following the dictates of wrath rather

than those of reason; rushed into the midst of this body of soldiers, and destroyed the whole, except 3000, who were taken prisoners.

In this engagement, the Persians lost 20,000 foot, and 3500 horse. On the side of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horse perished at the first attack. Alexander ordered Lysippus to make their statues in brass, which were set up in Dica, a city of Macedon, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. According to Arrian, about sixty of the other horse were killed, and nearly thirty foot, who the next day were laid with their arms and equipage in one common grave.* Their fathers and children had an exemption granted them from every kind of tribute and service.

The victory of the Granicus put Alexander in possession of Sardis,† the capital of Asia Minor, which was the bulwark of the Persian empire on the side next the sea. The citizens surrendered on his approach, upon which Alexander gave them their liberty, and permitted them to enjoy their own laws.

Four days after, Alexander arrived at Ephesus,‡ carrying with him those who had been banished from thence for being his adherents, and restored its popular form of government. Here he offered sacrifices to Diana, and assigned to the temple of that goddess all the tributes that were paid to the Persians. He was ambitious of having the name of the celebrated temple of Diana, which was then rebuilding, changed for his own, and he offered to defray the whole cost of the work on such conditions; but the Ephesians evaded the request, by telling him that it was inconsistent for one god to erect temples to another!

"The force of flattery could no further go"

Before Alexander left Ephesus, the deputies of the cities of Tralles and Magnesia waited upon him with the keys of those places.

From Ephesus, Alexander marched to Miletus,§ which city, deceived by the hopes of a powerful support from the Persian fleet then lying off the coast, closed their gates against him. Memnon had shut himself up in this fortress, with many of his soldiers, and was determined to make a vigorous defence. After several days' fruitless efforts, however, Alexander compelled the besieged to capitulate. He treated the Milesians with great humanity, allowing them to live according to their own laws. Memnon was allowed to march out with his Greeks unmolested; but the Persians were put to the sword, or sold for slaves.

* This account is taken from the Greeks, the only one we have of the battle of the Granicus. It seems incredible, that in the combat with the Greek mercenaries, who were men of equal courage with themselves, they should all have been killed on the spot, after a brave defence, without a proportionate carnage on the part of the Macedonians. False love of their country's glory, doubtless, caused the Greek historians to depart from the truth in narrating this event.

† Sardis lay about 135 miles in direct distance, s. e. of the Granicus.

‡ Ephesus lay south-west of Sardis, about sixty-three Roman miles in direct distance.

§ Miletus lay twenty-eight miles south-east of Ephesus in direct distance, on the Laian Gulf, which is supposed by some to be the Lake of Ufa Behee.

Having possessed himself of Miletus, Alexander marched into Caria, in order to besiege Halicarnassus, the capital of that province, which defied his power. This city was of most difficult access; nature and art combined in its defence. Memnon, moreover, had thrown himself into it with a considerable body of troops, and seconded by another general of great prowess, Epibaltes, he resolved to withstand the Macedonian power to the utmost. Whatever could be expected from the most intrepid bravery, and the most consummate knowledge in the art of war, was practised on this occasion by the adverse parties. The Macedonians, with immense labour, filled up the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls; but their works were soon demolished, and their engines burned. Repeated attempts of this nature were made, and any other general but Alexander would have foregone the enterprise; but he encouraged his troops to persevere, and at length they succeeded. Memnon abandoned the city, and, going on board the Persian fleet, of which he was admiral, he conveyed the inhabitants with all their effects to the island of Cos, not far distant. Alexander, finding the city without riches and inhabitants, raised it to the ground, the citadel only excepted.

To conciliate the Asiatic colonies from Greece, Alexander now declared them free, and exempt from tribute. This had the wished-for effect; all the Greek cities of Asia declared in his favour, which very much facilitated his progress.

The last action of this military campaign, according to Diodorus Siculus, was with the Marmarians,¶ an inconsiderable people inhabiting the western border of Lycia. Their city was placed on a rock, and was accounted impregnable. These rude mountaineers fell on the rear of the Macedonian army, destroyed many men, and captured a great part of their baggage. This enraged Alexander, who immediately invested their stronghold, and attacked it by storm for two successive days. The old men among the besieged, seeing no prospect of a longer defence, would have advised surrender; but the young men scorned such advice. Their elders then advised them to put all their superannuated men, together with their women and children, to death, and then, if possible, to force their way through the Macedonians. This advice was acted upon. Every one going home, made a great feast, and after eating and drinking with his wife and children, shut the door of his house, and set it on fire! While the fires were raging, to the number of six hundred, they forced their way through the Macedonian guards, and escaped to the mountains.

Alexander now put his army into winter quarters; but before he did this, in order to

¶ This city lay forty miles south-east of Miletus in direct distance. It is now a heap of ruins. It was once famous for the stately mausoleum, or tomb, erected in honour of Mausolus, king of Caria, of which this city was the capital, by Artemisia, his widowed queen. Herodotus, the father of historians, was born here; so also was Dionysius, the Greek historian of Rome, and the poets Heraclitus and Callimachus.

¶ The appellation, Marmarians, still exists in Marmarice, the name of a bay on the south-east side of the Gulf of Macri, on the west side of Lycia; and the present inhabitants are described as being of the same predatory habits as their ancestors.

conciliate his soldiers, he dismissed such as had married that year, and sent them to their homes, with orders to return again next spring. This was a wise military regulation, and seems to have been derived from the law prescribed by Moses, Deut. xiv. 5. Probably Aristotle, the tutor of Alexander, learned it from the Jews, of whom he makes honourable mention: the philosopher, indeed, speaks of a Jew, whom he met in Asia, as communicating more information to him in the Greek language than he received in return.

About the same time, Alexander adopted the bold expedient of dismissing his fleet, which was too small to cope with the Persian fleet, collected from Phœnicia and Egypt, and yet too large for his treasury to maintain. In doing this he declared to his lieutenants, that by conquering the land, he would render himself master of the sea, since every harbour that surrendered to him must diminish the naval resources of the enemy, and tend to disable them from invading Greece in his absence; and also contribute to hold open his communication with his own dominions, and introduce fresh supplies from thence, when he should find it expedient to advance into the heart of Asia.

Next spring, *a.c.* 333, Alexander recommenced the reduction of the maritime provinces. His progress at first met with some interruption. Near Phœnelia, a small sea-port, on the west side of the gulf of Attaliah, and on the eastern shore of the Lycian Peninsula, is a defile along the sea shore, which is always dry in the summer, but when the sea rises is impassable. As the winter was not yet past, his forces were obliged to march a whole day in the water, but they surmounted the difficulty, and passed onward. Some historians relate that the sea, by the Divine command, opened a way to him, contrary to the usual course of nature; but this is evidently a parody, suggested by flattery, on the astounding miracle of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.

While Alexander was in the neighbourhood of Phœnelia, he discovered the conspiracy to which allusion has before been made; [see page 87.] The traitor was discovered, and suffered death for his perfidy.

From Phœnelia, Alexander marched to Perga, in Pamphylia, on the river Cestrus; and from thence to Aspendus, on the river Eurymedon, east of Perga; which, though a well fortified place, surrendered without sustaining a siege. From hence Alexander marched north-west to the pass of Telmessus, a strong defile in the range of Taurus, and which, had the inhabitants of that place known how to avail themselves of the advantageous position of their city,* which commanded the pass on one side, as a high mountain did on the other, they might have defended it against all Alexander's attempts to penetrate through it into Phrygia, and compelled him to attempt a passage in some other quarter. Alexander knew this, and therefore he encamped at

the foot of the pass, of which the Telmessians had possessed themselves, at the close of night, hoping that the fear of an attack would induce them to withdraw. To his great joy they did withdraw, and shut themselves up in their city, so that he passed through without any obstruction. He passed their city by as one of inferior consequence, his great object being now to gain possession of the interior of Asia Minor. From the defile of Telmessus, Alexander crossed the high upland of Milyas, which Bochart deduces from the Phœnician word *malia*, "an elevated mound," to Celæne;† which surrendered after a truce of sixty days, granted by him with a promise to that effect, if no succours should arrive in the interim.

From Celæne Alexander marched over the lofty chain now called the Moorad Dagh, to Gordium,‡ the ancient and celebrated residence of king Midas, situated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was desirous of seeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which fastened the yoke to the beam, was tied with so much art, and the strings were adjusted in so intricate a manner, that it could not be discovered where they commenced, or where they ended. An oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it should possess the empire of Asia; and Curtius relates, that Alexander being fully persuaded that this promise related to himself, he, after many fruitless trials, exclaimed, "It is no matter which way it be untied," and thereupon cut it with his sword. Aristobulus, however, who was an eye-witness of the transaction, assures us, that Alexander wrested a wooden pin out of the beam of the chariot, which being driven in across the beam held it up, and so took the yoke from it. In this version of the story Plutarch coincides.

In the mean time, Darius was preparing to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian advised him to retaliate, by carrying the war into Macedonia, stating that the Lacedæmonians and several other Greek nations, who were adverse to the Macedonians, would be ready to join him, and that Alexander would be compelled to return to defend his own country. Darius approved of the plan, and appointed Memnon admiral of the fleet, and captain general of all the forces designed for that expedition. Memnon was at the island of Cos when he received this commission, and this place was the rendezvous for the fleet. Memnon soon commenced operations. He made himself master of the island of Chios and all Lesbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to pass over into Eubœa, but he died before Mitylene, which city he was compelled to besiege.

The death of Memnon was a severe loss to the Persian monarch. No one was able to supply his place, and the only enterprise which could have saved his empire was therefore abandoned.

* Celæne lay about seventy-five geographical miles north-west of the defile of Telmessus.

† Gordium lay a little east of Celæne. It is difficult to fix its site, but all agree that it stood on the Sangarius. It was founded by Gordius, but it did not long retain its honour; for in the time of Strabo it had become a mere village.

* This city must not be confounded with the Telmessus on the south-east angle of the Gulf of Mæri, which was once a large and flourishing city, as the sarcophagi, and other remains found there, certify.

The sole resource of Darius now lay in the arms of the east, and these he resolved to command in person. The rendezvous of his army was Babylon, where, upon mustering, they were found to be about 400,000, 500,000, or 600,000 men; for such are the different accounts of ancient authors.

One of the king's counsellors, Charidemus, a Greek refugee, had opposed the monarch's heading his own troops; saying, that he ought not to risk his life; and he pledged himself that, with the command of 100,000 men, of whom a third part should be Greek mercenaries, he would compel the conqueror to abandon his enterprise. Darius was disposed to accede; but his ministers, generally, rejected this course through envy, and insinuated that Charidemus meant to betray their cause to the Macedonians. Fired at this insult, he called them cowards in the king's presence, for which he was ordered to instant execution. As he went to his death, he exclaimed, that the king would shortly repent of his injustice, and be punished with the loss of his empire; which was verified by the event, and required no gift of prophecy to suppose, now that the Persians were left to themselves.

Before Darius departed to meet Alexander, according to ancient historians, he had an ominous dream. He thought he saw the Macedonian phalanx on fire; that Alexander waited on him, as a servant, and in his former courier dress; and that he then went into the temple of Helus, and disappeared. Plutarch says, that by this dream, Heaven seemed to signify that honour and prosperity would attend the Macedonians; and that Alexander would become master of Asia, like Darius, who, from a simple courier, became king; but that he would soon die, and leave his glory behind him. This result accords with prophecy in a remarkable manner. (see Dan. viii. 5—8, xi. 3, 4;) and it is probable, as Dr. Hales suggests, that it might have been disclosed by the magi, who understood these prophecies, though they dared not unfold them to the king.

We return to Alexander. Big with the hope of conquest, he passed from Gordium east to Ancyra,* a city of that part of Phrygia, afterwards called Galatia, from the Gauls, who seized upon it. From Ancyra, Alexander proceeded north to Paphlagonia, crossing the lofty ridge of Olympus, which separates Galatia from Bithynia and Paphlagonia, the terminus of which march was probably the city of Sora, eighty-three miles in direct distance from Ancyra. From thence he marched south-east by the Halys and Mount Taurus to Cilicia, crossing, in his way, the same

pass by which the younger Cyrus had entered that country. He came to Tarsus,* which, from Sora, was a march of 430 miles direct.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river remarkable for its clear and limpid streams, but very cold, with a gentle winding current. Alexander having imprudently bathed in this river in the heat of the day, and when covered with sweat and dust, a serious illness was the consequence, which threatened his life. He was recovered from his sickness by the skill of his physician, Philip, an Acarnanian, and his own magnanimity in drinking the potion prescribed, after he had received a letter, intimating that he was bribed by Darius to poison him, while Philip was reading it without any emotion. He knew the attachment and fidelity which his physician bore to him, and doubt was removed. It was well said by Aristotle, that friendship is composed of a single soul inhabiting a pair of bodies. Where true friendship exists, pain and joy are mutual; and he that touches the heart of one friend, touches the heart of the other.

In the mean time, Darius had commenced his march at the head of his numerous army, and had advanced as far as the plains of Mesopotamia. Here the Greek mercenaries advised him to wait for the enemy; but imagining that Alexander's tardiness to meet him was the effect of terror, and fearing that he would flee from him to avoid an action, he hastened toward Cilicia, where the cavalry and the number of his troops, from the mountainous nature of the country, would be of little service to him.

The order Darius observed in his march was as follows. Before the army were carried silver altars, on which burned the fire, called by them sacred and eternal; and these were followed by the magi, singing hymns, and 365 youths in scarlet robes. After these came a consecrated cart drawn by white horses, and followed by one of an extraordinary size, which they called "The horse of the sun." The equerries were dressed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand. Next appeared ten sumptuous chariots, enriched with curious sculptures in gold and silver; and then the vanguard of the horse, composed of twelve different nations, in different armour. This body was succeeded by those of the Persians, called "The Immortals," amounting to 10,000, who surpassed the rest of the barbarians in the sumptuousness of their

* Tarsus was about twelve miles north of the mouth, and thirty miles south of the southern brow of the pass through which Alexander had passed. In the days of the emperor Augustus, this city rivalled Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria, in wealth, grandeur, literature, and science. It was called Juliolis, in honour of Julius Cæsar, who spent several days here in his pursuit of Pharnaces. Here it was that Antony first met with the fascinating Cleopatra. Here it was, also, that the great apostle of the Gentiles was born. Political changes have reduced it to comparative insignificance. Kliner, who spent a week at Tarsus, could not discover a single inscription, or any monument of beauty or magnificence. It contains two public baths, a number of mosques, several handsome caravanserais, and a church of great antiquity, said to have been erected by the apostle Paul. During the winter, there are 30,000 inhabitants; but many of the families remove during the hot seasons to the mountains.

† Quintus Curtius says, that this car was dedicated to Jupiter; but as this god was unknown to the Persians, it is probable he calls Mithra, the first and greatest of their gods, by that name.

* Ancyra lay fifty-five geographical miles south-east of the assumed site of Gordium in Rennel's map, near the source of a river, which flows south-east to the Halys. It formed one of the three capitals of Galatia, the other two being Tavium and Pe-sinus. It is celebrated in profane history as being taken by the consul Cneius Manlius Vulso; as being raised to the rank of the metropolitan city of that province by Augustus; and as entertaining the apostate Julian, on his way to the Persian war. In sacred history, Ancyra is noted for having received the impress of the feet of the great apostle of the Gentiles. It was here St. Paul preached to the Galatians. In the fourth century, Ancyra was made an episcopal see. Ancyra is the modern Angora, which is a city of considerable note in the east.

dress; for they all wore collars of gold, and were clothed in robes of gold tissue, having large sleeves, garnished with precious stones. About thirty paces from them came the king's relations, or cousins,* to the number of 15,000, apparelled like women, and more remarkable for the pomp of their dress than the glitter of their arms. After these came Darius himself, attended by his guards, and seated on a chariot, as on a throne. The chariot was enriched, on both sides, with images of the gods in gold and silver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, rose two statues, a cubit in height; the one representing War, the other Peace, having a golden eagle between them with extended wings. The king was clothed with a garment of purple striped with silver; and over it was a long robe, glittering with gold and precious stones, on which were represented two falcons rushing from the clouds at each other. Around his waist he wore a golden girdle, whence his scimitar hung, the scabbard of which was covered with gems. On each side of Darius walked 200 of his nearest relations, followed by 10,000 horsemen, whose lances were plated with silver, and tipped with gold. After these marched 30,000 foot, the rear of the army, and, lastly, 400 horses belonging to the king.

About 100 paces from the royal division of the army came Sisymbria, the mother of Darius, seated on a chariot, and his consort on another, with female attendants of both queens riding on horseback. Afterwards came fifteen chariots, in which were the king's children, and those who had the care of their education. Next to these were the royal concubines, to the number of 360, all attired like so many queens. These were followed by 600 mules, and 300 camels, which carried the king's treasure, and were guarded by a body of bowmen. After these came the wives of the crown officers, and the lords of the court; then the sutlers and servants of the army. And finally, in the rear, were a body of light armed troops, with their commanders.

Such was the army of Darius. Surrounded with this mighty pomp, he fancied he was great, and was confident of success. In his arrogance, he wrote a letter to Alexander, styling himself king, without giving that title to Alexander. His arrogance was returned with interest, which may illustrate the dispositions of the belligerent monarchs.

Alexander, upon learning that Darius was advancing towards the Euphrates, in order to enter Cilicia, detached Parmenio with part of the army to seize the pass of Syria, that he might secure a free passage for his army. As for himself, he marched west from Tarsus to Anchialos, a city which is said to have been built by Sardanapalus. From hence he came to Soli, where he offered sacrifices to Æsculapius, the god of physic, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander headed the ceremony himself with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army; and he there solemnised games; after which he returned to Tarsus.

* It was thus that this body was called, and probably some of them might be the king's relations; but it must not be so understood of all.

At length Alexander himself set forward in quest of Darius. His first came to Adana,* twenty-eight miles due east of Tarsus, on the right or west bank of the Sarus. From this city Alexander marched to Mallos, thirty-five miles in direct distance, almost due south of Adana, and the southernmost projection of the coast between Tarsus and the head of the Issic Gulf. From hence he pursued his march north-east to Castabala, the modern Kantankia, a city amongst hills, fronting the head or innermost recess of the gulf. In his way thither he crossed the Jeihoon, a large stream, about 160 yards in breadth. From Castabala, about three miles distant, commences a defile of five miles long, through the hills, to a narrow belt of level shore, stretching nearly two miles east and west, and about three quarters of a mile broad from the foot of the hills to the sea. The mouth of this defile is called Kara Çapi, "The Black Gate." Along this belt the road runs to Issus, where the contest for the empire of the east took place.

Parmenio had taken the little city of Issus, and after possessing himself of the pass of Syria, had left a body of forces to secure it. Alexander left the sick in Issus,† and marched his whole army through the pass, and encamped near the city of Myranderus, where the badness of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius, contrary to the advice of the Greeks, was advancing towards the straits of Cilicia. They advised him to wait for the enemy in the plains of Assyria;‡ but his courtiers biassed his mind against their advice, and had persuaded him that Alexander's long delay was the effect of terror, inspired by the approach of the Persian army. The adverse hosts missed each other in the night, and Darius entered Cilicia by the pass of Amanus, which lies beyond that of Syria, through which Alexander had entered that country. Darius had not advanced far into Cilicia, when he was informed that Alexander fled before him, and was retiring in great disorder into Syria. He therefore turned short towards Issus, where he barbarously put to death all the sick that Alexander had left therein, a few soldiers excepted, whom, after making them view every part of his camp, he dismissed.

Word was soon brought to Alexander, that Darius was behind him in the straits of Cilicia. His keen eye saw that he was taken as in a net, and he immediately prepared for the conflict.

* Adana is a large city, superior to Tarsus, and the population, chiefly composed of Turks and Turkmen, is nearly equal in number. It is beautifully situated on a rising ground, surrounded by groves of fruit trees and vineyards. There is a bridge over the Jeihoon, (Sarus,) said to have been erected by Justinian; part of the ancient wall still remains, and a noble gateway in the market-place mocks the mean architecture of the Turks.

† There is a great diversity of opinion concerning the exact site of the city of Issus, and consequently of the precise spot where the battle was fought. D'Anville conjectures that the ruins of Aynas represent the ancient Issus; Kluvier places it at Piaz; whilst Kennel and Arrowsmith fix it on the site of Oceli, called Karabulak by the Turks. Of the three, the latter seems the most likely, as it is supported by the authority of Xenophon, the Jerusalem Itinerary, and five different reports of modern travellers.

‡ Arrian calls them the plains of Assyria, but they were in reality the plains of Syria. By Greek and Latin writers, however, the term Assyria often comprehended all the tract from the Mediterranean to the river Indus.

Having offered a sacrifice to the gods, he advanced to meet him, and drew up his army on a spot of ground near the city of Issus, which was divided by the river Pinarus, and bounded by the mountains on one side, and by the sea on the other.* Here Darius, not being able to extend his front beyond that of the Macedonians, could only draw up his army in so many lines, one behind the other. The Macedonians soon put the first line to flight, and that recoiling upon the second, and the second on the third, and so on throughout the whole host, an indescribable confusion followed. The issue of the battle was speedily determined. Darius, who fought in the first line, escaped in the tumult with much difficulty, and fled on horseback through the pass by which he came.

There are two passes of the name of Amanus, the Upper and the Lower. It appears to have been by the former that Darius advanced and retreated. The camp of Darius, on his flight, lay, as will be seen, at Sochos, the modern Dubesak, in the great plain on the river Aswad. From this to the foot of the Upper pass of Amanus, is twenty geographical miles direct north. From this to the supposed scene of the action on the Pinarus, is a distance of ten geographical miles direct. The Upper pass of Amanus leads from Killis to Ayasse. Connected with the history of this engagement, therefore, there are four passes. 1. That from Cilicia to Tarsus; 2. The maritime pass, by which Cyrus came, etc.; 3. The Lower pass of Amanus, which Darius avoided; and, 4. The Upper pass of Amanus, by which he advanced and retreated.

Alexander was prevented from immediately following Darius, by the prowess of the Greek mercenaries. This powerful body charged the Macedonian phalanx, killed Ptolemy the son of Seleucus, with 120 officers of distinction, besides a great many private men; and, though attacked in flank by Alexander in person, maintained their ground till they were reduced from 20,000 to 8,000. They retired then in good order over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where, finding the transports that had conveyed them from Lesbos lying on the shore, they lifted out a number, and sailed to Cyprus.

As soon as Alexander had repulsed the Greek mercenaries, he hastened after Darius. He pursued in vain; and growing weary, he returned to the camp at midnight, and refreshed himself in the baths prepared for Darius, whose tent was taken, with his mother, wife, and children, and a vast booty, and reserved for the conqueror, during the plunder of the enemy's camp.

According to Arrian, the Persians lost 110,000 men in this battle; ancient authors, however, differ very much on this subject; and it is difficult to determine which is correct. The loss of life was doubtless great, and that on both sides, though Quintus Curtius relates that not more than 450 of the Macedonians were slain.

* Arrian says that Alexander, as soon as he heard of the approach of Darius, returned from Myrændrus, and sailed upon the straits he was obliged to pass, the evening before the battle. These straits are a narrow border of low lands at the foot of high steep cliffs, and called the Syrian gates, at the river Kerens, the modern Maheray, eight miles south of Alexandria. They answer to the second maritime pass of the text.

The next day, Alexander, after visiting the wounded, caused the dead to be buried in great pomp, in the presence of the whole army, which was drawn up in battle array. He treated the persons of distinction in the same manner, and permitted the mother of Darius to bury as many as she pleased according to the ceremonies used in Persia.

The conqueror treated his royal captives with great tenderness and humanity. Plutarch says, "that they were in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a holy temple, designed for the asylum of virtue; they all living so retired, that they were not seen by any one, none daring to approach their pavilion but such as were appointed to attend them." From a letter which Alexander wrote to Parmenio, we find that the consort of Darius, and her two daughters, being princesses possessing great beauty, he resolved never to see them after his first visit, which was the day after the battle. Alexander had the one great object of the Persian empire in view, and he avoided the debasing influence of pleasure, lest he should lose the prize. It would be well for the Christian warrior to act thus from nobler motives. With the kingdom of heaven in view, he should resolutely avoid every pleasure of earth that would deprive him of his crown. His path is surrounded by roses that have thorns, which would pierce his inmost soul; by pleasures that would rob him of eternal happiness. The world cries:—

"I am thine end, Felicity my name;
The best of wishes, pleasures, riches, fame,
Are humble vassals which my throne attend,
And make you mortals happy when I send.
In my left hand delicious fruits I hold,
To feed them who with mirth and ease grow old;
Afrid to lose the fleeting days and nights,
They seize on time and spend it in delights
My right hand with triumphant crowns is stored,
Which all the kings of former times adored
These gifts are thine: then enter where no strife,
No grief, no pain shall interrupt thy life."

BRACMONT.

Beware of these snares of the world; for Scripture declares, "the friendship of the world is enmity with God," James iv. 4.

The principal treasures of Darius had been deposited at Damascus. Alexander, shortly after the battle, detached Parmenio thither with the Thessalian horse, to take possession of them. They were betrayed into Parmenio's hands by the governor, who, in return for his treachery, was killed by one of his own men, and his head carried to Darius. The treasures were immense, sufficient, says Plutarch, to load 7,000 camels. Thirty thousand prisoners were also taken at the same time, among whom were many of great distinction: there was scarcely a noble family in Persia who did not partake in this calamity.

In Darius we behold the mutability of earthly grandeur. Whilst Alexander was seizing his riches, he who, but a few hours before, was at the head of so mighty an army, and who came into the field with all the pride of a conqueror, was fleeing for his life. He rode swiftly the whole night, accompanied only by a few attendants. In two or three days, he arrived at Sochos, where he assembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to 4000 men, including

Persians and mercenaries. From hence he hastened to Thapsacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Alexander advanced into Syria, most of the cities of which surrendered at his approach. Being arrived at Marathon, he received a letter from Darius, who was now at Babylon, complaining of his aggressions, offering to ransom his wife, mother, and children, and to treat about peace. The letter was written, notwithstanding the fall of Darius, in the usual haughty style of the kings of the east. Alexander answered him in the same spirit, concluding with this sentence: "When you write next to me, remember that you write to the king of Asia. Treat me no more as your equal, but as lord of all you possess. If you dispute my title, prepare to do so in another general engagement; but attempt not to flee, for wherever you go, I am determined to pursue you." Thus was he like a ravenous bird seeking its prey.

Alexander marched from Marathon into Phenicia, where the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him; and their example was followed by others as he advanced into the country. The Sidonians, who had, as stated in the life of Ochus, been cruelly treated by that prince, retaining an abhorrence of the Persians, received Alexander with great joy. This people were among the first in the country who submitted to him, and they did so in opposition to their king, who declared in favour of Darius. Alexander deposed him, and permitted Hephæstion to elect whomsoever of the Sidonians he should judge worthy of so exalted a station. Abdalonymus, descended remotely from the royal line, was taken from a low station in life to wear the diadem, in compliance with this permission. Alexander commanded the newly-elected prince to be sent for, and after surveying him attentively, spoke to this effect: "Thy air and mien do not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I should be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didst bear thy poverty?" "Would to the gods," he replied, "that I may bear this crown with equal fortitude. These hands have procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing, I wanted nothing." Socrates has well observed, that he is the richest man who is contented with the least; for contentment is the riches of nature. The inspired precept is far more emphatic: "Having food and raiment let us be therewith content," 1 Tim. vi. 8.

While Alexander was in Phenicia, some of the Persian generals who had escaped the slaughter at Issus, drawing together the remains of the scattered army, attempted, with the aid of the Cappadocians and Paphlagonians, to recover Lydia; but they were defeated in several engagements by Antigonus, whom Alexander had appointed governor of that province. At the same time, the Macedonian fleet sailing from Greece came up with and destroyed the fleet commanded by Aristomenes, whom Darius had sent to recover the cities on the Hellespont.

All Syria and Phenicia were now subdued by Alexander, insular Tyre excepted, to which he next laid siege.

It has been seen in former pages,* that Nebu-

chadnezzar, according to the voice of prophecy, had laid ancient Tyre in the dust, and that the Tyrians continued without a king for seventy years, to which period the duration of their subjection was limited by prophecy, Isa. xxiii. 15—17; that is, to the termination of the Babylonian monarchy, when the Tyrians, with some other remote nations, were restored to comparative independence by the Persians.

But Tyre, after she had recovered her losses and repaired her ruins, forgot her former state of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it, unmindful of the finger of prophecy which pointed to her future ruin. Yes, while Ezekiel speaks primarily of the destruction of continental Tyre by Nebuchadnezzar, he, by a transition not unusual in Scripture, glances at the subsequent destruction of the insular Tyre by Alexander, near 400 years after the first. Its doom was also foretold by the prophets Isaiah and Zechariah.

"Pass through thy land as a river, O daughter of Tarshish: There is no more strength.
He stretched out his hand over the sea,
He shook the kingdoms
The Lord hath given a commandment against the merchant city,
To destroy the strong holds thereof.
And he said, Thou shalt no more rejoice;
O thou oppressed virgin, daughter of Zidon:
Arise, pass over to Chittim, [Macedonia.]
There also shalt thou have no rest."—Isa. xxiii. 10—12.

"And Hamath also shall border thereby;
Tyrus, and Zidon, though it be very wise.
And Tyrus did build herself a strong hold,
And heaped up silver as the dust,
And fine gold as the mire of the streets.
Behold, the Lord will cast her out,
And he will smite her power in the sea;
And she shall be devoured with fire.
Ashkelon shall see it, and fear;
Gaza also shall see it, and be very sorrowful,
And Ekron; for her expectation shall be ashamed;
And the king shall perish from Gaza,
And Ashkelon shall not be inhabited."—Zech. ix. 2—5.

The prophet powerfully describes the conduct of the Tyrians after their redemption from obscurity, which is the cause of their second humiliation.

"After the end of seventy years shall Tyre sing as an harlot.
Take an harp, go about the city.
Thou harlot that hast been forgotten;
Make sweet melody, sing many songs,
That thou mayest be remembered.
And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years,
That the Lord will visit Tyre,
And she shall turn to her hire,
And shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world
Upon the face of the earth."—Jer. xlii. 15—17.

Thus, after her season of obscurity, seventy years, the prophet foresaw that Tyre would again endeavour to appear with the air of a harlot; that she would promote her commerce by fraud and deceit; that she would visit every part of the world to collect the most rare and delicate productions of every country, to inspire the various nations of the universe with a love and admiration for superfluities and splendour; and that she would use every effort to renew her ancient treaties, and to recover the confidence of her former correspondents, with her trade and credit. And such had been the policy of the

* See the History of the Assyrians, and the present history, page 29

Tyrians. Under the Persians, the people of Tyre recovered much of their former wealth and importance. As into one common storehouse they collected the amber of Prussia, the tin of Britain, the linen of Egypt, the spices of Arabia, the slaves of Caucasus, and the horses of Scythia. The king of Tyre was present at the council of war which Xerxes, the Persian monarch, held concerning the Greeks, and his seat was second only from the king, which shows to what importance Tyre had again risen in the scale of nations. But her second overthrow was at hand. Alexander took Tyre, after a siege of seven months, burned it, slew 8000 of the Tyrians, crucified 2000 more, and sold 30,000 captives, in order to strike terror into the neighbouring states by the severity. His enlarged views of commercial policy, however, induced him to re-people Tyre from the adjacent countries, thus undesignedly fulfilling prophecy. A brighter era was in the distance for Tyre. A day was coming when she should no longer be a scandal and a stumbling block to the nations around,—when her inhabitants should embrace Christianity. (See Ps. xlv. 12; lxxii. 10; Isa. xxiii. 18.) And thus it was. Many of the people of Tyre in the end embraced the Jewish religion, and that city was one of the first that received the faith of Christ. He had, while on earth, himself visited the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, and miraculously healed the woman of Canaan's daughter. Paul found there some faithful disciples in his journey to Jerusalem; and in the persecution under Dioclesian, there were many sincere believers at Tyre, who counted not their own lives dear unto them. But Tyre still seems to have been devoted to destruction; and successive persecutions have caused it literally to become, as the prophet Ezekiel prophesied it should become,

"A place for the spreading of nets in the midst of the sea."—Ezek. xxvi. 5.

During the siege of Tyre, Darius wrote again to Alexander, offering to cede to him all the provinces west of the Euphrates, to give him his daughter in marriage, as a friend and ally, and 10,000 talents for the ransom of his family. In order to gain his consent to these terms, Darius pointed out to him the inconstancy of fortune, and described in pompous terms the numberless troops which were still at his command. When these proposals were communicated to his privy council, Parmenio said, "I would accept them, were I Alexander." "And I too," replied he, "were I Parmenio." But Alexander returned the following answer: "That he wanted no money from Darius, nor would accept part of the country, since he was lord of the whole; that if he chose he could marry the daughter of Darius, even without his consent; and that he required Darius to come to him, if he wished to make Alexander his friend."

Despairing of peace with such a haughty foe, Darius continued his preparations for war, while Alexander proceeded on his systematic plan of conquest.

The people of Jerusalem had refused him supplies during the siege of Tyre, and rejected his friendship; declaring, that as they had taken

an oath of fidelity to Darius, they would never acknowledge any other sovereign as long as he lived. Alexander now turned aside from Gaza, with vengeance in his heart, to punish them for such rare conduct, which ought to have been his admiration.

In this exigency, Jaddus the high priest, who governed under the Persians, relying on the protection of the Almighty, gave orders that public prayers should be made to implore his assistance, and offered sacrifices. No nations or individuals have ever truly sought the protection of Heaven in vain. The night after, we are told, Jaddus was commanded in a vision to cause flowers to be scattered up and down the city, to set open all the gates, and to go clothed in his pontifical robes, with all the priests dressed also in their vestments, to meet Alexander; and not to fear any evil from the king, inasmuch as he would protect them. Accordingly, this august procession, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called Sapha, which commanded a view of the city and temple, and there waited the arrival of Alexander.

The conqueror came. As he approached, struck with awful respect, he advanced alone to meet the high priest, saluted him first, and adored the sacred name of Jehovah written on the front of his mitre, to the great surprise and disappointment of the Phœnicians and Chaldeans, who expected his orders to destroy the Jewish priests and plunder the city. Alexander recognized in Jaddus the person whom he had seen in the vision at Dium. He explained this to his followers; adding, that having undertaken the expedition by a Divine mission, he should conquer Darius, overthrow the Persian empire, and succeed in all his designs. After this explanation, he embraced the high priest and his brethren; then walking in the midst of them, he arrived at Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to God in the temple, according to the high priest's directions.

While at Jerusalem, the high priest showed Alexander the passages in the prophecy of Daniel relating to himself, and which now demand our attention. The prophecies which relate to the Macedo-Grecian empire are exceedingly remarkable; and the reader, in tracing them in the dreams and visions, cannot fail to observe, that they become progressively more definite, till at last the "king of Grecia," Alexander, is distinctly mentioned. We shall notice them in the order they were revealed.

The first dream, n. c. 569.—This was of a compound image of gold, silver, brass, and iron, denoting four successive kingdoms, Dan. ii. 31–45. Now in ancient coins and medals it is usual to see cities and nations represented by human figures, male or female. A vast image of a human figure was therefore a fit emblem of sovereign power and dominion, while the materials of which it was composed significantly typified the character of the various empires, the succession of which was foretold by the vision, and which has been so well explained by the prophet himself, and with the illustration derived from his own future visions, that little or no evil has taken place on essential points, except in that portion yet unfulfilled. The head of "fine gold,"

as we have seen in the article Nebuchadnezzar, represented the Babylonian empire. The other parts downward represented the great empires which should successively arise upon its ruins. The breast and arms of silver denoted the Medo-Persian kingdom. And it is remarkable that their arms and shields were frequently ornamented or cased with silver, whence Alexander instituted that remarkable body of veteran infantry called *Argyraspides*, from their "silver shields," after the conquest of the Persians, adopting the manners of the conquered nations. This empire lasted from a.c. 536 to the battle of Arbela, a.c. 331. The "belly and thighs of brass" (see Dan. ii. 32) denoted the Macedo-Grecian kingdoms of Alexander and his successors. And the Greeks usually wore brazen armour, whence the Egyptian oracle described them on one occasion as "brazen men rising out of the sea." This empire lasted 163 years to the conquest of the first kingdom, Macedonia, a.c. 168, and 300 years to the conquest of the last, Egypt, a.c. 30; when "the legs of iron," and the "feet, part of iron and part of clay," which refers to the Roman power, trampled over them by conquest.

The first vision, a.c. 558.—This vision corresponds to the dream, portraying the same things under living emblems. The four kingdoms in it are represented by four ferocious wild beasts rising out of the sea, agitated by the four winds striving for the mastery. The first beast resembled a lion with eagle's wings, to denote the fierceness and rapidity of Nebuchadnezzar, the founder of the Babylonian empire, which accords with the description of that monarch by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel. See Jer. iv. 7; xlviii. 40; and Ezek. xvii. 8. At the time of this vision, its "wings were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man;" and it also had "a man's heart," and not the boldness of the lion; that is, its career was checked, and its stability weakened by the victories of Cyrus, Dan. vii. 4. The second beast resembled a bear, raised on one side, with three ribs in its teeth, aptly expressing the Medo-Persian empire; Darius the Mede being of a sluggish disposition, until stimulated to conquest by Cyrus, his nephew, who reduced Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt under his dominion, three kingdoms answering to the three ribs, ver. 5. The third beast resembled a leopard in its nature and motions, with two pair of wings to express rapidity, which aptly denoted the founder of the Macedonian empire. This beast had also four heads, which shadowed forth the four kingdoms of the Greeks—Macedon, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt—into which his empire was divided after the death of Alexander, ver. 6. The fourth beast, which represented the Roman power, was the most terrible of all, exceedingly strong, with great iron teeth, with which it devoured and brake in pieces the others, and trampled upon the residue, etc. ver. 7, 8.

The second vision, a.c. 556.—At the date of this vision, the Babylonian empire was fallen rapidly into decay; hence it describes more particularly the succession of the second, third, and fourth empires. On the banks of the river Ulai, Daniel saw a ram standing, or established in

his strength, after the succession of the Persian power under Cyrus; it had two horns, with which it was pushing or butting, "westward, and northward, and southward," or subduing Lydia, Babylon, and Egypt with their dependencies, and doing according to his will, and becoming great, Dan. viii. 3, 4. The ram was the armorial ensign of the Persian empire, and rams' heads, with unequal horns, one higher than the other, are still to be seen on the ruined pillars of Persepolis. The lower horn denoted the Median power; the higher, which "came up last," the Persian. While the prophet was meditating on the ram, a he goat from the west, with a notable horn between his eyes, (Alexander the Great,) who touched not the ground, (for swiftness,) traversed the whole earth, (or the Persian empire,) and ran at the ram (Darius Codomannus) in the fury of his power; and was "moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns,—and cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones [the four kingdoms of Macedo-Greece, Thrace, Syria, and Egypt] toward the four winds of heaven," ver. 4—8. The interpretation of this vision is given by the angel who showed it to the prophet. "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings [or kingdoms] of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king [or kingdom] of Grecia; and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king [Alexander.] Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power," ver. 20—22. Ancient authors state that the figure of a goat was represented on the royal standard of the Macedonian kings; and that the origin of this device commenced with Caranus, the first of those kings. The reason is thus assigned. Caranus, they say, was a native of Argos, and a remote descendant of the renowned Hercules. Caranus left his native city, accompanied by a considerable body of Greeks, in search of a foreign settlement. Consulting the oracle where he should establish his colony, he was answered that he should be guided in his measures by the direction of the goats. He pursued his course into the country since known by the name of Macedonia, and particularly the small principality of *Æmathia*, then governed by a prince called *Midas*, and drew near to its capital, *Edessa*. The sky being suddenly overcast, and a great storm coming on, Caranus observed a herd of goats running for shelter to the city. Recollecting the response of the oracle, he commanded his men to follow them closely, and entering the city by surprise, he possessed himself of it, and afterwards of the kingdom. In gratitude to his conductors, the goats, he changed the name of the place to *Ægea*, or "the city of goats," called his people *Ægeates*, and made use of a goat in his standard, in order to perpetuate the memory of this event. As the ram, therefore, was the symbol of the Medo-Persian empire, so that of a goat was symbolical of Alexander the Great. In this vision, the Roman power, which was to triumph over these empires,

is represented under the figure of a "king of Serce countenance," which will claim more ample notice hereafter.

The fourth vision, n. c. 534.—In the revelation of this vision, after Daniel had been recovered from a trance into which he had fallen, by the touch of the hand of the angel, the plain "Scripture of truth" is unfolded. That which relates to the Persians and Alexander reads thus: "And now will I show thee the truth. Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, [after him from whom the vision commenced, Darius Nothus; namely, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Ochus, and Darius Codomannus;] and the fourth [Darius Codomannus] shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia, [which, as we have seen, he did do.] And a mighty king [Alexander] shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, [in his strength,] his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those," [namely, for his four generals,] Dan. xi. 2-4.

From these prophecies, the reader will perceive that the Almighty presides over all events, which happen in the world, and rules with absolute sway over man, cities, and empires; while he conceals the operations of his wisdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural causes and ordinary events. In all that profane history exhibits to us, whether sieges, or the capture of cities, battles won or lost, empires established or overthrown, God is not described as having any concern in these things, and some would suppose that man is abandoned to work according to his own will and pleasure. But to prevent our falling into such a temptation, so repugnant to religion and reason itself, the Most High sometimes condescends to discover to our wondering eyes the secret springs of his providence, by causing his prophets to foretell, ages before the event, what shall befall the different nations of the earth. He reveals here to the "man greatly beloved," the order, the succession, and the different characteristics of the four great empires to which he has determined to subject the different nations of the universe; namely, that of the Babylonians, of the Persians and Medes, of the Greeks, and of the Romans. These, and other prophecies, in which God explains himself so clearly, should be considered as very precious, and serve as so many keys to open to our understanding the secret methods by which he governs the world. These bright rays of light should enable a rational and religious man to see and acknowledge the Divine hand in the varied events of profane history. Strains should follow the review of this

"..... of acknowledgment addressed
To an Authority enthroned above
The reach of sight."—WORDSWORTH

The effect which the narration of these prophecies had upon the mind of Alexander may be readily conceived. He looked upon the conquest of the Persian empire as already in his hands,

and he soon passed on to obtain this consummation of his wishes. Before he left Jerusalem, he assembled the Jews, and bade them ask any favour they pleased. They requested to be allowed to live according to the law of their fathers, as well as the Jews resident in Babylonia and Media; and to be exempt every seventh year from their usual tribute, explaining, that they were forbidden by their laws to sow in that year, and consequently could reap no harvest. Alexander granted these requests, and promised all who were willing to serve under his standard, that they should follow their own mode of worship, and obey their own customs, which act of policy gained an augmentation to his forces from that people.

Alexander had no sooner left Jerusalem than he was waited upon by a deputation of Samaritans, who solicited him to visit their temple, which he declined, stating that he was compelled to hasten onward to the conquest of Egypt. They then requested exemption from paying the seventh year tribute, which had been granted the Jews; but receiving an ambiguous answer to the question whether they were Jews, Alexander suspended the matter till his return, and continued his march towards Gaza.

On his arrival at Gaza, Alexander found it defended by a strong garrison under the command of Betis, one of the eunuchs of Darius; who being a man of great experience in military affairs, and faithful to his sovereign, resolved to hold out against Alexander to the last extremity. As this was the only inlet or pass into Egypt, it was necessary for him to take it, and therefore he was obliged to besiege it. But although every art of war was resorted to, and great bravery was displayed by his warriors, two months elapsed before its reduction. Exasperated at this impediment in his march, and his receiving two wounds, on taking it, he destroyed ten thousand men, and sold all the rest, with their wives and children. He treated the governor, who was taken prisoner, in the last assault, with unwonted barbarity. When brought before him, covered with honourable wounds, instead of using him kindly, as his valour and fidelity merited, he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a cord being put through them, and tied to a chariot, he caused him to be dragged round the city till he expired. These were lamentable actions, and denote that the sentiments and conduct of Alexander began to change with his prosperity.

Ancient historians relate, that the conduct of Alexander towards Betis sprang from a desire of imitating the ferocity of Achilles, in dragging the dead body of Hector thrice round the walls of Troy. This is one of the mischiefs of a warlike education: it disposes the mind to delight in the recital of deeds of carnage, and no poem is more calculated to produce such fiendish feelings than the Iliad of Homer. Alexander excelled even his prototype Achilles in cruelty. Achilles was prompted by the passion of revenge for the death of his much loved Patroclus, whom Hector had slain, and over whom he mourned in the tenderest accents. The conduct of Alexander towards his fallen foe Betis was not attended with extenuating circumstances. He had no other motive to satiate his inhuman rage but the brave defence which Betis made of the city entrusted to

his charge by his lawful sovereign, unless we except the vain desire of imitating Achilles.

There is yet another light in which this action must be viewed. It must be remembered that it was not the act of a half-civilized savage, (for the heroes of Homer were no better;) it was committed by a civilized prince, one who was brought up at the feet of Aristotle, the greatest philosopher of his day, and who was himself renowned for his learning and philosophy. And yet no action of those barbarous sovereigns, the Persian kings, could exceed this in refined cruelty. Alas! civilization without Christianity is but another term for barbarism. It is only by the hallowed doctrines of the gospel that man can learn humanity. Already, Christianity has mitigated the feelings of ambition and revenge, whence so many woes have arisen to the human race. This is a noble achievement. Hereafter, mankind will be taught by its hallowed doctrines to look upon a hero in his true light, as a destroyer of his species; hereafter, under its benign influence, they will weep over the recital of deeds of blood, and mourn over the slaughter of their species; hereafter they shall universally "pass by securely as men averse from war," serving under the banner of the Prince of Peace.

As soon as Alexander had ended the siege of Gaza, B.C. 332, he left a garrison there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt, of which country he possessed himself without a single conflict, as related in the History of the Egyptians, to which the reader is referred for the details.

Having settled the affairs of Egypt, Alexander set out from thence in the spring of the year, B.C. 331, to march into the east against Darius. He first halted at Tyre, where he appointed the general rendezvous of all his forces. From thence he marched to the Euphrates, which he crossed, according to Rennel, at Racca, or Nicophorium, and continued his march towards the Tigris.

During the absence of Alexander in Egypt, some Samaritans, perhaps enraged that they had not obtained the same privileges as the Jews, set fire to the house of Andromachus, whom he had appointed their governor, and he perished in the flames. The other Samaritans delivered up the culprits to Alexander on his return; but the conqueror was so enraged, that, not satisfied with their punishment, he removed the Samaritans from their city, and transferred thither a Macedonian colony. This event precluded the reconsideration of their previous claim, respecting the sabbatic year; and thus excluded from Samaria, the Samaritans thenceforth made Shechem their metropolis.

In the mean time, Darius, finding that there were no hopes of an accommodation unless he resigned the whole empire, applied himself to make preparations for another engagement. For this purpose, he assembled a very considerable army in Babylon, with which he took the field, and marched towards Nineveh. Advice being brought him that the enemy was advancing, he detached Satrapates, commander of the cavalry, at the head of 1000 chosen horse, and Mazseus, governor of that province, with 6000, to prevent Alexander from crossing the Tigris, and to waste

the country through which he was to pass. But it was too late. With his usual rapidity, Alexander had reached and passed that rapid river, in about twenty-three hours' travelling, according to Hadgy Khalifa, above Mosul, and twenty-four miles below the ridge of Zaco. At this season, the Tigris was at its lowest ebb.

Alexander encamped two days on the banks of the Tigris. On the evening of the second day, Sept. 20, there was a remarkable lunar eclipse, which gave Alexander and his army great uneasiness. The soldiers exclaimed that Heaven displayed the marks of its anger; and that they were dragged, against the will of the gods, to the extremities of the earth; that rivers opposed their passage; that the stars refused to lend their usual light, and that they could see nothing but deserts and solitudes before them. They were upon the point of an insurrection, when Alexander summoned the officers of his army into his tent, and commanded the Egyptian soothsayers to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. These men were well acquainted with the nature and causes of eclipses; but without explaining these, they contented themselves with stating, that the sun ruled in Greece, and the moon in Persia; whence, as often as the moon suffered an eclipse, some calamity was portended to the country. This answer satisfied the superstitious multitude, and their hopes and courage revived.

Taking advantage of the ardour of his army, Alexander recommenced his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tigris, and on his left the mountains called Cordylæ.* At day-break he received intelligence that the army of Darius was near; but it proved only to be the detachment sent to prevent his passage across the Tigris. These retired before him, and rejoined the army of Darius.

About this time, Alexander intercepted some letters written by Darius to the Greeks, soliciting them, with great promises, either to kill or betray him.

Word was brought to him about the same time that Statira, the wife of Darius, was dead. He caused the funeral obsequies of the deceased princess to be performed with the utmost magnificence, and comforted the other royal prisoners with great tenderness. Darius was informed of this, and being assured of the respect paid to her by the conqueror in her lifetime, he is said to have prayed to the gods, that if the time ordained for the transferring of the Persian empire into other hands was arrived, none might sit on the throne of Cyrus but Alexander. Overcome by the tenderness and humanity which Alexander had shown his wife, mother, and children, Darius dispatched ten of his relations as ambassadors, offering him new conditions of peace, more advantageous than the former; offering him, indeed, all that he had conquered, and returning him thanks for his kindness to his royal captives. Alexander returned the following haughty answer: "Tell your sovereign, that thanks, between persons who make war against each other,

* This proves that Alexander passed the Tigris above Mosul. From the delta of Zaco to that place the country is for the most part a plain, having the Tigris on the right hand, and the range of the Zagros at a distance on the left.

were superfluous; and that in case I have behaved with clemency towards his family, it was for my own sake, and not for his; to gratify my own inclination, and not to please him. To insult the unhappy is a thing to me unknown. I do not attack either prisoners or women, and turn my rage only against such as are armed for the fight. If Darius were sincere in his demand for peace, I then would debate on what was to be done; but since he still continues, by letters and by money, to spirit up my soldiers to betray me, and my friends to murder me, I therefore am determined to pursue him with the utmost vigour; and that not as an enemy, but an assassin. It indeed becomes him to offer to yield up to me what I already possess! Would he be satisfied with ranking second to me, without pretending to be my equal, I might possibly then hear him. Tell him that the world will not permit two sons nor two sovereigns. Let him therefore either choose to surrender to-day, or meet me to-morrow; and not to flatter himself with the hopes of better success than he has had hitherto."

By this the reader will perceive that Alexander had become intoxicated with his success. Oh, how hard it is to bear prosperity with a proper frame of mind! Truly has it been said, that when the channels of plenty run high, and every appetite is plied with abundance and variety, so that satisfaction is but a mean word to express its enjoyment, then the inbred corruption of the human heart shows itself pampered and insolent, too unruly for discipline, and too big for correction.

The ambassadors of Darius returned, and informed him that he must now prepare for battle. Accordingly, he pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela,* and the river Bumellus, the modern Hazir Su, in a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela, where he had before levelled the ground, that his cavalry and chariots might move and act with more ease. At the same time he had prepared caltrops† to annoy the enemy's horse.

Alexander hearing that Darius was so near, continued four days in his camp to rest the army. During this time, he was engaged in surrounding it with deep trenches and palisades, being determined to leave his baggage there, and such of his troops as were unable to join in the conflict. On the fifth morning, he set out about the second watch, designing to engage the enemy at break of day. Arriving at some mountains from whence he could descry the enemy's army, he halted; and having assembled his officers, he debated whether he should attack them immediately, or encamp in that place. The latter opinion being adopted, he encamped there in the same order in which the army had marched, and, after having consulted with his soothsayer, as was his usual wont on the eve of a battle, he retired to repose,

fully confident of obtaining the empire of the east on the morrow, and that he should reign without a rival.

The morrow came, and both sides prepared for battle. Both armies were drawn up in the same order, the infantry in the centre, and the cavalry on the wings. The front of the Persian army was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with scythes, and twenty-five elephants. Besides his guards, which were the flower of his army, Darius had posted the Grecian infantry near his person, believing this body alone capable of opposing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army spread over a larger space of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to surround, and to charge them at the same time, both in front and flank. Alexander anticipated this, and gave directions accordingly. He had posted, in the front of his first line, the greatest part of his bowmen, slingers, and javelin men, in order that they might counteract the effect of the chariots, by discharging their missiles at the horses, to frighten them. Those who led the wings were ordered to extend them as widely as possible, but in such a manner as not to weaken the main body. Parmenio commanded the left wing, and Alexander the right. The two armies soon joined issue. The chariots failed in the effect intended, and the Persian cavalry in the left wing were repulsed, upon which Darius set his whole army in motion, in order to overwhelm the Macedonians. Upon seeing this, Alexander employed a stratagem to encourage his soldiers. When the strife was at the height, and fury pervaded every breast, Aristander, the soothsayer, clothed in his white robes, and holding a branch of laurel in his hand, advanced among the troops, crying that he saw an eagle (a sure omen of victory) hovering over the head of Alexander, to which pretended bird he pointed with his finger. The soldiers relying upon his word, and imagining that they also saw the eagle, renewed the attack with greater resolution than ever. The battle was obstinate and bloody; but the Macedonians prevailed. Alexander having wounded the equerry of Darius with a javelin, the Persians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former were seized with the greatest consternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards; but those who were at his right surrounded him, in order to rescue him from death. Historians relate, that he drew his scimitar, and reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himself, rather than flee in an ignominious manner; but the love of life prevailed, and he fled to Arbela, where he arrived the same night.

After Darius had passed the Lycus, some of his attendants advised him to break down the bridge, in order to stop the pursuit of the enemy; but he, reflecting how many of his own men were hastening to pass over, generously replied, that he had rather leave an open road to a pursuing enemy, than close it to a fleeing friend. When he reached Arbela, he informed those who had escaped with him, that he designed to leave all for the present to Alexander, and flee into Media, from whence, and from the rest of the

* The camp of Darius was about ten miles to the north of the Lycus or Zab. According to Niebuhr and Kennel, the ancient Gaugamela is to be recognized in the modern village of Kamala. The ground around here offers little or no impediment to the evolutions and movements of the largest armies.

† These were instruments composed of spikes, several of which were anciently laid in the field through which the cavalry was to march, in order that they might pierce the feet of the horses.

northern provinces, he could draw together new forces, to try once more his fortune in battle.

Historians differ as to the number of the Persians slain on this fatal day. Curtius says 40,000; Arrian, 30,000; and Diodorus, 90,000. The first of these authorities states that the Macedonians lost only 300 men, while Arrian does not allow a third of that number; but this cannot be true: if the battle was so obstinate, and the Persian army so numerous as they make it, (400,000, 700,000, or 800,000 men,) they could not have bought the empire thus cheaply. There is, doubtless, on the one side exaggeration, and on the other extenuation, with reference to the numbers stated. The battle was fought on the first of October, B.C. 331.

Alexander, after offering magnificent sacrifices to the gods, for the victory, and rewarding those who had signalized themselves in the battle, pursued Darius as far as Arbela; but before his arrival there, the fallen monarch had fled over the mountains of Armenia, attended by some of his relatives, and a small body of guards called *Melephori*, because each of them wore a golden apple on the top of his spear. In Armenia, he was joined by 2000 Greek mercenaries who had escaped the slaughter.

Alexander took the city of Arbela, where he seized on immense sums of money, with all the rich furniture and equipage of Darius, and then returned to his camp.

The conqueror rested but a few days. Some cities yet remained untaken, and some provinces unsubdued, and he was uneasy till they were in his possession. He first proceeded to Babylon. Mazæus was governor of that city and province, and he had, after the late battle, retired thither, with the remains of the body he commanded. He was almost powerless; upon Alexander's arrival, therefore, he delivered the city, himself, and his children, into the conqueror's hands. His example was followed by Bagabanes, governor of the fortress, wherein all the treasures of Darius were deposited; and Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as though he had been marching against the enemy, and received the riches of Babylon.

During his stay in Babylon, Alexander held many conferences with the magi, and acting upon their advice, he gave directions for rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demolished; and, among others, that of Belus. He frequently conversed, also, with the Chaldeans, who were famous for their knowledge in astronomy, and who presented him with astronomical observations, taken by their predecessors during the space of 1803 years, which were sent by Callisthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Aristotle. Before he departed, he gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

About this time, Alexander received recruits to the number of 2000 horse, and 13,500 foot, under the command of Amyntas. These he incorporated into his veteran army; himself being present at the reviews as often as they were exercised.

After a stay of about thirty days in Babylon,

during which time the people abandoned themselves to pleasures of the grossest nature, Alexander marched towards Susa, passing through the fertile province of Satracene. He arrived at Susa in twenty days. As he approached the city, Abulites, governor of the place, sent his son to meet him, with a promise to surrender the city into his hands, with all the treasures of Darius. The young nobleman conducted Alexander to the river Choaspes, where Abulites himself met him, and performed his promise. The treasures of Susa were added to the coffers of Alexander. Surely he was a mighty robber! He found in this place the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which Xerxes had brought out of Greece, and Alexander now restored them to Athens.

Leaving a strong garrison in the city of Susa, Alexander, after having appointed Archelaus governor of the city, Mazarus, governor of the citadel, and Abulites, governor of the province of Susiana, marched into Persia. Having crossed the river Pasi Tigris (the modern Jerahi) he entered the country of the Uxii. This province extends from Susiana to the frontiers of Persia, and it was governed by Madetes, who was not a follower of fortune. Faithful to his sovereign, he resolved to hold out to the last extremity; for which purpose he retired into a stronghold, in the midst of craggy mountains, and surrounded by steep precipices. Having been chased from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the besieged sent thirty deputies to Alexander, to sue for quarter. Alexander would not at first listen to the petition; but receiving letters from Sisigambis, whom he had left at Susa, and to whom Madetes was related, he not only pardoned him, but restored him to his former dignity, set all the prisoners free, left the city untouched, and the citizens in the full enjoyment of their ancient liberty and privileges.

Having subdued the Uxii, Alexander ordered Parmenio to march with part of his army through the plain, while he himself, at the head of his light armed troops, crossed the mountains, which extend as far as Persia. On the fifth day, he arrived at the pass of Susa. Ariobarzanes, with 4000 foot, and 700 horse, had possessed himself of this pass, and he had so posted his little band, that they were out of the reach of arrows. As soon as Alexander advanced in order to attack them, they rolled from the top of the mountains stones of a prodigious size, which, rebounding from rock to rock, smote down whole ranks. The conqueror was astounded, and gave orders for a retreat. He withdrew about thirty furlongs, where he lay encamped some time, afraid to proceed, and ashamed to return. His pride was about to be humbled, and his career of victory checked, when a Greek deserter coming to his camp, offered to conduct him through by-paths to the top of the mountains, whence he might compel the Persians to retreat. Accordingly, Alexander, at the head of some chosen troops, having followed his guide by night over rocks and precipices, arrived a little before day-break, at the top of a mountain which commanded all the hills where the enemy was posted. A charge was made, and they fled; and Craterus, who had been left in the camp be-

low, advancing with the troops, possessed himself of the pass. Ariobarranes, with part of the cavalry, breaking through the Macedonians, (by which act many were slaughtered on both sides,) made his escape over the mountains, designing to throw himself into Persepolis; but he was chased back again by the enemy below, and he, with most of his valiant band, perished on the mountains.

Alexander now pursued his march into Persia, or Persia. When he was at some distance from Persepolis, the metropolis of that province, he received letters from Tiridates, governor of that city, urging his speedy arrival, lest the inhabitants of the city should seize the treasures of Darius, to which act they were inclined. Alexander, upon this news, left his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, and passing the Araxes by a bridge he had previously ordered to be made, came to Persepolis.

Diodorus tells us, that Alexander, having assembled his troops, made a speech, wherein he charged this city with having caused innumerable mischiefs to Greece, with implacable hatred towards her, and with growing rich by her spoils. To avenge these injuries, he gave it up to them, to do with the inhabitants and their estates whatever they thought proper. The licensed soldiery rushed into the place, and put to the sword, without mercy, all they could find. The cruelties they committed were revolting to human nature: they show to what a dreadful extent the demoniacal spirit of revenge will carry a man when left to himself, or when licensed by a superior.

After this cruel act, leaving Craterus and Parmenio in the place, Alexander proceeded with a small body to reduce the neighbouring cities and strongholds, which submitted at the approach of his troops. He returned to Persepolis, and there took up his winter quarters. It was during this stay that he destroyed the palace, as related in the account of "Persepolis;" an act worthy of a Goth. The season was spent in feasting and revelling, regardless of the havoc he had made among his species, and of the devastation of the countries over which his ambitious feet had passed.

The spring found Alexander again on his march in quest of Darius. That unhappy prince had still an army of 30,000 foot, among whom were 4000 Greeks who continued faithful to his cause. Besides these, he had 4000 slingers, and upwards of 3000 cavalry, most of them Bactrians, commanded by Bessus, governor of the province of Bactriana. All these declared that they were ready to follow him whithersoever he should go, and would shed the last drop of blood in his defence. But there were traitors in the camp. Nabarzanes, one of the greatest lords of Persia, and general of the horse, conspired with Bessus to seize upon the person of the king, and put him in chains. Their design was, if Alexander should pursue them, to secure themselves by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in the event of their escape from the conqueror, to murder Darius, usurp his crown, and begin a new war. The traitors soon won over the troops by representing to them that they were going to certain destruction; that they would soon be

crushed under the ruins of an empire already shaken to its foundation; while at the same time Bactriana was open to them, and offered them immense riches. These intrigues were carried on with great secrecy; but, nevertheless, they came to the ears of Darius, and he would not believe them. In vain did Patroon, who commanded the Greeks, entreat him to pitch his tent among them, and to trust the guard of his person with men on whose fidelity he might depend. He replied, that it would be a less affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn the Persians; that he would suffer the worst of evils amidst those of his own nation, rather than seek for security among strangers, how faithful and affectionate soever he might believe them; and that he could not die too soon, if the Persian soldiers considered him unworthy of life. Darius was soon undeceived; the traitors seized him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, and putting him in a covered chariot, they marched towards Bactriana.

In the mean time, Alexander advanced rapidly towards Media. He reached that province in twelve days, moving nearly forty miles each day. In three days more, he reached Ecbatana, where he was informed that Darius had retired from thence five days before, with intent to pass into the remotest provinces of his empire. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treasures of Persia (which, according to Strabo and Justin, amounted to about 30,000,000*l.* sterling, exclusive of the rich gifts Alexander had munificently given at various periods to his followers) in the castle of Ecbatana, under a strong guard, which he left there. Alexander, with the rest of his army, pursued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at Rhages, which is about a day's journey from the Caspian Straits. He was informed that Darius had passed those straits some time before, which information leaving him again without hopes of overtaking his prey, he halted for five days, during which time he settled the affairs of Media.

From Rhages, Alexander marched into Parthia, and encamped the first day at a small distance from the Caspian Straits. He passed those straits the next day, and he had scarcely entered Parthia, when he was informed of the conspiracy against Darius.

This was a fresh motive for Alexander to hasten his march. At length he overtook them; and the barbarians, on his arrival, were seized with consternation. The name and reputation of Alexander, a motive all powerful in war, filled them with such terror, that they universally betook themselves to flight, notwithstanding their number exceeded that of the pursuer. Bessus and his accomplices requested Darius to mount his horse, and flee from the enemy; but he replied that the gods were ready to avenge the evils he had suffered, and invoking Alexander to do him justice, he refused to follow them. At these words, full of rage, they discharged their darts at the unhappy monarch, and left him wounded to the mercy of the Macedonians. This done, they separated, Bessus fleeing towards Hyrcania, and Nabarzanes into Bactria, hoping thereby to elude the pursuit of the enemy, or oblige him to divide his forces. Their hosts

dispersed themselves up and down, as fear or hope directed their steps, and many thousands were slain.

In the mean time, the horses that drew the cart in which the once mighty Darius was seated, halted, for the drivers had been killed by Bessus, near a village about half a mile from the highway. Polystratus, a Macedonian, being pressed with thirst in the pursuit of the enemy, was soon after conducted by the inhabitants to refresh himself at an adjacent fountain. As he was filling his helmet with water, he heard the groans of a dying man, and looking round, discovered a cart, in which, on drawing near, he found the unhappy monarch. The hunters had long pursued him, and they found him at length in the agonies of death. He had yet strength sufficient to call for a little water, which, when he had taken, he turned to the Macedonian, and, with a faint voice, said, that in the deplorable state to which he was reduced, it was no small consolation to him that his last words would not be lost. He, therefore, charged him to tell Alexander that he died in his debt, without having had the power of returning his obligations; that he thanked him for the kindness he had shown to his mother, wife, and children; that he besought the gods to give victory to his arms, and make him master of the universe; and that he thought he need not entreat him to revenge the traitorous death he suffered, as this was the common cause of kings. Then taking Polystratus by the hand, he added: "Give Alexander your hand, as I give you mine; and carry him, in my name, the only pledge I am able to give, in this condition, of my gratitude and affection." Having uttered these words, Darius expired in the arms of Polystratus.

Alexander, it is said, coming up a few minutes after, and beholding the dead body of the fallen monarch, burst into tears, and bewailed the cruel lot of a prince, who, he observed, was worthy of a better end. Vain tears, and mock bewailings were these. He had pursued him through life, the only season we have for showing real kindness to our fellow-man, and now he weeps and bewails over his lifeless and unregardless corse. They might have been, however, tears of joy; for now he had gained the height of his ambition, now he owned the empire of the east without a rival. Alas! what a miserable creature is man by nature! Tormented with the evil passions of a corrupt nature, he fritters his life away in "seeking rest, and finding none."

After having wept over the body, (whether for joy or sorrow, who can say?) Alexander pulled off his military cloak, and threw it over the loathed object; then causing it to be embalmed, and the coffin to be adorned with regal magnificence, he sent it to Sisigambis, that it might be interred with the ancient Persian monarchs.

Such was the end of Darius Codomannus. He died in the fiftieth year of his age, and sixth of his reign. He was a mild and pacific prince, his reign having been unsullied with injustice, cruelty, or any of those vices to which some of his predecessors had been greatly addicted.

In Darius Codomannus the Persian empire ended, after having existed from the reign of the

first Cyrus, under thirteen kings, from a.c. 536 to a.c. 331; dating from the time of the annexation of the Babylonian empire to that of the Medes and Persians. But the dissolution of the empire was not owing to the maladministration of Darius Codomannus; it sprang from causes over which he had little or no control. The seeds of its ruin had been sown in its very origin and primitive institution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, of different manners and inclinations. The Persians were a sober, laborious, modest people; the Medes were devoted to pomp, luxury, softness, and voluptuousness. The example of frugality and simplicity which the truly great Cyrus had set them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain so many victories, and support themselves in the midst of so many enemies, prevented those vices from spreading for some time; but when their arms had prevailed, and all were subdued before them, the fondness which the Medes had for pleasure and magnificence soon lessened the temperance of the Persians, and became the prevailing taste of the two nations. The conquest of Babylon added to the declension. That "mother of harlots" intoxicated her victors with her poisoned cup, and enchanted them with her pleasures. She furnished them with ministers and instruments adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cherish voluptuousness with art and delicacy; and the wealth of the richest provinces in the world being at the disposal of their sovereigns, they were enabled to satiate their desires. Cyrus himself contributed to this, without foreseeing the consequences. After his victories, he inspired his subjects with an admiration for pomp and show, which, hitherto, they had been taught to despise as airy trifles. He suggested that magnificence and riches should crown glorious exploits, and be the end and fruit of them; thereby authorizing them to indulge themselves in their naturally corrupt inclinations. He spread the evil farther by compelling the various officers of the empire to appear with splendour before the multitude, the better to represent his own greatness. The consequence of this was, that these officials mistook their ornaments and trappings for the essentials of their employments, while the wealthy proposed them as patterns for imitation, and were soon followed by the different grades of society.

These acts undermined the ancient virtues of the Persians. Scarcely was Cyrus dead, when there arose up as it were another nation, and monarchs of a different genius and character. Instead of the severe education anciently bestowed on the Persian youth, their young men were brought up in splendour and effeminacy; whence they learned to despise the happy simplicity of their forefathers, and the nation became corrupted. In one generation, under this enervating tuition, the Persian character became haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious; and they, of all people under the sun, were the most abandoned to splendour, luxury, feasting, and drunkenness; so that it may be affirmed that the empire of the Persians was almost from its very birth what other empires became through length of ages. Rome sunk under her corruptions, but

her decay was imperceptible: the Persian empire exhibited its own ruin almost from its infancy. This character of the Persians in different ages has been aptly compressed by the poet Thomson:

"—— Persia, sober in extreme,
Beyond the pitch of man, and chance reversed
Into luxurious waste."

One great cause of the ruin of the Persian empire, was the carelessness displayed in military discipline, and the substitution of a confused multitude of men, who were impressed for the service from their respective countries. It was only in their mercenaries, the Greeks, that they had any real strength, and their valour was frequently counteracted by the unwieldiness of the Persian hosts, and their lack of a knowledge of military tactics. The younger Cyrus knew the value of the arms of Greece; hence, as soon as the design against his brother's throne was decided, he with great care extended his connexions among them. The only soldiers, also, in the army of Darius, who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the last, were the Greeks.

The monstrous corruptions of the court, or rather of the harem, says Heeren, was another no less powerful cause of the decay of the Persian empire. Every thing was here subject to the influence of the eunuchs, or of the reigning queen, or, still worse, of the queen-mother. It is necessary to have studied, in the court history of Ctesias, the character and violent accusations of an Amytis or Amistris, or still more a Parysatis, to form an adequate idea of the nature of such a harem government. The gratification of the passions, the thirst for revenge, and the impulse of hatred, no less than voluptuousness and pride, were the springs which moved every thing in this corrupted circle: passions which acquire a force in proportion to the narrowness of the circle in which they are exercised. The monarch, enervated with pleasure, instead of governing, is governed by his courtiers. Despotism acts alone, for the most part, denoted, in the last stages of the Persian empire, that he possessed any power in the state. In a word, all was corrupt, and where corruption prevails, ruin follows in the train; for

"Not only vice disposes and prepares
The mind that slumbers sweetly in her snare,
To stoop to tyranny's usurped command
And bend her polished neck beneath his hand;
(A dire effect by one of nature's laws
Unchangeably connected with its cause:)
But Providence himself will intervene
To throw his dark displeasure o'er the scene.
All are his instruments, each form of war,
What burns at home, or threatens from afar:
Nature in arms, her elements at strife,
The storms, that overturn the joys of life,
Are but his rods to scourge a guilty land,
And waste it at the bidding of his hand.
He gives the word, and mutiny soon roars
In all her gates, and shakes her distant shores:
The standards of all nations are unfurled;
She has one foe, and that one foe the world.
And if He doom that people with a frown,
And mark them with a seal of wrath pressed down,
Obduracy takes place; callous and tough,
The reprobated race grows judgment proof:
Earth shakes beneath them, and heaven roars above;
But nothing scares them from the course they love:

To the lascivious pipe and wanton song,
That charm down fate, they stoop it along,
With mad rapidity and unconscious,
Down to the gulf, from which is no return.
They trust in navies, and their navies fail—
God's curse can cast away ten thousand sail.
They trust in armies, and their courage dies;
In wisdom, wealth, in fortune, and in lies:
But all they trust in withers, as it must,
When He commands, in whom they place no trust.
Vengeance at last pours down upon their coast
A lung deepened, but now victorious host;
Tyranny sends the claim that must abide;
The noble sweep of all their privilege;
Gives liberty the last, the mortal shock:—
Slips the slave's collar on, and snaps the lock."
Cowper.

Long time were the Persians enslaved. They groaned under the Macedo-Grecian dynasty for 102 years, and when that was overturned by the Parthians, they wore the Parthian yoke for 484 more.* At the end of that time, A.D. 225, the Parthians being greatly weakened by their ruinous wars with the Romans, Artaxerxes, a gallant Persian, encouraged his countrymen to seize the opportunity of shaking off the yoke, which they did in a battle of three days' continuance, when the enemy were defeated, and Artabanus, king of the Parthians at that time, taken and slain. The Persians, therefore, again appeared on the theatre of human action, and they played their part during 411 years, their monarchs being known as the "Sassanian kings."

CHAPTER V.

THE KINGDOM OF PERSIA

SASSANIAN KINGS.

ARTAXERXES, OR ARDSHIR BEN BABEK, OR BABEGAN.

HISTORIANS differ widely in their account of the family of Artaxerxes. The Byzantine authorities represent him as rising to the throne from a mean and spurious origin, while the oriental writers say, that he was the grandson of Narsan, brother of a Persian queen, during the Parthian dominion; and by his mother's side, the grandson of Babek, who was governor of Persia Proper. This latter account is considered by Dr. Hales as the most credible; and hence, he says, Artaxerxes assumed the title of Babegan, and the dynasty that of Sassanian.

On the death of his grandfather, Babek, Artaxerxes applied to be appointed his successor in the government, but was refused by Ardevan, who was jealous of his merit, and disturbed by a dream, portending the loss of his life and crown. Upon this disappointment, Artaxerxes fled to Persepolis, and formed a strong party among the Persian nobility, in conjunction with whom he effected the overthrow of the Parthian empire. On ascending the throne, A.D. 225, he assumed the pompous title of *Shah in-Shah*, "King of kings."

* The particulars, during this period, will be found narrated in the histories of the Macedonians, Seleucids, and Parthians.

Artaxerxes was no sooner seated on the throne, than he conceived a design of restoring the Persian empire to its pristine greatness. Accordingly, he gave notice to the Roman governors of the provinces bordering on his dominions, that he had an unquestionable title, as the successor of Cyrus, to all the Lesser Asia, which he commanded them to relinquish, as well as the provinces on the frontiers of the ancient Parthian kingdom, which were already under his sway. The emperor Alexander Severus, who at that time ruled over the Roman empire, sent letters to Artaxerxes, importing that he would show his wisdom if he kept within bounds, and not out of hopes of conquest rekindle war, which might be unsuccessful; that he ought to consider he was to cope with a nation used to war, a nation whose emperors, Augustus, Trajan, and Severus, had often vanquished the Parthians.

Artaxerxes, regardless of these letters, raised a great army, and attacked the fortified posts of the Romans on the river Euphrates. His conquests over them were so rapid, that Alexander was compelled to raise an army, and to march towards Mesopotamia in order to check his career.

When Artaxerxes heard of the approach of the Roman emperor, he was employed in the siege of Nisibis, or Antiochia, which he immediately raised, that he might prepare for the contest. At the same time he sent 400 deputies, gorgeously arrayed, and commissioned, when they should be introduced to the emperor's presence, to speak thus: "The great king Artaxerxes commands the Romans, and their prince, to depart out of all Syria and Asia Minor, and to restore to the Persians all the countries on this side the Ægean and Pontic seas, as of right descending to them from their ancestors." These deputies performed their commission; but Alexander, to show his contempt of it, stripped them of their equipage, and sent them into Phrygia, where he assigned them farms to cultivate for their subsistence.

Artaxerxes now repaired to Mesopotamia, with a large army, to meet the Roman emperor. An engagement ensued, in which the Romans were victorious. But though Artaxerxes was defeated, he was not subdued. He recruited his army, and the Roman emperor having divided his forces into three bodies, he attacked them separately, and though repulsed by one body in Media, he destroyed another, which had invaded his territories, after which the Roman emperor returned to Rome. He entered the city in triumph, and assumed the title of *Parthicus* and *Persicus*.

Artaxerxes now employed himself in recovering what he had lost, and in restoring the honour of the Persian name. He ruled with much reputation till his death, which occurred A.D. 240.

Dr. Hales observes that this re-founder of the Persian monarchy was one of the best and greatest of their kings; and that it was his wish to retrieve the ancient glory of the kingdom by a steady adherence to the maxims of the Pischadians and Kaianians in politics and religion. He composed a book for the use of the entire body of his subjects, entitled, "Rules for living well," from which, etc., the following wise political maxims are derived, as paraphrased from Herbelot.

1. When a king applies himself to render justice, the people are eager to render him obedience.

2. Of all princes, the worst is he whom the good fear, and from whom the bad hope.

3. All the branches of a community are inseparably connected with each other, and with the trunk; hence kings and subjects have reciprocal cares and duties; which, if neglected on either side, produce ruin and confusion to both.

4. He felt so much the danger of his high station, from self-deception, that he appointed one of his courtiers to examine him every morning, as his confessor, and to require an account of all that he had said or done the preceding day.

5. The royal authority cannot be supported without troops, nor troops without taxes, nor taxes without culture of the lands, nor this culture without justice well administered, and a police well regulated.

6. By the assistance of a council of seven sages, he abolished the superstition and idolatry that had been introduced under the Macedo-Grecian and Parthian dynasties, and revived the reformed religion of Iarius Hystaspes; hence he proclaimed throughout the empire, that "he had taken away the sword of Aristotle, the philosopher, which had devoured the nation for 500 years;" meaning the civil and religious innovations of Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, which had prevailed during that period.

Artaxerxes was succeeded in his kingdom by

SHABOUR, OR SAPOR,

his son, a prince whose nature was fierce and untractable; and who was covetous of glory, haughty, insolent, and cruel.

Shabour was no sooner seated on the throne, than he meditated a war with the Romans. He was abetted in his designs by the traitor Cyriades, the son of a commander of the same name in the Roman army. In conjunction with Odomastus, a Persian general, Cyriades wasted the adjacent provinces, and having at length prevailed upon the king himself to take the field, he, with a number of deserters, who, for the sake of plunder, followed him, attacked the cities of Antioch and Cesarea Philippi, of which cities they possessed themselves. Upon the conquest of these cities, Cyriades took the title of Cesar, and afterwards of emperor.

Provoked by these proceedings, Gordian, then emperor of Rome, resolved to carry his arms into the east, for the double purpose of chastising Cyriades, and checking the Persian power. With this view, he marched into Syria at the head of a numerous army, and he chased Shabour into his own dominions, whither the emperor followed him, taking Charra, or Haran, in Mesopotamia. He was preparing to push his conquest still further, when he was murdered by the treachery of Philip, whom he had made captain of his guards, on the death of his father-in-law.

Philip, having possessed himself of the sovereign authority, made peace with Sapor, and abandoned Mesopotamia and Armenia to him again. The senate, however, disapproving of his conduct, regardless of the treaty, he recovered

part of these provinces, and then, leaving troops to secure the frontiers, he marched back into Italy.

As soon as the Roman forces were withdrawn, Sapor and Cyriades renewed their incursions; and the latter growing stronger and stronger, began to be treated as an emperor. The affairs of Rome were in such a sinking condition, that many of its provinces took shelter, out of necessity, under his protection. At length, however, Valerian, though advanced to the empire at a great age, took measures to reduce the numerous provinces to obedience. He carried his arms victoriously westward and northward, and there was every prospect of uniting them all again under the Roman sway. But while he was thus engaged, Sapor, with a formidable army, invaded the Roman territories, burned and pillaged the country, and at length advanced as far as Edessa, to which he laid siege. Valerian hastened to its relief, and necessary steps were taken for compelling the Persians to retreat. A mutiny of the soldiers of Cyriades, who put him to death, added to the power of Valerian, for whom they declared. Sapor, however, resolved to venture a battle, and an action took place before Edessa, in which Valerian was made prisoner, A.D. 268.

According to the Byzantine historians, Sapor used his fortune with an insolence the people could not endure. Instigated by despair, they first, under the command of Callistus, and afterwards under that of Odenatus, prince of Palmyrene, protected themselves for some time from his insults, and finally compelled him to retire into his own dominions.

In his march, Sapor is said to have made use of the bodies of his prisoners to fill up the hollow roads, and to facilitate the passages of his carriages over rivers. On his return, he was solicited by the kings of the Cadusians, Armenians, Bactrians, and other nations, to set the aged Valerian free; but this only increased his cruelty towards him. He used him with the most shameful indignity, mounting on horseback from his neck as a footstool; and, to crown all, after several years' imprisonment, he caused him to be flayed alive.

After his return, the affairs of Sapor were straitened. Flushed with victory, Odenatus, clothed with the character of president over the Roman provinces in the east, not only checked the progress of the Persian arms, but caused that people terror in their own country. Twice did this general advance as far as the city of Ctesiphon; and when he died, the celebrated Zenobia, his wife, continued successfully to oppose the Persians, till she was conquered and made prisoner by the emperor Aurelian, who appeared to vindicate the honour of the Romans on this side of the empire. Aurelian also took ample vengeance on Sapor, for his ill-treatment of Valerian. He carried away many prisoners and much spoil from the Persians, with which he graced his triumphs at Rome. Notwithstanding, Sapor continued to enlarge his dominions at the expense of his barbarous neighbours till his death, which occurred A.D. 271.

Although Sapor was cruel and vindictive towards his enemies, according to Persian historians he was liberal and munificent to his friends, and

attentive to the welfare of his subjects, and the improvement of his kingdom in the construction of public works, such as cities, aqueducts, etc. Mirkhoond says that his administration of justice was so rigid, that some of his rapacious courtiers were alarmed, and set fire to his tent during a stormy night, that it might be thought to have been occasioned by lightning.

In the reign of Sapor, the famous Mani* or Manes, the founder of the Manichean heresy, flourished, and he is said to have favoured him, and to have built for him, on the borders of the province of Susiana, a place of retreat called Dasearah. This was only, however, while he acted the part of a philosopher: when Mani attempted to reconcile his philosophy with Christianity, or to mix the gospel with some of his national superstitions, and thereby to frame a new system of religion, which he hoped to propagate among both infidels and Christians, Sapor, who was averse to any innovations in the national religion, persecuted him, and obliged him to flee for his life.

The errors of the Manicheans were some of the most pernicious that have ever been promulgated. Mani pretended to be an apostle of Jesus Christ, and a prophet illuminated by the Holy Spirit, to reform all religions, and to reveal truths which the Saviour had not thought proper to reveal to his disciples. To carry out this imposture, he chose twelve apostles, whom he sent forth to preach his doctrines. His doctrines, says Neumann, his symbolical language, and in particular, the division of his followers into laymen, *audites*, and priests, *electi*, and the different duties prescribed to each of them, seem to be verbally copied from Buddhism. His boast was, that he had obtained a perfect knowledge of all things, and that he had banished mysteries from religion. He professed to teach every thing by demonstration, and the knowledge of God, by the light of reason. But never yet has the world by wisdom known God, 1 Cor. i. 21. When reason, says an excellent writer, has tired and bewildered herself in searching after God, the result must be *mon est inventus*, that is, He is not to be found by me. Faith may look upon him, and that with comfort, but for unassisted reason to gaze too much upon him is the way to lose her sight.

HORMOUZ, OR HORMIRADES.

This prince was the son of Sapor, whom he succeeded on the throne. During his reign, which continued only for about the brief space of one year, nothing of political interest occurred. By Persian historians he was called *Al Horri*, "the liberal," and they say that he was beloved by his subjects. An instance of his liberality is on record. The governor of Ormus, on the Persian Gulf, having purchased for him some diamonds for 100,000 pieces of gold, informed him,

* Archbishop Usher has shown that Mani in Persian, Manes in Greek, and Menachum in Hebrew, mean precisely the same, namely, "a comforter." His followers adduce this as a proof that he was the Paraclete, or Comforter promised by the Saviour, a pretension to which he laid claim. This explains the reason why the Manichees rejected the Acts of the Apostles, the account of the descent of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, completely destroyed such pretensions.

that if he did not choose to keep them, he might dispose of them at double the cost; or, in other words, might gain cent per cent. profit. Hormisdas replied, "To me a hundred or a thousand per cent. is nothing. But if I meddle in merchandise, who will undertake the functions of the king? and what will become of the merchants?"

The following saying is attributed to Hormisdas: "Princes are like fire, which burns those that approach too near; but greatly serves those that keep at a proper distance." A wiser saying than this is attributed to his successor: "Humanity cannot be defined, because it comprehends all the virtues." Well would it have been for the world had all its princes thought thus, and acted in the spirit of the maxim. Nature has formed man, more than any other living creature, for the exercise of the virtues of sympathy; and he lays violent hands upon his own feelings, who acts with cruelty towards his species. The act is accompanied with its own punishment.

"— Man is dear to man; the poorest poor
Long for some moments, in a weary life,
When they can know, and feel that they have been
Themselves the Sifters, and the dealers out
Of some small blessings: have been kind to such
As needed kindness, for this single cause
That we have all of us one heart."

WORDSWORTH.

Hormisdas was succeeded in his kingdom by

VARANES I., OR BAHARAM I.,

of whom very little more is known, than that he reigned three years. Persian historians say that he reigned with great applause; and that his death, which was caused by treachery, as he was endeavouring to allay a tumult, was a great grief and loss to his subjects.

During the reign of Varanes, the Romans, under the command of Saturninus, kept the Persians within their limits. He was succeeded on the throne by his son,

VARANES II., OR BAHARAM II.

This prince, at the commencement of his reign, acted with such haughtiness and cruelty, that the people gave him the surname of *Khalaf*, that is, "unjust." Hence they contemplated his dethronement; but the magi undertook his reformation; and they did this with such warmth, and such evident loyalty, that Baharam listened to their sage admonitions, and became an excellent prince.

"The way of a fool is right in his own eyes:
But he that hearkeneth unto counsel is wise."
Prov. xli. 15.

The most remarkable act of the reign of Varanes, says Sir J. Malcolm, was the execution of the celebrated Mani, about A.D. 277, who returned during his reign into Persia. At first Varanes showed a disposition to embrace his faith, though most authors contend that this was a mere pretext to lull Mani and his followers into a fatal security. The result would seem to confirm this opinion; for Mani and almost all his disciples were slain by his order.

Varanes contemplated war with the Romans; but his resolution was shaken by the activity and prowess of the Roman emperor Probus, which

induced him to seek peace. This was granted, and internal discords prevented the Romans from carrying into effect their after intentions of re-invading Persia; so that Varanes may be said to have reigned in peace. The duration of his reign, according to both Greek and Persian writers, was seventeen years. He died, A.D. 293; and

VARANES III., OR BAHARAM III.

his son, ascended the throne. This prince reigned only four months; and, according to both oriental and Greek historians, did nothing worthy of notice. To him succeeded

NARSES, OR NARSE.

This prince, acting in the spirit of Artaxerxes, sought the reduction of all the Persian provinces, held either by the barbarous nations, or conquered by the Romans. The state of the Roman empire seemed to favour his designs; for war was raging in every part. Narses, with a large army, invaded Mesopotamia, and in a short time recovered most of the places which had belonged to his ancestors. At this time Diocletian and Galerius reigned conjointly at Rome, under the denomination of the two Cæsars. The latter took the field against Narses, and in two battles near Antioch defeated him. Galerius passed the river Tigris, and advanced into the very heart of the king's dominions; but abating his care and circumspection, Narses fell suddenly upon the Roman army, and they were totally defeated. Galerius himself escaped with difficulty, to tell the tidings at Rome. He was at first received coldly by Diocletian, but, by his importunities, he was entrusted with another army against the Persians. He took a terrible revenge. Adding prudence to fortitude, like Narses, he watched his opportunity, and stole upon the Persian army unawares, whereby he gained a complete victory. Narses himself was wounded, and forced to flee, with a small remnant of his army, into the mountains. His treasures and papers, as also his sister, queen, concubines, and children, with many nobles, fell into the hands of Galerius. It was in vain that Narses endeavoured to retrieve his misfortunes: no fresh army could be collected; and the victorious Romans being shortly after joined by Diocletian, he consented to surrender the five provinces west of the Tigris; on which condition, peace was granted him, and his queen restored. The other prisoners were retained to grace a triumph at Rome. These accumulated misfortunes broke the heart of Narses, A.D. 300, after he had reigned seven years. He was succeeded by his son

MISDATES, OR HORNDOZ.

According to oriental historians, this prince was eminent for his justice. When he saw that the rich oppressed the poor, he established a court of justice for the redress of the latter; and he frequently presided himself, to keep the judges in awe. Misdates likewise devised many new laws and regulations for the encouragement of trade; whence he was careful of the maritime coasts and the ports of Persia. He is said to have extended his dominions considerably, but the particulars are not related. His reign was brief,

continuing only seven years. When he was dying, the infant, of whom the queen was pregnant, was elected his successor; the magi having prognosticated that it would be a son. He was called "Schabour Doulaktaf,"* that is, one upon "whose shoulder the government devolved before his birth;" an eastern form of expression, which recalls to memory a reference to the Messiah, (see Isa. ix. 6,) signifying his royal power, as King of kings.

SAPOR II., OR SCHABOUR DOULAKTAF.

During the minority of Sapor, the Persians were exposed to many disasters, and especially to the ravages of the Arabs, who, leaving their arid plains on the southern shores of the Gulf, entered Persia in vast numbers, spread desolation wherever they came, and carried off the sister of the late king Hormouz, and the aunt of Schabour, into captivity. When Sapor came of age, he resolved to revenge these injuries. He put their king to death, and treated the inhabitants of Yemen, or Arabia, with great cruelty. Oriental historians say, that he was chiefly induced to act thus by the advice of his astrologer, who asserted that some one of their nation would, in future, subvert the Persian empire. Malek ben Nasser, an ancestor of Mohammed, their ambassador, remonstrated with Sapor, and suggested that either the prediction might be false, or that, if true, his cruelties would only provoke the Arabs to retaliate. This caused him to reflect, and he afterwards treated the Arabs so kindly, that they called him *Doulaktaf*, "on the wings," or their protector; from the eagles carrying their young on the wings. This was a lovely character, and one which reminds us of the reference to Jehovah in the Hebrew Scriptures, Exod. xix. 4; Deut. xxxii. 11, 12, and to the Saviour in the Gospels, Matt. xxiii. 37.

Sapor was a zealous supporter of the honour of the Persian diadem, and pursued steadily that policy which Artaxerxes had adopted, namely, that of uniting all the territories of the ancient Persian kings under his sway. In pursuing this plan, however, his measures were different from those of his predecessors. Instead of waging war himself, he encouraged the barbarians dwelling on the frontiers of the Roman provinces to ravage and harass them. This he did openly, when the Romans were in confusion, and covertly, when they were free from internal alarm. After this, he extended his dominions eastward and northward, increased his revenues by encouraging trade and commerce, disciplined his troops, and effected a profound veneration for the civil and religious institutions of his country.

At the instigation of the magi, Sapor persecuted both the Jews and Christians; the former as evil-minded subjects, and avowed enemies of their religion; and the latter, as being attached to Constantine the Great, after his profession of Christianity. The power of Constantine was too great for Sapor to attack him openly; he therefore sent an embassy to Constantinople, to com-

pliment that prince, and to renew the peace which had recently subsisted between the two empires. This was the avowed object of the embassy; but they had secret orders to inquire into the strength of the Romans, and to purchase arms, of which he stood in need. Constantine was informed of the designs of Sapor; but he received his ministers graciously, granted their requests, and, at their return, charged them with a letter for Sapor.

The purport of this letter was, to intercede for the Christians. In it the emperor gave a brief account of his faith; then of his success and grandeur, which he attributed wholly to the Divine blessing. He afterwards expatiated on the odious folly of idolatry, but without alluding to the circumstance of Sapor's being an idolater. He next pathetically represented the miseries which had constantly attended unjust and cruel princes, instancing Valerian, whom he asserted to have been happy in all his undertakings, until he became a persecutor of the Christians. Finally, he recommended the Christians to the favour of Sapor, and besought him, for his sake, to look upon them as good and loyal subjects. This letter appears to have had a good effect, for Sapor afterwards treated the Christians with less severity.

But Sapor still adhered to the plan of raising himself and his successors to the empire of the east. After he had made sufficient preparations, he acquainted Constantine with his intentions, transmitting to him a letter, wherein he claimed all the dominions anciently belonging to the Persian emperors; and affirmed that the river Strymon was the legal boundary of his empire. His letter read thus: "I have re-assembled my numerous army. I am resolved to avenge my subjects, who have been plundered, made captives, and slain. It is for this that I have bared my arm, and girded my loins. If you consent to pay the price of the blood which has been shed, to deliver up the booty which has been plundered, and to restore the city of Nisibis, which is in Irak, (Arabi,) and belongs to our empire, though now in your possession, I will sheath the sword of war; but should you refuse these terms, the hoofs of my horse, which are hard as steel, shall efface the name of the Romans from the earth; and my glorious scimitar, that destroys like fire, shall exterminate the people of your empire."

Constantine returned Sapor a letter replete with dignity and resolution; and though he was now advanced in years, he prepared for war. But just as he was on the point of commencing his march for the eastern provinces, he was removed from this world of strife.

Upon the death of Constantine, Sapor, taking advantage of the dissensions that ensued in the Roman empire, entered their provinces, and re-annexed to his dominions the parts which his ancestors had lost. Many years were occupied in this struggle, and with various successes and reverses of fortune. In pitched battles, as at Singara, and in the defence of fortresses, as at Nisibis, the Romans usually had the advantage, but in rapid marches, equestrian skirmishes and surprises, the Persians triumphed.

All this happened during the reign of Constantine, who had succeeded Constantine in the empire of the Romans, and in the early part of the reign of

* Some authors interpret this word, "Lord of the shoulders," and say, that the name was derived from his manner of chastising the Arab tribes, which was to pierce the shoulders of his captives, and then to dislocate them by a spring passed through them.

Julian, his successor. At length, the last-mentioned emperor, contrary to the sage advice of Hormisdas, a Persian general on the side of the Romans, advanced too far into the country, and being already half conquered by thirst and famine, his army was destroyed by Sapor, and himself slain. A peace was now concluded with the Romans on advantageous terms. Jovian, the successor of Julian, ceded the five provinces in dispute for ever to the Persians, together with the strong fortress of Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, which had so long been the bulwark of the eastern boundary of the Roman empire. This peace was concluded, A.D. 363.

Sapor now turned his attention to that part of his empire which was bounded by Tartary and India. He was thus occupied for some time; but Jovian, the Roman emperor, dying, and the affairs of that people being again embarrassed, regardless of the peace subsisting between the two empires, he again invaded the Roman territories. The particulars of this invasion have not been handed down to us. All we know is that he slew Arsaces, who reigned in Armenia, and reduced a large territory under his obedience; that on the arrival of Arinthus, he was constrained to abandon a great part of his conquests; that upon this he transferred the imperial seat to Ctesiphon, the old capital of the Parthian empire, that he might improve such opportunities as might offer; and that after this act he did not gain any great victory.

The restless and ambitious Sapor ended his days in the beginning of the reign of the Roman emperor Gratian, about A.D. 375, or 377, after having reigned seventy or seventy-two years (for authors differ on this point) with great variety of fortune; a variety that might have taught him the folly of pursuing the honours and possessions of this changing world. He seems by no means to have lacked wisdom. Some of his observations have been preserved, which exhibit a knowledge of the human mind. "Words," he used to say, "may be more vivifying than the showers of spring, and sharper than the sword of destruction. The point of a lance may be drawn from the body; but a cruel word can never be extracted from the heart it has wounded."

Sapor was succeeded in his kingdom by

ARTAXERXES, OR ARDSCHIR,

concerning whose origin and life nothing is recorded, save that he maintained peace with the Romans, and governed his dominions four years. To him succeeded

SAPOR III., OR SCHABOUR BEN SCHABOUR,

who governed the kingdom of Persia for five years in great tranquillity. He was contemporary with Theodosius the Great, whose friendship he enjoyed during his reign. Persian writers say that he was killed by the fall of his tent; the cordage was broken by a whirlwind,* and the pole struck the monarch while he slept. Sapor III. was succeeded by his brother

* These violent gusts are common in Persia. Malcohn says, that he has seen a whole line of tents levelled by their force, and some of them carried to a distance from the spot where they were pitched.

VARANES IV., OR KERMAN SHAH,

who was so denominated from his having been ruler of the province of Kerman, the ancient Carmania. Varanes governed the kingdom of Persia eleven years, during which no event of importance occurred. Internal revolts seem only to have disturbed his peace. These were frequently dangerous, and he was eventually killed by an arrow, when endeavouring to quell a tumult in his army.

The throne of Persia was next filled by

ISDEGERTES, OR JEZDEGARD AL ATHIR.

The character of Isdegertes is differently given by the Byzantine and Persian historians. By the latter he is represented as a monster of cruelty, whose death was hailed as a blessing by his subjects, while the former represent him as a monarch deservedly renowned for his many virtues. Both accounts, says Dr. Hales are overcharged, and we may ascribe each to his partiality for the Christians, whom he, first of all the Persian monarchs, favoured and protected.

Procopius and Cedrenus relate, that the emperor Arcadius left Isdegertes guardian of his son Theodosius II., and protector of the Roman empire, a trust that he faithfully discharged. The Greek writers also relate, that during his reign, for twenty-one years, he lived in the utmost harmony with Theodosius. This fully vindicates the character of this prince from the calumnies of the Persian priesthood, who practised several pious frauds upon him, for which he ordered the magi to be decimated; allowed the Christians to build churches throughout his dominions; and repealed the penal laws enacted against them by his predecessors. It was doubtless this indulgence and toleration that extended the fame of Isdegertes among strangers, and caused it to be handed down with execration by the priesthood of his own country. They themselves, however, have preserved some of his sayings, breathing a spirit that contradicts the character they have given of him. He often remarked, say they, "That the wisest of monarchs was he who never punished when in a rage, and who followed the first impulse of his mind to reward the deserving." He used also to observe: "That whenever a king ceased to do good actions, he necessarily committed bad; and that the thought of eternity could not for a moment be absent from the mind, without its verging towards sin." Such sentiments as these are worthy even of a Christian philosopher.

At the death of Isdegertes, A.D. 418, the magi, through hatred to him set up Kersa, a nobleman, in opposition to his son Baharam Gour, or Jur,* who was then abroad, educating by an Arab prince. By the assistance of the Arabs, however, Baharam raised an army to recover his crown, which he did almost without a struggle.

VARANES V., OR BAHARAM GOUR, OR JUR.

The first act of Baharam was to reward Noman, who had educated him; his second, to pardon those who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. Such gratitude and clemency dis-

* This surname was derived from his fondness for hunting the jur, or wild ass.

posed the hearts of all his subjects towards this prince; and his munificence, virtue, and valour, are the theme of every historian. His generosity was not limited to his court or capital, but extended over all his dominions. So unbounded was his liberality, that his minister, dreading the effects of its excess, presented a memorial to him, pointing out how essential the possession of treasure was to support the throne. Baharam wrote under this representation, "If I may not employ benefits and rewards to gain the hearts of free men who render me their obedience, let the framers of this memorial inform me what means I am to use for attaching such persons to my government."

Under Baharam, it is said, minstrels and musicians were first introduced into Persia, from India. Sir J. Malcolm says that this circumstance, with others of a similar nature, produced an impression among foreign powers that the king and his subjects were immersed in luxury; and that the love of the dance and song had superseded that martial spirit, which had so lately rendered Persia the terror of surrounding nations.

The king of Turan, or Turkistan, acting under this impression, invaded Persia. He crossed the Oxus at the head of a large army, and laid waste the whole of Khorassan. This invasion spread a dismay which was greatly increased by the disappearance of Baharam, who it was concluded had fled from a sense of inability to meet the impending storm. The result of this was, the universal terror of the Persians, and the unguarded confidence of the Tartars. "The great king" conceived the war was over, and that he had only to receive the submission of the Persian chiefs, who daily crowded to his standard to implore his favour and protection. Baharam, however, was not lost: fetching a compass round by the coast of the Caspian Sea, he gained the important pass of Khatrasme, in the rear of the Turks; and while the invading host was buried in wine and sleep, he fell upon them with seven thousand of the bravest warriors of Persia, and put them to flight. The slaughter was great: the chief of the enemy fell under the sword of Baharam, who pursued the fugitives across the Oxus.

The use Baharam made of this victory was, to establish peace with all his neighbours, after which he returned to his capital.

The Persians relate a romantic tale about the adventures of Baharam in India; and they assert that, after his return, he was very successful in some incursions into the Arabian and Roman territories, carrying his arms into the latter, almost to the gates of Constantinople. In this latter assertion, however, their flattery has misled them, as the reader will perceive from the following account of the war, as derived from Greek historians.

The cause of the war between Baharam and Theodosius was twofold.

1. Abdas, the Persian prelate, with an unwarrantable zeal, had burned a fire temple to the ground. Baharam, who had a great respect for him, gently reproved him, and commanded him to rebuild it. This he refused to do; and at the instigation of the magi, the king put him to death, demolished the churches, and confiscated the estates of the nobles who would not recant.

Numbers fled, during this persecution, for protection to Theodosius, who espoused their cause.

2. Theodosius, in the days of Isdegerdes, had lent a certain number of miners to that prince, to work anew some neglected gold and silver mines in Persia. These miners he now required, and Baharam refused to send them back.

It was from these two causes that the war between the Romans and Persians, at this date, arose. Fired with indignation, Theodosius took up arms, and Baharam followed the example. The contest was attended with no success of any great consequence to either. Alternate victory and defeat made up the whole sum of it; and it ended in a truce for 100 years, in which it was agreed that an end should be put to the severities exercised upon the Christians.

A noble Christian action, however, contributed, more than the peace between the two empires, to the re-establishment of Christianity in Persia. When the province of Azazene was ravaged by the Romans, in the beginning of the war, 7000 Persian prisoners were brought to the city of Amida in extreme misery. Acaes, bishop of that place, having assembled his clergy, represented to them in pathetic terms the misery of these unhappy creatures. He then represented that as the Almighty preferred mercy to sacrifice, he would be better pleased with the relief of these his creatures, than by being served with gold and silver vessels in their churches. The suggestion was adopted: all the consecrated plate of gold and silver vessels were sold for the maintenance of their enemies, and they were sent home at the conclusion of the war with money to defray their expenses on the road. Baharam was so struck with this act, that he invited the bishop to his capital, where he received him with the utmost reverence, and granted the Christians many favours at his request. Thus, by heaping "coals of fire" upon the head of this high-minded prince, says Dr. Hales, did these Christian miners melt his heart to mutual compassion and kindness, verifying St. Paul's precept, Rom. xii. 20, 21. This is the true genius of the ever blessed gospel of Christ.

After this, Baharam enjoyed peace as long as he lived; and having reigned twenty-three years, he died, beloved and honoured by his subjects, A.D. 441.

Baharam was one of the best monarchs that ever ruled Persia. During his whole reign, the happiness of his subjects was his sole object, his persecution of the Christians excepted. Ill-timed zeal on the part of Abdas led him into the crime, and overwhelmed the Christians with sorrow. A good man's zeal should be ever on the wing; but it should be united with discernment and prudence, or it will be blind and extravagant, and injure the cause it intends to advance. To be genuine, zeal must be free from a persecuting spirit.

Baharam was succeeded by his son

VARANES VI., OR JEZDEGERD BEN BAHARAM.

Varanes VI. is represented as a wise and brave prince, who took the best means of ensuring the prosperity of his empire, by retaining the favourite ministers and officers of his father, while he himself carefully attended to business. Varanes

was particularly strict in the administration of equal and impartial justice. He restored the ancient regulations that had fallen into disuse, and framed new laws by the advice of his council. He likewise kept up discipline in his army without severity, and never punished but with reluctance, whence he was called *Siphadost*. "a lover of his soldiers."

According to the Persian historians, Varanes broke the peace, and waged war with the Romans; but this is not probable, for the Greek annals make no further mention of him than that he was contemporary with Theodosius II. and his successor Marcianus.

By some Persian writers the character of Varanes is represented as unchaste, avaricious, and cruel: they style him *Aitam*, which has reference to violation, pillage, and massacre. This may have arisen from their displeasure at his countenancing Christianity, which, by the preaching of Manetha, bishop of Diarbekr, in Mesopotamia, and his coadjutors, made great progress in his dominions during his reign.

Varanes died A.D. 459, and he was succeeded in his kingdom by his son

PEROSES, OR FIROUZ.

Varanes had two sons, Firouz and Hormouz. His wish was, that Hormouz, the younger, should succeed him; and for this purpose he sent away Peroses to be governor of Nimrouz* including Sigistan and Makran. Accordingly, upon his father's death, Hormouz assumed the throne, and was supported by the nobility; but Firouz engaged the Haithelites, or White Huns, an Indo-Scythian tribe, who bordered on his provinces, to assist him in the recovery of his right, promising their king, Khoosh-Nuaz, the province of Nimrouz, as a recompense. With these auxiliaries, and some of the Persians who espoused his cause, Peroses invaded Persia, defeated his brother Hormouz, and put him to death.

In the beginning of the reign of Peroses, there was a dreadful drought of six years' continuance, which was interpreted, in that superstitious age, as a punishment from Heaven for the crime of acting contrary to the will of the virtuous Varanes. According to the Tabbree, this drought was so excessive, that not even the appearance of moisture was left in the beds of the Oxus and Jaxartes.

In the seventh year, plenty was restored; and the first act of Peroses, after this national scourge, was to invade the country of the Haithelites, his benefactors. The great object of his life, indeed, appears to have been to destroy the power of the generous monarch to whom he owed his throne. He pretended to discover, from the evidence of some Tartar exiles, that their king was a tyrant; and with the pretext of relieving his subjects from his yoke, he invaded Tartary. Khoosh-Nuaz was too weak to oppose

the Persian forces, and he therefore retreated as they advanced; but he was soon enabled, by the devotion of one of his chief officers, not only to preserve his country, but to destroy his foes. This officer, after communicating the plan he had formed, entreated his prince to order the mutilation of his body, and then to cast him in the route of the Persian soldiers. This was done; and he was taken up, and carried to Peroses, who asked him who had reduced him to this sad condition. "That cruel tyrant, Khoosh-Nuaz," was the answer; and being interrogated for what the deed was done, he replied, "Because I took the liberty of an old and faithful servant, to represent the consequences of his bad government, and to tell him how unequal he was to meet the troops of Persia, conducted by such a hero as Peroses. But I will be revenged," he added, as he writhed with pain; "I will lead you by a short route, where you shall, in a few days, intercept the tyrant's retreat, defeat his army, and rid the world of a monster." Peroses believed the tale, and the Persian army marched according to his directions. It was not till they had been several days without water, and famine was raging among their ranks, and they saw themselves surrounded by enemies from whom they had no hopes of escape, that they discovered they had been led to ruin, and that the conquest over them had been effected by one, who had courted death to obtain the title of "The preserver of his country."

The greatest part of the Persian army perished in this desert, and Peroses was only permitted to return with the survivors through the clemency of Khoosh-Nuaz, to whom he sent to solicit peace, and with whom he entered into a solemn covenant never to invade his territories again.

But Peroses was tormented by the thought of the degradation he had suffered. The generosity of his enemy was also hateful, as it made his own conduct appear more base and inexcusable. Hence, no sooner was he extricated from his difficulties, than, in violation of his oath, he collected an army, delivered over his kingdom to a regent, (who, the Greeks say, was his brother,) and once more crossed the Oxus, resolved to conquer or perish.

Peroses perished. The Haithelites having timely notice of his intention, prepared to meet him. Concealing their forces behind some mountains, they issued forth suddenly on all sides of the Persian army, and totally routed it.† Almost all the soldiers of which it was composed were either slain or taken prisoners, and Peroses himself perished, after he had worn the Persian diadem for twenty years. Such was the reward of ingratitude, a vice never mentioned by any heathen writer but with particular marks of detestation; among Christians it should be doubly abhorred.

The faithless Peroses was succeeded by his son

* Nimrouz is part of the modern Seistan. The Persians, says Malcolm, have a tradition that this country was formerly covered with a lake, which was drained by some wind in half a day, whence the name of Nimrouz, or half-day; but as Nimrouz means also mid-day, it is probably used metaphorically in the Persian, as in French, German, and several other languages to designate the south; and this province lies directly south of Balkh, the ancient capital of Persia.

† Some of the oriental writers say, that the army was taken by a stratagem. They dug, say they, a large dyke in the middle of a plain, and after having covered it over, they entrapped the Persian army into it. But this must be looked upon as romance; for to have dug a pit of sufficient dimensions for such a purpose, they must have reared up a mountain with the earth, which would have told the tale, and have made the Persians look well to their feet.

VALENS, OR HALLASH BEN VINOUE,

who proved to be an excellent prince, tender, compassionate, and just, and desirous of lessening the misery of his country, which, at the death of Perooses, was rendered tributary to Khosro-Nous. He paid the tribute for two years, and waged war with the Haisithelites two more, when, worn out with cares, he died. He was succeeded by his brother

CAVADEA, OR COBAD,

who was of a martial and enterprising disposition; ready to undertake any thing for the extension of his kingdom, and jealous to the last degree of his authority, and the glory of the Persian name.

In the tenth year of the reign of Cobad, Mazdak, an impostor, appeared in the desert, who set up for a prophet, and pretended to introduce a purer religion than had hitherto been revealed to mankind.* Cobad sanctioned the impostor and his enormities, which struck at the root of chastity and property. This produced an insurrection, in which the Persian nobles dethroned Cobad, and imprisoned him, appointing Giamasp, a person of great wisdom and integrity, king in his stead. Some time after, however, Cobad contrived to escape from prison, to the king of the Haisithelites, with whom it would appear he had made peace in the days of his prosperity, who assisted him with an army to recover his kingdom, which he accomplished: he deposed Giamasp, and put out his eyes.

As soon as Cobad was restored to the throne, he embarked in a war with the Romans, to repay the king of the Haisithelites large sums of money which he had borrowed, and for the charges of the expedition to restore him. He marched rapidly into Armenia, raised excessive contributions from the inhabitants, and then laid siege to Amida, the principal fortress in those quarters. As the province had for many years enjoyed profound peace, the city was unprepared for the attack; the citizens, however, refused to open their gates, and prepared to make an obstinate defence. He took it after eighty days, and the citizens were only saved from destruction by a well-timed though flattering compliment, from one of their number. Cobad having asked him why they treated him as an enemy? "Because," said the citizen, "it was the will of God to deliver Amida not to your power, but to your valour." Pleased with this reply, Cobad spared their lives, and some time afterwards he restored their privileges, and directed the walls and public buildings to be repaired. He left therein Glones, a Persian nobleman, with a garrison of 1000 men, and treated it rather as a benefactor than a conqueror.

The tidings of these proceedings at length reached Rome, and an army was immediately marched to the frontiers, under the command of Ariobindus. Greek writers say, that there never were better forces sent against the Persians than these, or men of greater reputation. In two battles, however, through the neglect of the com-

mander, they were almost entirely destroyed. The only execution they did, was the destruction of a detachment of Haisithelites, whom they found alone on the banks of a river, the streams of which were dyed with their blood.

Cobad had scarcely gained his second victory over the Romans, when he was informed that the Huns had broken into the northern provinces of his empire; upon which he was compelled to return into Persia, whence he expelled the invaders.

After the departure of Cobad, the Romans, in several bodies, surrounded Amida, in order to prevent the garrison from receiving provisions. They also devised means to betray Glones, the Persian commander, into an ambuscade, in which he perished, with 200 of his forces. The garrison was eventually compelled to capitulate; and some time after, a truce for seven years was concluded between the Romans and Persians, and hostages on both sides were given for its due observance. A lasting peace was afterwards negotiated in the days of Justin, but this failed; and in the days of Justinian, a new war broke out between the two empires, in which the Persian army, under Perooses, was defeated by Belisarius in Mesopotamia; and Mermorex, who commanded the Persian forces in Armenia, was twice defeated by Dorthenus. Two castles, with the dependencies, fell also under the power of the Romans. But Cobad still kept the field. He raised new armies, which defeated Belisarius, and invested the city of Martyropolis, a place of the last importance to the Roman empire. The city was saved by intrigue, and a truce was soon afterwards concluded between the two empires.

During the last years of his life, Cobad also carried on a war with the Haisithelites, with varied success. He died, A.D. 532, after a long and diversified reign of forty-nine years, including the period in which he was imprisoned, for which Dr. Hales allows eight years.

Cobad left several sons; but he always appears to have shown a decided preference for Chosroes, or Nonschirvan, who seems in every respect to have been worthy of his father's favour. At his death, Cobad bequeathed his kingdom to Chosroes, and the testament was committed to the principal *mobad*, or high priest, by whom it was read to the assembled nobles of the empire. These declared their cheerful submission to the will of the deceased monarch; but Chosroes refused the proffered diadem, on the ground of his inability to reform the great abuses of the government. "All the principal offices," he exclaimed, "are filled by worthless and despicable men; and who, in such days, would make a vain attempt to govern this kingdom according to principles of wisdom and justice? If I do my duty, I must make great changes, the result of which may be bloodshed; my sentiments toward many of you would perhaps alter; and families, which I now regard, would be ruined. I have no desire to be engaged in such scenes of strife and ruin; they are neither suited to my inclination nor my character, and I must avoid them." The assembly assented to the justice of these observations; and convinced, for the moment, that a reform was requisite, they took an oath to support him in his measures, to obey his directions implicitly

* Mazdak attempted to revive the system of Mani, with some additions of his own, very far from tending to purity of heart.

and to devote their persons and property to his service and that of their country; upon which he ascended the throne.

CHOSROES, OR KOSCHIRVAN.

When Chosroes ascended the throne, he assembled his court, and addressed them as follows: "The authority which I derive from my office is established over your persons, not over your hearts: God alone can penetrate into the secret thoughts of men. I desire that you should understand from this, that my vigilance and control can extend only over your actions, not over your consciences: my judgments shall always be founded on the principles of justice, not on the dictates of will or caprice: and when, by such a proceeding, I shall have remedied the evils which have crept into the state, the empire will be powerful, and I shall merit the applause of posterity."

Acting upon this spirit of toleration, it is said that, in the commencement of his reign, he temporized with the followers of Mazdak. At length, however, he caused that licentious and false prophet to be apprehended, and sentenced to death; declaring his determined resolution to extirpate the followers of this pestilent heresy, the fundamental principle of which was, the annihilation of property, and its result, anarchy.

There are several reasons given for this act of severity. The most probable, because most consonant with the character of the monarch, is, that one of his subjects complained to him of his wife having been taken from him by a disciple of Mazdak. The king desired the false prophet to command his follower to restore the woman; but the mandate of the earthly monarch was treated with scorn and contempt, when its effect was contrary to what was deemed a sacred precept. Chosroes, enraged at this opposition to his authority, ordered the execution of Mazdak, which was followed by the destruction of many of his followers, and the proscription of his delusive and abominable tenets.

Chosroes was indefatigable in his endeavour to promote the prosperity of his dominions. One of his first acts was, to disgrace the public officers who had been obnoxious to the people in the last reign. All bridges which had fallen into decay he ordered to be repaired, and he directed many new edifices to be built. He also founded schools and colleges; and gave such encouragement to learned men, that philosophers resorted to his court from Greece. For the general instruction of his people, he circulated the admirable "Rules for living well," written by Ardschir, and required every family in Persia to possess a copy. For his own instruction, he procured a work of the famous Pilpay, from India, entitled *Homonous Nemet*, "The Royal Manual," or fables on the art of governing, which, by his direction, was translated into Persian.

Chosroes divided his kingdom into four great governments. The first of these governments comprised Khorassan, Seistan, and Kerman; the second, the lands dependent upon the cities of Isfahan and Koom, the provinces of Ghelan, Aderbigan, and Armenia; the third, Fars and Ahway; and the fourth, Irak, which extended to the frontier of the Roman empire. Wise regu-

lations were introduced for the management of these governments, and every check established that could prevent abuse of power in the officers appointed for their administration.

In all these regulations Chosroes was ably assisted by his prime vizier, called Buzurge Mihir, "the well beloved," who was raised from the lowest station to the first rank in the kingdom; and the minister's virtues and talents have shed a lustre even on those of the great monarch who, by his penetration, called them into action. The wisdom of Buzurge is greatly celebrated by Persian writers, of whom they relate the following anecdotes, which prove it. One day, in council, when others had spoken at great length, Chosroes asked why he remained silent? "Because," said he, "a statesman ought to give advice, as a physician medicines, only when there is occasion." At another time, at one of the assemblies of the sages, the king proposed as a subject of debate, "What is misery in the extreme?" A Greek philosopher, looking only to the present life, answered, "Poverty in old age;" in the same spirit, an Indian replied, "Great pain, with dejection of mind;" but Buzurge, looking beyond the grave, (for it is said that he was privately a Christian,) answered, "A late repentance at the close of life;" to which a universal assent was given. And truly Buzurge was right. Bitter indeed is that man's cup, who, at the close of his earthly career, looks back upon a life of sin and shame, and forward to a just and an avenging God. Hope, that solace of life, he can hardly dare venture to entertain; he doubts if his repentance be sincere; he cannot adopt the promises of mercy as his own; and the darkness of despair thickens around him. We will not attempt to limit the Holy One of Israel, or discourage a true penitent; but surely it is highly improper, and may be fatal, to neglect the Saviour in the time of health, and trust to a late repentance. And yet how many thousands are there who build on that their hopes for eternity!

"All promise is poor dilatory man,
And that through every stage: when young, indeed,
In full content, we sometimes nobly rest,
Unanxious for ourselves, and only wish,
As dutious sons, our fathers were more wise;
At thirty, man suspects himself a fool;
Knows it at forty, and reforms his plan;
At fifty, chides his infamous delay,
Pushes his prudent purpose to resolve;
In all the magnanimity of thought,
Resolves, and re-resolves—then dies the same." —
YOUNG.

Chosroes early engaged in a war with the Romans, and throughout the whole course of his long reign, he maintained this war, at intervals, with the Emperors Justinian, Justin, and Tiberius; notwithstanding the former had purchased a disgraceful peace in the beginning of his reign. Four times he invaded the Roman territories successfully. He captured Sora and Antioch, reduced all Syria, conquered Colchis and Iberia, and established his power on the banks of the Phasis, and on the shores of the Euxine. During these invasions, he levied great contributions in the Roman territories, dismantled their cities, and plundered the rich offerings in the churches. After he had captured Antioch, and transplanted the inhabitants into Persia, Jus-

tinian expostulated by his ambassadors upon this breach of the first peace. The wily Persian received the ambassadors with civility, and with tears in his eyes deprecated the miseries of this war, into which he was reluctantly driven, he said, by the Persian nobility, to resist the aggressions of Justinian, who stirred up enemies against him on every side, and tampered with his Christian subjects to shake their fidelity. At the same time, he intimated that he might be induced, by a sum of money in hand, and an annual subsidy, to return home and make a lasting peace. A peace was concluded very advantageous to himself, and ignominious to the Romans; but Chosroes did not hold it sacred. With a fond desire of accumulating wealth, he went on taking city after city, and raising contributions wherever he came. Covetousness was his besetting sin; and to fill his coffers he long kept the Romans in alarm.

Nor was it by his own arms only that Chosroes terrified the Romans. He encouraged the Saracens and Goths to invade the Roman territories; and when Justinian remonstrated, Chosroes replied that his brother, the Roman emperor, had no right to complain, since it could be proved, by his own letters, that he had practised the same arts with the Saracens and Huns, to induce them to invade Persia.

After all his successes, the empire of Chosroes extended from Syria and the Mediterranean Sea, to the river Indus, eastwards; and from the Sihon and Jaxartes, to the frontiers of Egypt, southwards. He erected his capital, Madain,* on the Tigris, about a day's journey from Bagdad. He adorned this city with a stately palace called *Thak Khosrou*, "the dome of Khosrou," from its magnificent cupola, in the vault of which he deposited his treasures. This building was so durable in construction, that the caliph Almansor was forced to desist from an attempt to pull it down, on account of the greatness of the expense and labour. Most of the palace remained undemolished, upon which a Persian poet wrote the following distich:

"See here the reward of an excellent work;
All-consuming time still spares the palace of Chosrou."

The only insurrection which disturbed the reign of Chosroes, was that of his son Nouschizad. The mother of this prince was a Christian, and he was brought up by her in her faith, contrary to the wish of Chosroes. The profession which this youth made of his belief in the doctrines of Christ was a bold one, and he poured contempt on the rites of the magi. This enraged Chosroes, who, to punish what he deemed heresy, placed him in confinement. Nouschizad, however, deceived by a rumour of the death of his father, effected his escape, released other prisoners, collected a number of followers, of whom many were Christians, and attempted to establish himself in Fars and Ahwaz. Chosroes sent an army to quell this revolt, and gave a letter of instruction to Ram-Burseen, the general, to this effect: "My son Nouschizad, hearing a rumour

that went abroad of my death, has, without waiting for its confirmation, taken up arms: he has released many prisoners; he has expended treasure which I meant to employ against the enemies of my kingdom; and he has taken the field without reflection on the consequences which may result from such a number of Christians acquiring power. If, however, Nouschizad will return to his allegiance, send back the prisoners he has released to their places of confinement, put to death some particular officers and nobles who have espoused his cause, and allow the rest of his followers to disperse and go where they choose, I will consent to pardon him; but should he continue in rebellion, and not submit when he receives this assurance of mercy, Ram-Burseen is directed not to lose an instant in attacking him. A man of illustrious descent, whose disposition inclines him to evil, should be treated according to his conduct, not his birth. It is a good action to slay a wicked man in arms against the king, who is the sovereign of the earth. Let no fear prevent your cutting the thread of his days; it will be by himself, not by you, that his blood is shed. He flies with ardour to the religion of Christ, and turns away his head from our crown. But should Nouschizad be made prisoner in action, hurt not a hair of his head; shut him up in the same place where he was before confined, along with the slaves who attended him. Let him be furnished with all he wants, and allow none of our military officers to use expressions that can in any degree insult or wound the feelings of a son whom we still hold dear. If any should abuse Nouschizad, let him lose his life; for although that prince has dishonoured his birth still it is from us that he derives his existence, and our affection continues his security."

The mandate of Chosroes was obeyed. Ram-Burseen brought the prince to action, in which Nouschizad was slain. Before he died, he requested that his body might be sent to his mother, that he might have the burial of a Christian. Thus was the house of Chosroes divided against itself: the father was "divided against the son," because he had relinquished the worship of his forefathers, thereby verifying the words of our Saviour, Luke xii. 53. It were to be wished, however, that Nouschizad had suffered these persecutions with Christian resignation.

Historians have dwelt on the magnificence of the courts which sought the friendship of Chosroes. Among these, the emperors of China and India are the most distinguished. Their presents to him are described as magnificent, as exceeding in curiosity and richness any that were before seen. This may, however, be oriental hyperbole; for Mirkhond and other Persian historians dwell with delight on the subject, because the act tended to exalt the character of Chosroes.

The internal regulations of the kingdom of Chosroes, says Malcolm, were excellent. He established and fixed a moderate land tax over all his dominions. He also imposed a capitation tax on Jews and Christians. All persons under twenty and above fifty were exempted from service. The regulations for preserving the discipline of his army were even more stringent than those of the civil government. But all the

* By some writers, Madain is supposed to have been the same with Ctesiphon. If this be correct, the city was erected during the Parthian domination, and Chosroes would therefore only improve it, or add thereto.

vigilance and justice of Chosroes could not prevent corruption and tyranny among the officers of the government. The knowledge of this came to the monarch's ears, and he appointed a secret commission of thirteen persons, in whom he placed implicit confidence, to inquire into and bring him a true report on the conduct of the inferior officers of the state. The result of this commission was, the discovery of great abuses, and the execution of twenty-four petty governors, convicted of injustice and tyranny.

The manner in which this intelligence was conveyed to the monarch, aptly illustrates the despotical principles of ancient oriental states, where able and good ministers could only hint at abuses through the medium of incident. Persian writers say, that during the latter years of the reign of Chosroes, an immense number of jackals came from the fields of Tartary into the provinces of Persia, the inhabitants of which were greatly alarmed at the horrid shrieks and screams of their new visitors. Intelligence of this was sent to court, and Chosroes partaking in the superstition of the age, demanded of the chief mobud, or high-priest, what it portended. The officer gave a reply which, while it shows his own uprightness, denotes that Chosroes was a true oriental despot, to whose ear truth could only be spoken indirectly. "By what I have learned from the history of former times," said the mobud, "it is when injustice prevails, that beasts of prey spread over a kingdom." Chosroes took the hint, and appointed the commission described.

That Chosroes was a lover of justice in the strictest sense of the word, cannot be doubted. A Persian manuscript relates the following curious account, which he used to give, of the sense of justice first springing up in his mind. "I one day, when a youth, saw a man on foot throw a stone at a dog, and break the animal's leg; a moment afterwards a horse passed, and with a kick broke the man's leg; and this animal had only galloped a short distance, when its foot slipped in a hole, and its leg was broken. I gazed with wonder and awe, and have since feared to commit injustice." Though this anecdote may partake of oriental exaggeration, yet it shows that in all ages of the world, a sense of retributive justice pervaded the minds of men.

"There is a time, and justice marks the date,
For long forbearing chancery to wait;
That hour elapsed, the incurable revolt
Is punished, and down comes the thunderbolt."

COWPER.

An interesting anecdote is related illustrative of Chosroes' love of justice. A Roman ambassador, sent to Ctesiphon with rich presents, when admiring the noble prospect from the windows of the royal palace, remarked an uneven spot of ground, and asked the reason why it was not rendered uniform. "It is the property of an aged woman," said a Persian noble, "who has objections to sell it, though often requested to do so by our king; and he is more willing to have his prospect spoiled, than to commit violence." "That irregular spot," replied the Roman, "consecrated as it is by justice, appears more beautiful than all the surrounding scenery." Contrasted with the conduct of Ahab, who coveted the field of Naboth, and who could not rest con-

tented till he had gained the possession, though its price was blood, this action is well calculated to raise the character of Chosroes in the reader's estimation. He may, indeed, be considered as one of the greatest of Asiatic monarchs. Had he been a Christian, how had he blessed mankind! And how many nominal Christians are shamed by his conduct!

This great king, as we have seen, was generally successful in his wars, (of which he was too fond,) by his arts or his arms. Towards the latter end of his reign, however, a campaign against Cappadocia proved disastrous. Justin, the emperor of Rome, had in his last years been incapable of directing the affairs of the empire. Under these circumstances, his wife Sophia sent letters to Chosroes pathetically describing the miseries of the Roman empire; beseeching him to remember the kindness of former emperors, particularly the sending him physicians; and representing the uncertainty of all worldly greatness, and the small glory that would result to him from conquests made over a headless nation and a helpless woman. Chosroes, on reading these letters, immediately withdrew his troops from the Roman empire, and consented to a truce for three years, Armenia excluded. This truce was favourable to the Romans, and their affairs were quickly re-established by the diligence and success of Tiberius, the successor of Justin, who was an active and vigilant prince, and a warrior of great experience. Chosroes, who had no idea of these changes, prepared early the next spring to enter Armenia, resolving to penetrate Cappadocia, and to make himself master of Caesarea, and other cities in that quarter. Tiberius, foreseeing the consequences of this invasion, sent ambassadors to dissuade Chosroes from this expedition, and to engage him to make a solid and lasting peace; but at the same time he sent these ambassadors, he directed Justinian to assemble all the forces in the eastern provinces, in order, if necessary, to repel force by force. Chosroes received the ambassadors haughtily, commanding them to follow him to Caesarea, where he should be at leisure to hear them. Not long after, he met with the Roman army, which, contrary to his expectations, was extremely numerous, and eager to engage his forces. It is thought by some historians that he would have retired to a convenient camp, instead of enduring a conflict, had not Curtius, a Scythian, who commanded the right wing of the Roman army, charged the left of the Persians, where Chosroes was in person. The combat was severe, but at length the Persians were defeated, and the royal treasure, and the sacred fire, before which the king worshipped, taken in his sight. The next night, under the cover of darkness, Chosroes retaliated upon one detachment of the Roman army, routing them with great slaughter, after which he marched to the Euphrates, in order to winter in his own dominions. Justinian, the Roman general, however, penetrating his design, followed him so closely, that he was forced to pass the river on an elephant, with great risk of being drowned, a death which was the lot of many of his followers. The Romans pursued them across the river, and for the first time wintered in the Persian provinces.

The Greek writers say, that Chosroes died almost immediately after this loss of a broken heart. It is certain that the effects of it brought him to the grave; but it would appear that he lingered on till the following spring, and that before he died, he made peace with the Romans, and enacted a decree that none of his successors should risk their persons in a general engagement; thereby conveying a tacit censure on his own rashness. The disasters which oppressed him most, were, the loss of the sacred fire, the riotous behaviour of his soldiers, and the discontent of his subjects in general, who, like other communities, were ever ready to murmur when adversity cast its dark shadows over their rulers.

Chosroes died A.D. 580, after he had reigned forty-eight years. His last instructions to his son and successor were admirable for patriarchal wisdom and piety, resembling those of Cyrus to his offspring. They read thus:

"I, Nouschirvan, sovereign of Persia and India, address these my last words to Hormouz, my son, that they may serve him as a lamp in the day of darkness, a path in his journey through the wilderness, a pole star in his navigation through the tempestuous ocean of this world.

"Let him remember, in the midst of his greatness, that kings rule not for themselves, but for their people; respecting whom they are like the heavens to the earth. How can the earth be fruitful, unless it be watered, unless it be fostered by the heavens? My son, let your subjects all feel your beneficence: the nearest to you first, and so on by degrees, to the remotest. If I durst, I would propose to you my own example; but I choose rather to remind you of that glorious luminary which has been an example to me. Behold the sun: it visits all parts of the world, and if sometimes visible, at other times withdrawn from view, it is because the universe is successively gilded and cherished by its splendid beams. Enter not into any province but with a prospect of doing good to the inhabitants; quit it not but with the intention of doing good elsewhere. Bad men must needs be punished: to them the sun of majesty is necessarily eclipsed; but the good deserve encouragement, and require to be cheered with its beams.

"My son, often present thyself before Heaven to implore its aid; but approach not with an impure mind. Do thy dogs enter the temple? Should evil lusts be admitted into the temple of thy soul? If thou carefully observe this rule, thy prayers shall be heard, thy enemies shall be confounded, thy friends shall be faithful. Thou shalt be a delight to thy subjects, and shalt have cause to delight in them. Do justice, abase the proud, comfort the distressed, love your children, protect learning, be advised by your ancient counsellors, suffer not the young to meddle in state affairs, and let your people's good be your sole and supreme object. Farewell, I leave you a mighty empire; you will keep it if you follow my counsels; but it will be impossible for you to do so, if you follow strange counsel."

That Chosroes took Cyrus the Great for his example, may be gathered from the fact, that he caused a similar inscription to be engraven on his tomb.

What is long life, or what a glorious reign,
If our successors follow in our train?
My fathers left this crown, and I the trust
Must soon resign, and mingle with the dust.

Such was the mighty Chosroes! His name ranks high in the pages of history, and perhaps he approached nearer to the character of a good and just prince than any human being placed in such a situation, and in such an age. His own country had cause to regret his loss; others, however, doubtless rejoiced in his death. Copying some of his predecessors, he toiled ardently to raise a monumental pile that might record the mischiefs he had done. But this was in part owing to the despotic nature of the Persian government. The monarchs of Persia, whatever may have been their dispositions, were compelled by their constitution to repress rebellion, retaliate attack, and to attain power over foreign nations in order to preserve their own in peace, which led them to commit many actions at variance with humanity and justice. Such was their state policy. Nor theirs alone. The four great monarchies of antiquity stood mostly upon a foundation of injustice. They grew up by unreasonable quarrels and excessive revenge, by ravage and bloodshed, by depopulating countries, and by laying cities and villages into ruinous heaps. Truly justly observed, that if the Romans would have been exactly just, *releundum erat ad casus*, they must have given the conquered nations their country again; they must have resigned their empire and wealth, shrunk into penury, and retired to their old cottages. The same may be said of some modern states. Their power has been also reared upon the ruin of other nations.

"Lands intersected by a narrow firth
Abhor each other. Mountains interposed
Make enemies of nations who had else
Like kindred drops been mingled into one.
This man devotes his brother, and destroys;
And worse than all, and most to be deplored
As human nature's broadest, foulest blot,
Chains him, and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
With stripes, that mercy with a bleeding heart
Weeps, when she sees inflicted on a beast.
Then what is man? And what man seeing this,
And having human feelings, does not blush
And hang his head, to think himself a man?"

COWPER

Alas! that it should be the maxim of the world, that he that is strong enough, may do what he pleases; One stronger than they will bring them to judgment.

(Chosroes was succeeded in his kingdom by his son,

HORMISDAS II., OR HORMOUZ BEN NOUSCHIRVAN.

Hormisdas II. ascended the throne of Persia under very auspicious circumstances. His empire was not only extensive, but he had for his counsellor the celebrated Buzurge Mihir, the wisest man in Persia, and the first minister of Chosroes. Buzurge had been the preceptor of Hormisdas, and had faithfully performed that arduous trust. The natural dispositions of the royal pupil were indolence, luxury, pride, and cruelty; and these sad features in his character, though not corrected, were so far restrained while Buzurge frequented the court, that in the beginning of his reign, Hormisdas promised to surpass even Chosroes himself. He treated Buzurge

with so much deference, that he would not wear the tiara in his presence; and when some of his courtiers thought this extraordinary, and asserted that it was more than due even to a father, he answered, "You say right, my friends, I owe more to him than to my father: the life and kingdom I received from Nousseirvan, will expire in a few years; but the fame I shall acquire by following the instructions of Buzurge, will survive to the latest ages."

Here was a fine prospect of a happy reign; but it soon vanished. When the venerable Buzurge retired from the court, Hormisdas fell a prey to the adulation and sycophancy of younger and false counsellors. His character became changed. Released from the wholesome restraint which the example of his father, and the lessons of his tutor had imposed, he plunged into every excess, and involved himself and his empire in the greatest calamities. His most faithful judges and counsellors were either removed, or put to death, and multitudes of his best subjects fell a prey to his violence for imputed disaffection or treason. It is even said that he put to death the wise Buzurge himself!

The early consequences of this change of rule, were foreign wars and internal rebellions. He first quarrelled with the emperor Tiberius. When that monarch sent ambassadors to renew the last peace made with Chosroes, he treated them disdainfully, and required a sum of money as a tribute, before he granted it, which involved him in a war with the Romans.

In the first campaign, no decisive engagement took place. The Romans, under the command of Philippius, captured many Persian towns, plundered several provinces, and took many prisoners, while the Persian army withdrew into the mountains for fear. The next year, however, Philippius defeated the Persians, under the command of Cardiganus, with great slaughter, and the Romans, at the close of the campaign, again made incursions into Persia, burned the villages, and plundered the people. The next spring, the tide of success was turned. The Persians gained some advantages, upon which Philippius was removed, and Commenciolus sent to command in his place. But matters were no better aspect, and Philippius was again sent into the field, and his want of success again restored Commenciolus. He now engaged the Persians, but he fled at the onset; and Heraclius taking the command, entirely defeated the Persians, with the loss of Apraates and Nabades, two of their best generals.

In the mean time, about A.D. 585, the hordes of the great khakan of Tartary crossed the Oxus, and demanded a free passage through Persia, on the pretext of making war with the emperor of Constantinople. The alarmed Hormisdas at first consented; but their conduct soon satisfied him that he had admitted into his kingdom the most dangerous of all enemies. Baharam, one of the chiefs in the Persian army, was selected to head the troops against the ferocious invaders. Baharam selected twelve thousand of the bravest of the forces, and marched against them, and was successful. In the strong mountainous country,* where he opposed the Tartars, his veterans gained

* Some authors say it was in Khorassan that Baharam engaged the Tartars; others say, Masanderan.

a complete victory over their numerous but undisciplined hosts. The khakan was slain; and his son, who re-assembled his defeated army, was also killed in a second action. The spoils of the Tartars, which were immense, were sent to Madain to Hormisdas.

Baharam was now sent against the Romans. Orders were given him to pass the river Araxes, and to ravage the Roman territories on that side. To oppose him, the Roman emperor sent Romanus with a powerful army, who entirely defeated the Persian conqueror, and thereby gave a fatal blow to the Persian affairs.

When Hormisdas received advice of this disaster, he sent Baharam a woman's garment, in contempt, and threatened to decimate his troops. The rough soldier put on the dress he had received, and presented himself to his soldiers. "Behold," said he, "the reward with which the monarch I serve has deigned to crown my services." A revolt was the consequence. The soldiers hailed Baharam as their sovereign, and demanded to be led against the reckless monarch who had dared, from the midst of his luxurious court, to cast such an insult on the defender of their country.

Baharam was too indignant to repress the violence of his troops, but veiling his ambition, he forbade the overthrow of the house of Sassan; and commanded that money should be struck in the name of Chosru Parviz, the son of Hormisdas. This measure caused dissensions in the royal family. Chosru fled, to escape the danger to which he saw himself exposed; and the king, after his son's flight, imprisoned two of his maternal uncles, Bundaswee and Botham, which act precipitated his ruin. The friends of these nobles not only liberated them from prison, but were sufficiently powerful to confine Hormisdas, whose eyes they put out, to disqualify him from reigning in future. Determined to do as they pleased, they also put to death his younger son Hormisdas, whom he recommended as fitter to reign over them than Chosru, who was a prince prone to vice of every kind, and regardless of the public good. Such was the end of the reign of the wicked prince Hormisdas II. He gave heed to flattery, and was ruined.

As soon as Chosru learned the fate of his father, he returned, and ascended the throne of Persia, A.D. 588.

CHOSROES II., OR CHOSRU PARVIZ.

When Chosru, or, as we shall now call him, after the Greek writers, Chosroes, ascended the throne, he received the homage of the principal persons present, amid loud acclamations and ardent prayers for his felicity. Then supposing himself firmly seated on the throne, he gave sumptuous entertainments, and distributed the royal treasures amongst those he thought most capable of rendering him assistance; largesses were also bestowed upon the people, and the prison doors opened—except to his own father†—that the fame of his lenity and liberality might secure the hearts of his subjects.

† Some ancient writers say, that he caused his father to be put to death soon afterwards. Mirkhond, however, relates, that after his restoration to the throne, he put to death his two uncles, to whom he owed his life and throne, on the specious but cruel pretext that they had dared to lay violent hands upon the person of his father.

But there was one heart proof against his generosity. Baharam had affected great regard for the house of Sassan, but he now threw off the mask, and exhibited to the world that he had a greater regard for his own honour. Chosroes sent him magnificent presents, and promised him the second seat in his kingdom, if he came and acknowledged him for his sovereign. Baharam rejected his overtures with scorn, and ordered him to lay down his crown, and come and pay his respects to him, on which condition he should be made governor of a province. Chosroes again entreated him to be his friend, but, deaf to all remonstrances, Baharam prepared for war, and Chosroes was compelled to meet him in the field, to contest with him the crown of Persia.

The opposing armies met near Nisibis, Chosroes keeping within the city, while Baharam encamped before it. A negotiation was commenced, but it proved ineffectual. At the same time, Chosroes, suspecting some of his nobles, put them to death. This was fatal to his cause. Disaffection spread through his ranks, and when Baharam attacked the suburbs, many of them joined his standard, and Chosroes was compelled to take refuge in flight.

Baharam now entered the city of Ctesiphon with the full purpose of ascending the throne of Persia. With this design he threw Bundawee into prison, and treated all such as had shown any affection to the royal family with great severity; while towards the rest of the Persians he affected the greatest humanity and condescension. But the people in general could not be depended upon. The house of Sassan was still regarded with general favour, and when he assumed the regal ornaments and furniture, as a preliminary step to taking the title, the Persian nobility, disdaining to become the subjects of one born their equal, concerted measures for emancipating themselves and their country, and restoring the ancient lustre of the Persian empire.

They commenced the reformation by releasing Bundawee from prison, and acknowledging him for their chief. By the advice of this prince, they attacked Baharam in the palace in the dead of the night, which they did with great courage. Baharam, however, and his attendants vanquished the assailants, so that many of them were slain. Bundawee and a few others only escaped, and these marched towards Media, and endeavoured to raise forces for Chosroes.

Baharam had now a fair prospect of building up his glory on the ruins of the house of Sassan. He placed the crown upon his head, and resolved to wear it. But Chosroes again appeared in the field against him. He had fled to the emperor Maurice of Rome, with whom he had made a treaty, and who ordered the governors of his frontier provinces to furnish him with whatever might be necessary for his restoration. These supplies had the wished-for effect. The Persians, seeing Chosroes in a condition to defend them, universally acknowledged him, and opened their gates to his forces.

Baharam prepared to meet him, determined at all hazards to maintain the dignity he had usurped. Zadespras, one of his commanders, having attempted to enter the district of one of the lords who had declared for Chosroes, was

defeated and put to death. Soon after, Anathones was also slain. The next year, A. D. 593, Chosroes marched into Persia with intent to decide the war. Many of the forces of Baharam quitted his service and went over to Chosroes; and Seleucia, and most of the great cities near the river Euphrates, submitted to him. In the mean time, several skirmishes had taken place, all advantageous to Chosroes. At length, he defeated the main army of Baharam with great slaughter, by which act he was enabled to reascend the throne. Baharam fled to Tartary, where, though he had formerly put their forces to shame, he was kindly treated by the khakan, under whom he attained the highest distinctions; but his days were shortened by poison, which was given him, according to Persian authors, by the queen of the khakan, who dreaded his future designs.

On gaining this victory, Chosroes gave a remarkable instance of superstitious credulity, in a letter to Gregory, bishop of Antioch, as preserved by Theophylact. It reads thus:

"I, Chosroes, son of Hormisdas, king of kings, etc., having heard that the famous martyr Sergius granted to every one who sought his aid their petitions, did, on the seventh day of January, in the first year of my reign, invoke him to grant me victory against Zadespras; promising, that if that rebel was either killed or taken by my troops, that I would give to his church a golden cross enriched with jewels; and accordingly, on the ninth day of February, the head of Zadespras was brought to me by a party of horse, which I despatched against him.

"To give, therefore, the most public testimony of my gratitude and thankfulness to the saint for granting my petition, I send to his church that cross, and also another, formerly given by the emperor Justinian, and taken away by my grandfather Chosroes, the son of Cavades, which I found deposited among my treasures."

Chosroes married a Christian, called by the Roman writers Irene,* and by the Persian Schirin, "soft," or "agreeable;" for whose sake he for a long time treated the Christians kindly. It was thought by many that he was "almost a Christian" himself; but in a few years after, he gave unequivocal proof of his attachment to the religion of his ancestors, and of that aversion which the unregenerate heart of man bears to the faith of Christ. He conceived an implacable hatred against the Christians, and persecuted them even unto death. In this line of conduct he may have been actuated by the counsels of the magi; for they bore an implacable hatred to the religion of the cross, feeling, like Demetrius of old, that their gains were likely to be affected by its extension. Many bitter persecutions have arisen from this unhallowed source, and yet, notwithstanding, Christianity has flourished—a proof that God is its Author.

From the moment Chosroes felt himself established on the throne, he changed the tone of his conduct both towards the Romans and the Persians, his subjects. Forgetful of the debt of gratitude he owed the former, he insulted their

* By the Byzantine writers, Irene is said to have been the daughter of Maurice, the emperor of Rome; the Roman acronyms say that she was a public dancer.

ambassadors, and threatened to make war upon them; and unmindful of his duties towards the latter, he ruled them with a rod of iron, treating them with great rigour.

It was not long before Chosroes carried his army into the Roman empire. In A. D. 602, the emperor Maurice was murdered by Phocas, and Chosroes, under pretext of avenging his murder, and punishing the assassin, marched a powerful army into the Roman frontiers in his sixteenth year, A. D. 603. In vain did the assassin, by his ambassador, endeavour to appease him with large presents and larger promises; he regarded neither, and marched forward. In the first year of the war, he succeeded in laying the country under contribution. In the next, he reduced several fortresses, and recovered others that he had given to the emperor Maurice in gratitude for his aid. In the eighteenth year of his reign, he plundered all Mesopotamia and Syria, and carried off immense riches. In the succeeding year, he ravaged Palestine and Phenicia with fire and sword. And in his twentieth year, his generals wasted Armenia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, as far as Chalcedon, burning cities, and destroying the inhabitants without respect to age or sex.

In A. D. 609, Chosroes took Apamea and Edessa, and blocked up Antioch. This induced the Romans to hazard a battle, but they were utterly defeated, so that scarcely a man was left to mourn the death of his companions. The death of Phocas, and the accession of Heraclius, did not put a stop to his career. The year following, he took Cesarea, and carried away many thousands of people into captivity. He conquered Judea also, took Jerusalem, which he plundered, carried away the pretended cross on which the superstitious fondly believed that the Redeemer suffered, and sold 90,000 Christians for slaves to the Jews in his dominions, who put them all to death, thereby displaying their ancient enmity to the cause of the gospel. They still despised their Messiah, as "the man of Galilee," whence they persecuted his followers, though brethren according to the flesh. Thus Jews and pagans combined to root out true religion from the earth; but the more they raged, the more it grew and prospered, watered with the dew of God's blessing.

These conquests inflamed the ambition of Chosroes. In his twenty-seventh year, A. D. 614, he invaded Egypt, took Alexandria, reduced both the Lower and Upper Egypt, to the frontiers of Lydia and Abyssinia, and added this kingdom to his dominions; a conquest which none of his predecessors had been able to effect. The year following, he once more turned his forces against the Constantinopolitan empire, and he reduced the city of Chalcedon, to which he had long laid siege.

Alarmed at his progress, the emperor Heraclius sent to implore peace upon any conditions. But Chosroes, elated with his success, and meditating nothing less than the destruction of the Roman name, arrogantly replied, that he would never grant him or his subjects peace, till they abjured their crucified God, and embraced the Persian religion.

He never prospered more. The proud boaster

was doomed to be confounded by the power he despised. Housed from his lethargy by this insulting and impious reply, Heraclius concluded a peace with the other barbarians on their own terms, resolved to make a last and desperate effort, and to put all to the hazard of a battle. He was successful. He out-generalled the Persians, and defeated their army with great slaughter. The conqueror made fresh overtures for peace; but they were rejected. Again and again, enabled by the plunder of the Christian churches, Chosroes raised fresh armies to oppose Heraclius; but he, preserving the strictest discipline, defeated them as soon as they appeared in the field, and he proceeded so rapidly in his conquests, that the haughty tyrant was forced to flee from city to city with his wives and concubines, in order to escape death. The Romans marched in one direction as far as the Caspian; in another to Isaphan, destroying in their progress all his splendid palaces, plundering his boarded treasures,* and dispersing the slaves of his pleasure. Yet even in the wretched state to which his fortune and character had reduced him, he rejected an offer of peace made by the humanity of his conqueror. But his career was soon at an end. The subjects of Chosroes had lost all regard for a monarch whom they deemed the sole cause of the desolation of his country, and they formed a conspiracy against him. That his cup of misery might be full, he was seized by his eldest son Siroes, whom he wished to have excluded from the throne. This unnatural prince treated him with the greatest severity. He first cast him into a dungeon, and soon afterwards put him to death; justifying the parricide by the assertion that he was compelled to the deed by the clamours and importunities of the nobles and people.

The fall of Chosroes affords a memorable instance of the instability of human greatness. At the time he sent the impious answer to the demands of Heraclius for peace, he was living in splendour and luxury, such as Persian monarchs never exceeded. The vast territories his armies had subdued were exhausted, that his palaces and the gorgeous state of his court might exceed all that history ever recorded of kingly grandeur. He had a palace for every season; he had invaluable thrones, particularly that called Takh-dis, formed to represent the twelve signs of the zodiac and the hours of the day; 12,000 ladies, who, in the hyperbolic language of the east, were equal to the moon in beauty, attended his court; and mirth and music were heard throughout his halls. But, like Belshazzar, he lifted up his heart and defied the Almighty, and sentence against him that moment went forth. The foes whom he had long despised, and long trampled upon, driven to despair by his oppressive violence, flew to arms, and went on in their conquests, till almost the whole of his empire was beneath their feet, and he himself laid in the dust. The haughty spoiler of the world fell as an oak cut down in its glory.

* One of these treasures was called *Badsword*, or, "The gift of the winds," because it had been cast upon his territory, when on its way to the Roman emperor, his benefactor.

"The fished weapon of the skies can send
 Libination into deep, dark holds,
 Which the mild sunbeam hath not power to pierce.
 Ye throwers that have doted remorse, and cast
 Fly away, soon shall ye shake with fear."

WORDSWORTH.

Chosroes was succeeded in his kingdom, A.D. 627, by that son who was the instrument of his death,

SIROES, OR SHIROUDER.

The first act of Siroes was, to conclude a perpetual peace with Heraclius, and to set at liberty all the Roman captives, and among the rest, Zacharias, patriarch of Jerusalem. He also, it is said, sent back the wood which the superstitious supposed to have formed part of the cross on which the Saviour was crucified, and which had been carried by Chosroes in triumph from Jerusalem into Persia.

Siroes did not long survive the parricide of which he had been guilty. He died after he had reigned seven months, according to the oriental, or a little more than a year, according to the Roman historians. Rozout-ul-Suffa states that his life was terminated by melancholy arising from his crime; but Roman historians say that he was murdered by one of his generals. He was succeeded by his son

ARDESIR, OR ARDESCHIR BEN SCHIROOTIKH,

a child of seven years of age, A.D. 628. Ardesir reigned only seven months. He was deposed and murdered by the commander of the forces, Sarbarazas, or Scheheriah, who usurped the throne; which, however, he held but a few days, being slain by the adherents of the royal family.

After the death of Sarbarazas, according to Persian writers, a queen of the name of Poorandokht, the daughter of Chosru Parviz, reigned one year and four months; then her cousin, Shah-Shenendeh, who only reigned one month; then another queen of the name of Arzem-dokht, sister to the former; then Kesra, reported to have belonged to the royal family, who was quickly murdered; then Ferokhzad, the son of Chosru Parviz, whose days were terminated by poison; and finally Jazdegerd, under whose rule the Persian monarchy sunk to rise no more.

Nothing of interest is recorded during the period in which the above kings and queens reigned. Their rapid elevation and destruction denotes a state of great anarchy, and shows that the management of public affairs was at this period a subject of contest among the nobles, who veiled their ambition under the garb of loyalty and attachment to the house of Sasan.

MORMYKAR, OR JEZDEGERD BEN SCHEHERIAH.

Jazdegerd was raised to the throne of Persia, A.D. 632. He was a grandson of Chosroes by one of his sons, and, it is said, the only surviving branch of the royal family.

The reign of Jazdegerd was brief and disastrous. Mohammed, who was born at Mecca, A.D. 569, had, during the reign of Heraclius in

Constantinople, and Chosru Parviz in Persia, announced himself as a prophet. For some time, he was unheeded, except by a few intimate friends. At length, however, the impostor began to preach publicly in Mecca, and daily added to the number of his disciples. The Koreish soon took the alarm, and Mohammed with his friends were obliged to take refuge in flight. He retired to Tayef, apparently yielding to the storm, but waiting in reality for an opportunity of exerting himself with advantage. The time he chose was the sacred month, in which the caravans of pilgrims came to Mecca, and which was, like the period called "the truce of God" in the middle ages, a season of universal peace. Mohammed returned to Mecca at this season, and announced his mission to the strangers, who came thither on pilgrimage. Among these strangers were pilgrim Jews from Yatrib, or Medina, who longed for the coming of the Messiah, and a tribe of idolatrous Arabs from the same city, who held these Jews in subjection. When the Medinese Arab pilgrims heard the account of the new prophet at Mecca, they asked, "Can this be the Messiah of whom the Jews are constantly speaking? Let us find him out, and gain him over to our interests." Mohammed saw the advantage he should gain by their alliance, and replied that he was the person whom the Jews expected, but that his mission was universal; for all who believed in God and his prophet should share its advantages. From that moment they joined his cause, and it flourished. After having given his disciples permission to stand up in their own defence, when his power was still further strengthened, he issued his command to propagate the new religion by force of arms. "When ye encounter the unbelievers," said he, "strike off their heads until ye have made a great slaughter among them; and bind them in bonds; and either give them a free dismission afterwards, or exact a ransom until the war shall have laid down its arms." This command was consonant to the feelings of his followers. They first waged war with the Meccans and the Jewish tribes near Medina. Success crowned their efforts, recruits crowded from all quarters to join his banners, and at length the armies of the Mussulmans were spread over Arabia, and were to be seen on the shores of the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf, and even in Syria. Elated with the success of his predatory incursions, it is said that Mohammed sent a letter to Chosru Parviz, inviting him to embrace his doctrines, which was rejected with contempt.* Such was the state of Mohammedanism when its founder died, and Abu-Bekr succeeded to the khaliphate, A.D. 632, the same year that Jazdegerd ascended the throne of Persia. The khaliph not knowing how to find employment for the vast multitude of enthusiasts that arose in every part of Arabia, resolved to display the standard of the faith of Islam in the fields of Syria. He first sent detachments to the borders of Syria and Babylonia.

* This letter commenced thus: "Mohammed, son of Abd Allah, the apostle of God, to Chosru Parviz, monarch of Persia, greeting." When it had been read thus far, the monarch seized it, and tore it in pieces, because Mohammed had placed his name first. When Mohammed heard of this, he exclaimed, "Thus may God tear his kingdom," an expression which after events justified as a prediction in the sight of his enthusiastic followers.

These encountered no obstacles, and returned laden with plunder, upon which the khaliph invited all the Arabs to join in the enterprise he projected, and great numbers responded to the invitation. From the cowardice and treachery of the Byzantine provincial governors, the invaders encountered no effective opposition; and in less than two years, the greater part of Syria was subdued. While the Saracens, as the Arabs were from this time generally called, were thus pursuing their career of victory, Abu-Bekr died, and was succeeded in the khaliphate by Omar, who thirsted to massacre all who would not believe in the prophet. No sooner was Omar placed at the head of affairs, than the armies of the Mohammedans seemed to have acquired tenfold vigour. The greater part of Syria and Mesopotamia had been subdued during the life of Abu-Bekr; the conquest of these countries was now completed, and armies were sent into Persia, Palestine, Phenicia, and Egypt. The Persians were so weakened by the incessant wars of Chosroes, and the subsequent civil commotions, that they could not hope to repel their powerful assailants. Hence, on their appearance, Jazdegerd sent an envoy to Saad, the leader whom Omar had appointed to the chief command of his forces in Persia; and Saad, in compliance with their request, sent a deputation to Madain, consisting of three old Arab chiefs. When these were seated in the presence of Jazdegerd, that monarch addressed himself to the principal person among them, whose name was Shaikh Maghurah, in the following words: "We have always held you in the lowest estimation. Arabs, hitherto, have been only known in Persia in two characters, as merchants and as beggars. Your food is green lizards;* your drink, salt water; your covering, garments made of coarse hair. But of late, you have come in bands to Persia; you have eaten of good food, you have drunk of sweet water, and have enjoyed the luxury of soft raiment. You have reported these enjoyments to your brethren, and they are flocking to partake of them. But, not satisfied with all the good things you have thus obtained, you desire to impose a new religion on us, who are unwilling to receive it. You appear to me like the fox in our fable, who went into a garden, where he found an abundance of grapes. The generous gardener would not disturb him. The produce of his abundant vineyard would, he thought, be little diminished by a poor hungry fox enjoying himself; but the animal, not content with his good fortune, went and informed all his tribe of the excellence of the grapes, and the good-nature of the gardener. The garden was filled with foxes; and its indulgent owner was forced to bar the gates, and kill all the intruders, to save himself from ruin. However, as I am satisfied you have been compelled to the conduct which you have pursued from absolute want, I will not only pardon you, but load your camels with wheat and dates, that, when you return to your native land, you may feast your countrymen. But, be assured, if you are insensible to my generosity, and remain in Persia, you shall not escape my just vengeance."

* The Persians usually called the Arabs, by way of contempt, "saked lizard eaters."

This speech, wherein are displayed the marks of pride and weakness, was heard by the envoy unmoved, and he replied thus: "Whatever thou hast said concerning the former condition of the Arabs, is true. Their food was green lizards; they buried their infant daughters alive; nay, some of them feasted on dead carcases, and drank blood; while others slew their relations, and thought themselves great and valiant, when by such an act they became possessed of more property; they were clothed with hair garments; knew not good from evil; and made no distinction between that which is lawful and that which is unlawful. Such was our state. But God, in his mercy, has sent us, by a holy prophet, Mohammed, a sacred volume, the koran, which teaches us the true faith. By it we are commanded to war against infidels, and to exchange our poor and miserable condition for wealth and power. We now solemnly desire you to receive our religion. If you consent, not an Arab shall enter Persia without your permission; and our leaders will only demand the established taxes,* which all believers are bound to pay. If you do not accept our religion, you are required to pay the tribute† fixed for infidels: should you reject both these propositions, you must prepare for war."

Jazdegerd was too proud to submit to such degrading conditions; and a battle ensued near the city of Cadessia, which was fought with great fury for three days, and which at length ended in the total defeat of the Persians, and the greatest part of the Persian dominions fell into the hands of the conquerors, A.D. 636.

On the loss of this great and decisive battle, Jazdegerd fled to Hulwan, with all the property he could collect. Saad, after taking possession of Madain, pursued him, and sent his nephew Hashem to attack a body of troops which had arrived from Shirwan and Aderbijan. This force took shelter in the fort of Jelwallah, where they were captured; upon which Jazdegerd left his army, and fled to Rhe. Hashem advanced to Hulwan, which he reduced; and, soon after, the city of Ahwaz shared the same fate. Saad marched from thence, by Omar's order, to Amber, and from thence to Kooifah, a place which soon after acquired celebrity. From Kooifah, Saad was recalled by Omar, on account of a complaint made against him by those under his rule; and Omar Yusef was appointed his successor.

Jazdegerd, encouraged by the removal of a leader he, so much dreaded, assembled an army from Khorassan, Rhe, and Hamadan, and placing it under the command of Firouz, the bravest of the Persian generals, resolved to contest once more for the empire.

As soon as Omar heard of these preparations, he ordered reinforcements to be sent to his army in Persia, from every quarter of his dominions; and committing the chief command to Noman, he directed him to exert his utmost efforts to de-

* The zukat, or religious charity for the poor, was two-and-a-half per cent. upon property: the khums, or fifth, was a tax to support the family of the prophet.

† The tax paid by infidels was thirty-five per cent. on property.

stroy for ever the worship of fire. The Arabian force assembled at Kooftah, and thence marched to the plains of Nabaound, about forty miles to the south of Hamadan, on which the Persians had established a camp, surrounded by a deep entrenchment. During two months these great armies continued in sight of each other, and many skirmishes occurred. At the end of that time, Noman drew up his army in order of battle, and thus addressed the soldiers: "My friends, prepare yourselves to conquer, or to drink of the sweet sherbet* of martyrdom. I shall now call the Tukbeer three times: at the first, you will gird your loins; at the second, mount your steeds; and at the third, point your lances, and rush to victory or to paradise." As to me," said Noman, with a loud voice, "I shall be a martyr! When I am slain, obey the orders of Huseefah-eh-Aly-Oman."

The Tukbeer (Allah-Akbar, or, "God is great") was sounded; and when it had ceased, the Mohammedans charged with a fury that was irresistible. Noman was slain, as he predicted; but the Persians sustained a total overthrow. The empire of Persia was for ever lost; and the mighty nation fell under the dominion of the Arabian khaliphs.

Jezdegerd protracted for several years a wretched and precarious existence. He first fled to Segistan, then to Khorassan, and lastly to Merou, on the river Oxus, or Gihon. The governor of this city invited the khakan of the Tartars† to take possession of the person of the fugitive monarch. The invitation was accepted; his troops entered Merou, (the gates of which were opened to them by the treacherous governor,) and made themselves masters of it, after a brave resistance from the inhabitants. Jezdegerd escaped from the town during the contest, and reached a mill eight miles from Merou, and entreated the miller to conceal him. The man promised his protection; but, yielding to the temptation of making his fortune by the possession of the rich arms and robes of the unfortunate prince, he treacherously murdered him. The governor of Merou, and those who had aided him, in a few days began to suffer from the tyranny of the khakan, and to repent of their treachery. They encouraged the citizens to rise upon the Tartars; and they not only recovered the city, but forced the khakan to fly with great loss to Bokharah.

The fate of Jezdegerd was now discovered, and the rapacious and treacherous miller fell a victim to the popular rage; and the corpse of the monarch was embalmed, and sent to Istakhr, to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors, A.D. 652.

Jezdegerd possessed the royal title nineteen

* In warm countries, where wine is forbidden, sherbet or lemonade is the beverage in which they delight.

† Khondemir says it was the king of the Huns, of "White Huns," whom he invited; but Ferdosi says it was a chief of Turan, who ruled at Samarcand.

years; ten of which he was a fugitive, reckoning from the battle of Nabaound, A.D. 642. He was the last sovereign of the house of Sasan, a family which governed Persia during 411 years; and the memory of which is still cherished by a nation whose ancient glory is associated with the names of Artaxerxes, Sapor, and Chosroes.

Thus closes the ancient history of Persia. So rapid a declension, from A.D. 614, when the Persian empire was at its height, and larger than it had been since the days of Alexander the Great, is unexampled in history. But the rod had blossomed, pride had budded, and violence had risen up into a rod of wickedness; and hence its doom went forth from Heaven, that it should be destroyed. The extraordinary Saracen* power was the instrument by which its overthrow was effected; but the seeds of destruction were found in its own bosom. That impious monarch, Chosru Parviz, by his rapacity and cruelty, alienated the affections of his generals from his family, while his rage for war had drained the country of its ablest defenders, and left it wasted and distracted; thus it became an easy prey to the needy and ferocious Saracens. They came upon the Persians as an overflowing flood, and swept their power from off the earth. Animated by an enthusiasm which made them despise the most fearful odds, as the ministers of vengeance, they sought battle as a feast, and counted danger a sport. They had ever in their mouths the magnificent orientalism, traditionally ascribed to Mohammed, "In the shades of the scimitars is paradise prefigured;" and under the influence of these feelings, their power was irresistible. Such is the ever-changing nature of all mundane affairs. In this age, power and empire are in the hands of one people; in the next, a nation unheard of before comes forth, and rudely plucks it from their hands. By whose direction do these things occur?

Happy the man who sees a God employ'd
In all the good and ill that chequer life;
Resolving all events, with their effects
And manifold results, into the will
And arbitration woe of the Supreme.

COWPER.

Reader, let it be your prayer, that you may enjoy this happiness, that you may see the Divine hand in past, present, and coming events!

* Concerning the etymology of the word Saracen, there have been various opinions; but its true derivation is *Sarkens*, which means, in Arabic, "the eastern people." This was first corrupted into *Saraceni*, by the Greeks, and thence into *Saraceni*, by the Latin writers. The name seems to have been applied by Pliny to the Bedouin Arabs, who inhabited the countries between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and separated the Roman possessions in Asia from the dominions of the Parthian kings. In course of time, it became the general name of all the Arab tribes who embraced the faith of Islam, and spread their conquests widely through Asia and Africa, and part of Europe.

A BRIEF SKETCH

OF THE

MODERN HISTORY OF PERSIA.

THE hand of the great Ruler of the universe may be as clearly traced in the modern, as in the ancient history of Persia. For more than two centuries after the Mohammedan conquest, the country was a mere province in the empire of the caliphs. With the decay, however, of the power of the caliphs, the spirit of independence revived, so that about A.D. 868, Yakub Ibn Laïs threw off his allegiance to the caliph, founded the Saffarian dynasty, and fixed at Shiraz the capital of a dominion including nearly all Persia.

His brother and successor, Amer, was subdued A.D. 900, by the Tartar family of the Samanides, who ruled Khorassan and Trans-Oxiana, till A.D. 999, while Western Persia again acknowledged allegiance to the caliph till A.D. 936, when the utter disruption of the Abbaside power threw it into the hands of the three sons of Bouyah, Amad-ed-doulah, Ruku-ed-doulah, and Moazz-ed-doulah, who shared the kingdom among them. These, with their successors, ruled Persia, with more or less success, till A.D. 1028, when Mahmood, who, thirty years before, had founded the dynasty of the Ghazneoides in Cabul and Khorassan, subdued their last successors in Eastern Persia.

The whole country was on the point of falling into the hands of this conqueror, when the Seljukian Turks, originally received as vassals by the Ghazneoides princes, snatched the prize from their hands. Pouring down from Central Asia, they defeated Massoud, the son and successor of Mahmood, A.D. 1040, near Nishapur, and placed their own sultan, Toghrul Beg, in possession of Persia, to which, A.D. 1055, he added Bagdad and Irak, with the guardianship of the caliphate, deposing the last of the house of Bouyah.

This Perso-Turkish monarchy rose to great splendour; but civil wars commencing between the sons of Malek Shah, about A.D. 1120, and continuing their devastations to the next generation, their power was gradually weakened, so that, A.D. 1194, Persia fell under the yoke of the Khorasmanian sultan, Takash, who slew their last successor, Toghrul III., and extended his sway

from the Caspian and the sea of Aral, to the Indus and the Persian Gulf.

This mighty power, however, soon vanished. Gengis-Khan, the redoubtable ruler of the Moguls beyond the Jaxartes, invaded Persia, A.D. 1218, with a mighty host, and chased Mohammed, the successor of Takash, from his dominions. The son of Takash struggled manfully for the kingdom; but he dying, A.D. 1230, the Khorasmanian power was dissolved, and Persia laid prostrate at the feet of the Moguls.

Gengis-Khan and his successors ruled in Persia during about ninety years, when Persia became divided and distracted by numberless petty dynasties perpetually at war with each other. This was the signal for another invader.

The celebrated Tamerlane, already master of Trans-Oxiana and Tartary, invaded Khorassan, in 1381, and in twelve years subdued Persia to his sway. In a few years after his death, however, Persia relapsed into a state of division and anarchy, worse than even that which had preceded his irruption. His son, indeed, ruled over Khorassan, Trans-Oxiana, and Tartary; but his descendants were expelled by the Uzbeks, at the end of the century, while the western provinces were contested by two races of Turkomans, distinguished by their emblems of the Black and White Sheep, the latter of which finally prevailed, A.D. 1469, under their leader, Hassan the Tall, ruler of Diarbekr.

The White Sheep dynasty was of brief duration. Hassan the Tall, encountering the superior power of the Ottoman sultan, Mohammed II., sustained a signal defeat in Anatolia, 1473, which greatly weakened his power, and his relatives and descendants were finally supplanted and crushed, in 1502, by Ismael Shah, the founder of the Seft, Scoffee, or Seffavean dynasty.

This race of sovereigns, by their rule and character, imparted to the Persian monarchy a greater degree of stability, and a more settled form of government, than it had enjoyed for some centuries. They sat on the throne of Persia during two hundred and twenty years, at

the end of which time, A. D. 1722, the Afghans of Cabul and Candahar revolted, and, under their chief, Meer-Mahmood, routed the Persians at Goolzabad, and invested the Persian capital, Ispahan, which, after enduring the horrors of famine for seven months, was obliged to capitulate. Hussein, the last of the family of Ismael Soofee, resigned his crown to the conqueror, and Persia fell under the yoke of the Afghans.

But the tenure of the Afghans also was brief in Persia. The crown prince, Tahmasp, with his great general, Nadir-Kooli, after a struggle of eight years, exterminated the invaders, and regained the throne of Persia. The real power, however, remained in the hands of Nadir, who dethroned Tahmasp, A. D. 1732, and placed his infant son, Abbas III., thereon, in whose name he governed as regent for four years, when the young monarch dying, Nadir declared the Seffavian dynasty at an end, and himself assumed the crown under the title of Nadir Shah.

This great man raised Persia, by his conquests, to a high state of prosperity; but his barbarities and avarice led to his destruction by the hands of his own subjects, A. D. 1747. Persia was now without a ruler, and anarchy and confusion prevailed every where. The Uzbek states threw off the yoke, and Afghanistan became an independent and powerful kingdom, while the crown was contested by several competitors, and the kingdom distracted by civil wars.

The successful competitor was Keerem-Khan, of the Zand family, who possessed himself of supreme power, A. D. 1759, which he held under the title of *Wakedi*, or Administrator, till his death, A. D. 1779. At the death of Keerem-Khan, fresh disorders prevailed in Persia.

During the period between 1779 and 1789, six chiefs ascended or claimed the sovereign authority; while Russia, in her insatiable thirst for do-

minion, encroached on the northern provinces, and added Georgia to its widely extended empire. At the end of this time, the candidates for royalty were reduced to two, Lutf Ali Khan Zend, and Aga Mohammed Khan Kajar, the latter of whom prevailed, A. D. 1795, and founded the Kajar, or reigning dynasty. This ruler was assassinated by his own attendants, whom he had provoked by his severities, and he was succeeded by his nephew, the late Shah Futtah Ali, who reigned from A. D. 1797 to A. D. 1834.

At the death of this prince, who ceded most of the Caspian provinces, with Erivan and the country to the Araxes, to the Russians, after two disastrous wars, a struggle commenced for the crown among his descendants; but it was speedily terminated, by the influence of England and Russia, in favour of the present Shah Mohammed, grandson of Futtah Ali, by his son Abbas Mirza, who died before his father, and while yet the crown was in his view.

Who next will ascend the throne of Persia, or how long the reigning dynasty shall sit thereon, the progress of time can alone unfold. Its situation between the two great Asiatic empires of England and Russia, and its manifest internal weakness would lead to a conclusion that it will never regain its former rank in the scale of nations. Of this, however, the reader may be assured, that, whether the Persian rulers still hold rule on the earth, or their power is absorbed in either of these great empires, all will be under the control of the great Disposer of human events—God. By his mandate

All regions, revolutions, fortunes, fates,
Of high, of low, of mind, and matter, roll
Through the short channels of expiring time,
Or shortless ocean of eternity,
In absolute subjection.

YOUNG.

THE FOLLOWING

DYNASTIES OF THE PERSIANS

ARE TAKEN FROM DR. HALES.

I. PERSIAN DYNASTY.

529 YEARS.

	Y.	B. C.
1. Kalummarath, or Kelomarras Nimack (560).....	40	2190
Kalummarath again	30	2150
2. Huahang, or Houahenchek, called Pischdad, or Chedorlaomer*.....	50	2120
3. Tahmuras(700).....	30	2070
4. Giamaschid, or Giamaschid	30	2040
5. Dahak, Zahak, or Zoak(1000).....	30	2010
6. Aphridun, Phridun, or Phridun.....	120	1990
7. Manugiar, called Phirouz(500).....	120	1860
8. Nodar	7	1740
9. Aphrasiab, or Afrasiab	12	1733
10. Zoab, Zab, or Zoub	30	1721
11. Gershab, or Gershasp	30	1691

End of the dynasty..... 529 1661

A long interregnum succeeds, and the Turanian, Assyrian, and Median dominations; after which succeeds the

II. KAIANAN DYNASTY.

PERSIAN KINGS, 228 YEARS.

	Y.	B. C.
1. Cyrus, or Kni Chosru, in Persia..... 8 }	530	
Media..... 15 }	515	
Babylon..... 7 }	536	
2. Cambyses, or Lohorasp, 7y. 5m. }	529	
Smerdis Magus..... 7 m. }	529	
3. Darius, son of Hystaspes, or Gushtasp.....	56	521
4. Xerxes.....	21	485
5. Artaxerxes Longimanus, or Ardeshir Darius, or Bahaman.....	41	464
6. Darius Nothus.....	19	423
7. Artaxerxes Mucmon.....	46	404
8. Ochus, or Darius II.....	23	358
9. Darius, or Codomannus, or Darius III.....	4	335

Conquered by Alexander, or Alexander..... 228 331

Here follow the Macedo-Grecian and Parthian dynasties, which held rule over Persia till the

III. PERSIAN DYNASTY.

SASSANIAN KINGS. 471 YEARS.

	Y. M.	A. D.
1. Artaxerxes, or Ardeshir ben Babek	14 10	225
2. Sapor, or Schabour	31 0	240
3. Hormisdas, or Hormouz	1 0	271
4. Vararanes, or Baharam	3 0	272
5. Vararanes II., or Baharam II.....	17 0	275
6. Narses, or Narsi	(7) 8	292
7. Misdates, or Hormouz	7 5	300
8. Sapor II., or Schabour doulaktaf.....	70 0	307
9. Artaxerxes, or Ardeshir	4 0	377
10. Sapor III., or Schabour ben Schabour.....	5 0	381
11. Vararanes IV., or Kerman Shah	11 0	386
12. Isdegerdes, or Jesdegerd al Athim	21 0	397
13. Vararanes V., or Baharam Gour.....	23 0	418
14. Vararanes VI., or Jesdegerd ben Baharam (17)	18 0	441
15. Peroz, or Firous	20 0	459
16. Valens, or Balasch ben Firous.....	4 0	479
17. Zavad, or Kobad }	11 0	485
Cavad }	8 0	494
18. Chosroes, or Kouschirvan.....	30 0	502
19. Hormisdas II., or Hormouz ben Nouschirvan.....	48 0	532
20. Chosroes II., or Khosru Fortis.....	39 0	580
21. Siroes, or Shirooueh.....	1 0	588
22. Ardeshir, or Ardeshir ben Schiroueh (2 m.).....	2 6	628
23. Sarbaris, or Scheheriah (1 y. 1 m.).....	2 0	630
Hormisdas, or Jesdegerd ben Scheheriah.....	4 0	632

Sassan Dynasty..... 471 0 636

* Dr. Hales identifies Huahang with Chedorlaomer, from the circumstance of Huahang's having been slain, according to Persian romances, by some fragments of rocks buried against him by the giants, his mortal foes, in the province of Adharbighian. Chedorlaomer, he says, might have been slain, either when surprised by Abraham in his camp, in the mountainous country, near the springs of the Jordan; or afterwards, upon his return home, in some later engagement. He adds, but this is merely supposition, and, besides, it is a question whether the history of Chedorlaomer is connected with that of the Persians: Elam not being Persia, properly so called. He adduces no other reason for the identification of this Scripture king with this hero of Persian romance and this is very unsatisfactory.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

HISTORY

OF

THE MACEDONIANS,

THE SELEUCIDÆ

IN SYRIA,

AND

THE PARTHIANS.

FROM

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

BOTH ANCIENT AND MODERN

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THE HISTORY

OF

THE MACEDONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL HISTORY OF MACEDONIA.

THE ancient name of Macedonia was *Æmathia*, but the time and cause of the appellation being changed are unknown. Some authors imagine that it received that denomination from king Macedo, a descendant from Deucalion, while others affirm that it is derived by an easy mutation of *Mygdonia*, the name of one of its provinces. The latter appears to be the most probable, for the space intervening between the range of Mount *Hæmus*, which separated Thrace and Macedonia from northern Europe, and the *Cambanian* mountains, which divided Macedonia from Thessaly, was, during a long succession of ages, distinguished by different appellations, according as the barbarous nations that inhabited these regions rose into temporary eminence. Thus, *Livy* says, that *Pœonia* was once the general name of Macedonia; which name afterwards became peculiar to a people near Mount *Scopus*. If the inhabitants of the district of *Mygdonia*, therefore, at any period became masters, they might have given the name of Macedonia to the whole country.

Some modern authors have attempted to derive the name of the *Chittim* mentioned in the Old Testament (*Gen. x. 4*; *Numb. xxiv. 24*; *Isa. xxiii. 1. 12*; *Jer. ii. 10*; *Ezek. xxvii. 6*; *Dan. xi. 30*) from Macedonia. This appears to have arisen from the description of the country inhabited by the *Kittim*, which is supposed to answer to Macedonia, and from the fact that *Alexander the Great* is said to come "out of the land of *Chettim*," and that *Perses* is called king of the *Citima*, in the book of the *Maccabees*. The term *Chittim*, however, as mentioned in the Old Testament, appears to be a name of more ample signification, and applied to the isles and coasts of the Mediterranean, like our *Levant*, in an indefinite sense. The restriction put upon it by different authors, seems to corroborate this explanation. Thus, *Josephus* makes it *Cyprus*;

the *Maccabees*, Macedonia; the *Vulgate*, Italy; *Bochart* and *Shuckford*, the islands around Italy particularly *Corsica*; and *Jerome* ascribes it to the islands of the *Ionian* and *Ægean* Sea. Any of these places may be included in the larger acceptation of the term *Chittim*.

The boundaries of Macedonia varied at different times. In its most flourishing state, its limits, on the north, were the river *Strymon* and the *Scardian* branch of Mount *Hæmus*; on the east, the *Ægean* Sea; on the south, the *Cambanian* mountains; and on the west, the *Adriatic*. At this period, it was said to contain 150 nations; a number which will not appear exaggerated when it is considered that each of its cities and towns were regarded as an independent state.

The most important divisions of Macedonia were *Mygdonia*, *Bottia*, *Pieria*, *Elimen*, *Symphalia*, *Orestes*, *Lyncus*, *Eordia*, *Æmathia*, *Pœonia*, *Chalcidice*, *Amphaxitis*, *Pelagonia*, and *Sintica*.

MYGDONIA.

This district was situated on the *Thermaic* Bay, and it was separated from *Bottia* by the river *Axius*. Originally, it was occupied by the *Edones*, a *Thracian* people, who were expelled thence by the *Temenidæ*. Either in or near *Mygdonia*, was the lake *Bolbe*, the modern *Betchit*, which *Dr. Clarke* describes as being about twelve miles in length, and from six to eight in breadth.

BOTTIA.

Bottia was bounded on the east by the *Axius*; on the west, by the united mouth of the *Halacmon*; and on the north, by *Æmathia*. *Larcher* says, that the *Bottians* were of *Athenian* origin, and, according to *Aristotle*, from those children whom the *Athenians* sent to *Minoa*, in *Crete*, by way of tribute. These children grew old in that island, gaining their livelihood by the labour of their hands. The *Cretans*, in compliance with the same vow, sent to *Delphi* the first-fruits of

their citizens, to whom they added these descendants of the Athenians. As they could not subsist there, they went to Italy, and established themselves in Iapygia, from whence they went to Thrace, where they took the name of Bottians.

PIERIA.

According to Strabo, Pieria was bounded on the south by Dium. In more ancient times, however, the name was probably applied to all the country between Macedonia and the Peneus. In Grecian mythology, it is celebrated as the first seat of the muses, either because they came from that district, or because they were supposed by some to be the daughters of Pierus, a king of Macedonia.

ELIMEA.

This district lay to the west of Pieria, in the valley of Halicmaon. Its inhabitants, who were called Elimiotes, in the days of Thucydides, were subject to the Macedonian monarchs, but were governed by their own princes. Livy says, that there was a road from thence to Thessaly, and another to Ætolia, over the Cambanian mountains.

STYMPHALIA.

The district of Stymphalia was to the south-west of Elimeia. It was annexed to Macedonia on the conquest of Perseus by the Romans.

ORESTES.

This was a small inland district, north-west of Elimeia. Some suppose that it took its name from the son of Agamemnon, who is said to have settled there after the murder of his mother. Muller remarks, that it more probably derived its name from the mountainous nature of the country, *oros* signifying mountain in the Greek. The inhabitants of Orestes were originally independent of the Macedonian monarchs, but they were eventually compelled to submit to their authority.

LYNCUS.

The country of Lyncus lay to the north of Orestes, and it was surrounded by mountains on all sides. Thucydides says, that, during the early part of the Peloponnesian war, the inhabitants were governed by an independent prince, named Arrhibæus.

EORDIA.

Eordia was situated in the valley of the Lydias, east of Lyncus, and north of Elimeia. According to Thucydides, the Eordians were driven from their country by the Tameuidæ, whence they settled about Physca, probably in Mygdonia. Their country, however, still retained their name.

ÆMATHIA.

The name of this region, as before observed, was anciently the name by which Macedonia was called. It lay north of Bottiæa, and, like Eordia, in the valley of the Lydias. It stretched itself to the Sinus Thermaicus, or, as it is now called, the Gulf of Salonichi.

PRONIA.

This district was in the northern part of Macedonia. It was inhabited by various tribes of Pronians, the principal of which were the Pelagionians, and the Agrians, the latter of whom lived near the sources of the Strymon.

CHALCIDICE.

Chalcidice was a peninsula, between the Thermaic and Strymonic Gulfs. It was so called from the Chalcidians of Eubœa, who formed settlements there at a remote period. The peninsula of Chalcidice comprised three small peninsulas in the south: namely, Pallene, situated between the Thermaic and Toronaic Gulfs; Sithonia, between the Toronaic and Singitic Gulfs; and Acté, or Athos, between the Singitic and Strymonic Gulfs.

PELAGONIA.

This district bordered on Mount Hæmus, north-west of the region of Edonia, on the confines of which flowed the river Strymon.

AMPHAXITIS.

The region of Amphaxitis lay north-east of Æmathia, bordering the Thermaic Gulf.

SINTICA.

The inland country of Sintica lay north to the region of Lyncus, inhabited by the Lyncesti.

According to M. de Lisle's map of Greece, Macedonia lies between the 40 and 42 of north latitude, and the 37 and 42 of the same longitude. According to this map, also, it is about 160 miles from north to south, and about 220 from east to west. The form of the country is very irregular, but its situation is excellent, being washed on the east by the Ægean, and on the west by the Ionian Seas, which afford many noble bays and excellent harbours.

MOUNTAINS.

The most remarkable mountains of Macedonia, were the Scandian, and other branches from the chain of Hæmus, or the Balkan, Pangæus, Athos, and Olympus. The three latter chiefly demand notice from their celebrity in history.

Pangæus.—This mountain was anciently called Mons Caraminus. It joined Mount Rhodope, near the sources of the river Nestus, and was inhabited by four different nations; nations which Megabyzus, the Persian general, with all his numerous forces, could not subdue. It was on this mountain that Lyncurgus, a Thracian king, was torn to pieces; and ancient poets say that Orpheus sat thereon, and called the attention of animate and inanimate nature to his song.

" ————— He sat alone:

The rocks were moved to pity with his woe;
Trees bent their heads to hear him sing his woe;
Fierce tigers crouch'd around, and loll'd their flaming
tongues."—VIRGIL'S *Georgics*.

Herodotus says, that Pangæus abounded in gold and silver mines.

Acté, or Athos.—The mountain of Acté, or Athos, is thus described by Ptolemy: "We

embarked at Lemnos, and landed at Monte Santo, as it is called by the Europeans; it is the ancient Mount Athos in Macedonia, now called, both by Greeks and Turks, Haion Oros, the 'Holy Mountain,' by reason that there are so many convents on it, to which the whole mountain belongs. It is a promontory which extends almost directly from north to south, being joined to the continent by a neck of land about a mile wide, through which, some historians say, that Xerxes cut a channel, in order to carry his army a shorter way by water from one bay to the other, which seems very improbable, nor did I see any sign of such a work. The bay of Contessa, to the north of this neck of land, was called by the ancient Strymonians, to the south of the bay of Monte Santo, anciently called Singiticus, and by the Greeks at this day, Amoulina, from an island of that name to the bottom of it, between which and the gulf of Salonica, is the bay of Haia Mamma, called by the ancients Toronæa. The northern cape of this promontory is called Cape Laura, and is the promontory Nymphæum of the ancients; and the cape of Monte Santo seems to be the promontory Aerathos; over the former is the highest summit of Mount Athos, all the other parts of it, though hilly, being low in comparison of it. It is a very steep, rocky height, covered with pine trees. If we suppose the perpendicular height of it to be four miles from the sea, (though I think it cannot be so much,) it may be easily accounted, if its shadow could reach to Lemnos, which, they say, is eighty miles distant, though I believe it is not above sixty."

The passage which Herodotus says that Xerxes cut through Mount Athos, is justly considered by this traveller to be erroneous.* The promontory was no more than two hundred miles from Athens; and yet he is said to have employed a number of men three years, before crossing the Hellespont, in separating it from the continent, and in making a canal for his shipping. No mention of such a work is made by any other writer, and no traces of it have been met with by any modern traveller. The work, however, alluded to, is a canal behind the mountain, or through the isthmus which joined it to the continent of Macedonia, about a mile and a half in length, and broad enough only to let two galleys go abreast. This was no extraordinary labour; in our days, indeed, it would appear insignificant, if compared with the mighty achievements of enterprise carried forward on every hand.

Plutarch and Pliny say that Mount Athos is so high, as to project its shade, when the sun is in the summer solstice, on the market-place of the city Myrrhina, in the island of Lemnos. On this account, it is said, that the inhabitants of

this city erected a brazen calf at the termination of the shadow, on which was inscribed this monos-
tich:

Half Lemnos' calf doth Athos' shadow hide.

The height of Mount Athos, as taken barometrically by captain Gautier, and which may be deemed correct, is 6776 English feet.

According to Plutarch, a man named Stenocrates proposed to convert Mount Athos into a statue of Alexander the Great. This would have been in circumference no less than 120 miles, and ten miles in ascent. The left arm of Alexander was to be the base of a city, capable of containing ten thousand inhabitants; and the right arm was to hold an urn, from which a river was to empty itself into the sea. Alexander discouraged the project; but it affords an evidence of the grand ideas which the ancients entertained on subjects of architecture.

(Olympus.—High as Mount Athos is, the mountain Olympus exceeds it. Herodotus says, that it was seen by Xerxes from Thermæ. The ancients, indeed, supposed that it touched the heavens with its top; from which circumstance they have placed the residence of the gods there, and have made it the court of Jupiter. Thus Homer says—

Twelve days were past, and now the dawning light
The gods had summoned to the Olympian height:
Jove, first ascending from the watery bowers,
Leads the long order of ethereal powers
When, like the morning mist in early day,
Rose from the flood the daughter of the sea;
And to the seats divine her flight addressed:
There, far apart, and high above the rest,
The Thunderer sat, where old Olympus shrouds
His hundred heads in heaven, and props the clouds.

According to the notion of the poets, also, there was no wind, rain, or clouds, but an eternal spring on Olympus. With the Greeks, it exceeded every other mountain in Greece both for height, massiness, and grandeur, as we learn from Ovid:

There Ossa, Pelion, Othrys, Pindus, all
To the far ravisher a booty fall;
The tribute of their verdure also collects,
Nor proud Olympus' height his plants protects.

By the same writer, the giants are fabled to have made Olympus the highest step of the ladder by which they endeavoured to scale the abode of the immortals.

Nor were the gods themselves more safe above;
Against beleaguering heaven the giants move.
Hills piled on hills, on mountains mountains lie,
To make their mad approaches to the sky.
Till Jove, no longer patient, took his time
To avenge with thunder their audacious crime.

From its magnificence, this mountain has obtained the epithets of the *broad* Olympus, and the *many-topped* Olympus; from the circumstance of its summits being often enveloped with dense clouds, the *cloudy* Olympus; and from the reflection of the snow on its lofty peaks, rising into a dark blue sky, far beyond the belt of mist that hangs on its side, the *shining* or *bright* Olympus. It is now called Elimbo, in Rumanic, and Samavat Eski, or the Celestial House, in Turkish.

The height of Olympus is very great, but not

* Juvenal exposes this romantic tale with others told concerning Xerxes. He says,

"Old Greece a tale of Athos would make out,
Cut from the continent and sailed about;
Sons hid with navies, chariots passing o'er
The channel on a bridge from shore to shore:
Rivers, whose depth no sharp beholder sees,
Drunk at an army's dinner to the loss;
With a long legend of romantic things,
Which in his cups the bawdy poet sings."

DAVIDSON'S JUVENAL.

so great as was imagined by the ancients. As to the wisdom of its being beyond the second region of the air, it may be attributed to the fact, that letters traced on the ashes of the altar of Jupiter, remained a long time undefaced. This altar stood on the very summit of Olympus, and the god was worshipped by the superstitious Greeks with peculiar devotion. The mountain is indeed well calculated to impress the beholder with reverential feelings, and to lead the mind to the only true God. Dr. Clarke, speaking of it, says—"Towards the south-east, and rather behind our route, as we journeyed towards Tempe, appeared Mount Pelion. But the view of Olympus engrossed our particular attention, owing to the prodigious grandeur into which its vast masses were disposed. We had never beheld a scene of bolder outline. In this grand prospect, the only diminutive objects were the distant herds of cattle, grazing in detached groups, on the plain in the foreground. All the rest consisted of parts of such magnitude, that, in their contemplation, animated nature is forgotten. We think only of that Being who is represented in the immensity of his works, and thereby indulge the same feelings which first induced the benighted heathens to consider the tops of their mountains as habitations of the most high God."

According to the philosopher Xenagoras, who attempted to measure Olympus, the height of the mountain is about 7000 English feet. A French geometrician, however, says that it is no more than 6512 feet. But in these measurements, no mention is made of a fixed base, to enable the reader to judge of the accuracy of the calculations. Snow is said to lie on certain parts of the mountain during the whole year. The ascent to its utmost top is practicable in the summer season. Near the top is a small Greek chapel, where service is performed once a year; a remarkable contrast to the ancient mythology of the spot. On the eastern side is the monastery of St. Dionysius, the highest habitation on the mountain. The river Peneus, one of the most transparent, gentle, and beautiful streams in the universe, washes the foot of Olympus, dividing it from Ossa, and making a multitude of small islands, covered with shady trees, and adorned with magnificent temples, grottoes, and other stately buildings. The best view of Olympus is from the plain of Pella to the north, or from the city of Salonichi, where its magnitude is so vast, as to fill all the view towards the western side of the Gulf of Thermae, and to dazzle the eyes of the beholder with the radiance reflected from its snow-clad summit. Although fifty-five miles distant, so enormous is its size as to appear close at hand. The base and sides of the mountain are covered with thick woods of oak, chestnut, beech, and planetree, and the acclivities are clothed with large pine forests, whence it is denominated by Horace, Shadowy Olympus, and by Seneca, Pine-bearing Olympus.

RIVERS.

The principal rivers of Macedonia, are the Panyassus, Apus, Lauz, and Celydnus, which fall into the Adriatic; and the Haliacmon, Erigon, Axios, and Strymon, which fall into the

Ægean Sea: none of these, however, demand particular notice, except the

Strymon.—This river is very celebrated in classical story. There are few, indeed, of the ancient writers who do not make mention of it in their pages. Thus Virgil makes Orpheus sit upon its margin, as he lamented his lost Eurydice.

*So close in poplar shades, her children gaze,
The mother-nightingale laments alone,
Whose nest some prying churl had found, and thence,
By stealth conveyed the unfeathered innocence.*

At the present day, the Strymon is called, at that part where it empties itself into the Ægean, Golfo di Contessa. According to the poets, a great number of cranes resorted to its margin in the summer time.

The Strymon rises in Thrace, and rolling with a rapid stream almost due south, after a course of seventy miles, it enters that bay which from it was called the Strymonic, by two broad and deep mouths.

Besides these rivers, there are other smaller streams in Macedonia, as the Chidorus, Lydia, Astræus, Pontus, &c. There are also many lakes formed by the overflowing of the Strymon, and the junction of the rivers Axios and Erigon. Near the Candavian mountains, moreover, is a celebrated lake, called the Lake of Prespa, and there are two others; one in the province of Mygdonia, and one near the ancient city of Heraclea Sintica.

CLIMATE, PRODUCTIONS, ETC.

The air of Macedonia is, generally speaking, salubrious, and conducive to longevity. The soil is very fruitful. Anciently, on the sea-coast especially, it produced a rich abundance of corn, wine, and oil. The principal riches of the country, however, were its mines. Most of its mountains abounded with mineral treasures, whence the Athenians coveted, and fought for its possession. It is said, and his history testifies in part to the assertion, that Philip obtained the empire of Greece by means of his gold.

Macedonia was celebrated in ancient times for an excellent breed of horses, to which the inhabitants paid great attention, 33,000 being kept in the royal stud at Pella.

CHAPTER II.

TOPOGRAPHICAL HISTORY OF MACEDONIA.

THE various districts of the country of Macedonia contained a great number of cities and towns. Among them stands conspicuously the ancient Thermae, afterwards called

THESSALONICA,

by Cassander, in honour of his wife, daughter of king Philip.

Thessalonica was situated on the slope of a mountain at the bottom of the Thermaic Gulf. It still is a town of considerable importance, under the abridged name of Salonica, of which Dr. Clarke gives the following description.

"The walls of Salonica give a very remarkable appearance to the town, and cause it to be seen to a great distance, being white-washed; and, what is still more extraordinary, they are also painted. They extend in a semicircular manner from the sea, enclosing the whole of the buildings within a *peribola*, or circuit of five or six miles; but a great part of the space within the walls is void. It is one of the few remaining cities which has preserved the ancient form of its fortifications; the mural turrets yet standing, and the walls that support them being entire. Their antiquity is perhaps unknown; for although they have been ascribed to the Greek emperors, it is very evident that they were constructed in two distinct periods of time; the old Cyclopean masonry remaining in the lower parts of them, surmounted by an upper structure of brickwork. The latter part only may properly be referred to the time of the Greek emperors, being also characterized by the method of building, which then became very general, of mixing broken columns and fragments of the early Grecian architecture and sculpture confusedly among the work. Like all the ancient and modern cities of Greece, its wretched aspect within is forcibly contrasted with the beauty of its external appearance, rising in a theatrical form upon the side of a hill, surrounded with plantations of cyprus and other evergreens and shrubs. The houses are generally built of unburned bricks, and for the most part they are little better than so many hovels. The citadel stands in the higher part of the semicircular range from the shore, and there is a bastion, with a battery, at either extremity towards the sea, but no fosse on the outside of the walls."

There are many magnificent ruins of antiquity at Salonica. Among these may be enumerated, a citadel, or castle, which is the old Greek citadel, or *Acropolis*; a triumphal arch of Marcus Aurelius; the colossal torso of a female statue, supposed to be that of the wife of Cassander; a triumphal arch of Augustus; another of Constantine; a rotunda built after the manner of the pantheon at Rome; an ancient temple of the *Thermæan Venus*; the ancient church of St. Sophia, corresponding with the cathedral church of that name at Constantinople; a magnificent Corinthian propyleum of a large enclosed space, supposed to have been the hippodrome; a tumulus without the walls of the city; many shafts of ancient columns; and several marble *soroi*, which are now used as cisterns.

The ancient importance of Thessalonica may be gathered from St. Paul's first epistle to the Thessalonians, chap. i. 8, where the apostle speaks of the faith of the Thessalonians being "spread abroad;" upon which Grotius remarks, that many merchants traded from Thessalonica to all parts of Greece; whence they had more than usually favourable opportunities of making known their own conversion, and of promulgating the truths of the gospel. Christianity flourished exceedingly in Thessalonica, in the days of the apostle Paul, as may be discerned in his two epistles addressed to the Thessalonians.

At the present day, the corn, cotton, wool, bees' wax, and silk of all Macedonia are exported from Salonica, which is a proof of the advantages

of its situation. It is the seat of a pasha, and has a very large population. A considerable portion of this population consists of Jews, and Dr. Clarke conceives he can trace from the two epistles to the Thessalonians, and from the Acts of the Apostles, that the Jews in the time of St. Paul were similar to those he found there when he visited that city at the beginning of the present century.

PELLA.

This city was anciently called *Banomia*, or *Bunomia*. It was situated at the mouth of the river *Actius*, in the district of *Bottira*. It is rendered famous by its being the place at which Philip was educated, and the birth-place of Alexander; and also, for having in its neighbourhood the tomb of Euripides, the Grecian tragic poet. The town was greatly enlarged and beautified by Philip, traces of which may still be seen at *Alakillessch*, with which it is identified.

BEREA.

Berea was about thirty-five miles to the west of Thessalonica. It is said to have been built by Macedo, who gave it the name of his daughter *Berea*. In the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul speaks highly of the *Bereans*. They received the gospel "with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so," Acts xvii. 11; a noble example for mankind to follow in all generations.

PIIDNA.

This city was situated between the mouth of the rivers *Haliacmon* and *Lydia*, in the district of *Pieria*. It was called *Cydnæ* by some writers, and *Citron* by others. At the present day, it is known by the name of *Kidros*. It was for some time in the possession of the Athenians, but it was afterwards taken by Philip and given to *Olynthus*. It was in this city that Cassander massacred *Olympias*, the mother of Alexander the Great, with his wife *Roxana*, and his son *Alexander Aëgus*. The famous victory, also, which *Paulus Æmilius* gained over *Perseus*, was fought in the vicinity of this city.

EDSSA.

Edessa, anciently called *Ægæra*, was situated in the district of *Amathia*, on the *Via Egnatia*, thirty miles west of Pella. In the earliest ages, it was the capital of the Macedonian kingdom; and when it had ceased to be the royal residence, it continued to be the burial place of the Macedonian kings. In the days of *Livy*, it was a city of considerable note.

POTIDÆA.

This city, subsequently called *Cassandria*, from Cassander, stood on the narrow isthmus connecting the peninsula of *Pallene* with the main land. It has undergone many vicissitudes. It was founded by the Corinthians, but after the Persian war it was subjected to the Athenians. *Potidæa* revolted from the Athenians, and sustained a two years' siege before it was retaken. An Athenian colony afterwards occupied the town, which became subject to Philip of Mac-

donia, to whose power it finally yielded. The town still retains the name of *Cassandria*; but it possesses no celebrity beyond that which the page of history imparts to its name.

OLYTHUS.

The important town of *Olythus* stood at the head of the *Toronaic* gulf. It was founded by the *Chalcidians* and *Eretrians* of *Eubœa*. When *Xerxes* invaded Greece, it was in the hands of the *Bottians*; but *Artabazus* suspecting their fidelity, took it from them and gave it to the *Chalcidians*. Afterwards, *Olythus* fell under the power of the *Athenians*, but it revolted from them at the commencement of the *Peloponnesian* war, and secured its independence, from which time it became the most important of the *Chalcidian* towns. Subsequently, it became subject to the *Lacedæmonians*; but after the Spartan supremacy had been destroyed by the conquests of *Epaminondas*, it again recovered its independence. Finally, however, after a severe struggle, *Olythus* was taken and destroyed by *Philip*, he being jealous of the power of the *Olythians*.

APOLLONIA.

Apollonia was situated on the river *Laus*, in the peninsula of *Chalcidice*. It was a colony of the *Corinthians*, and also of the *Coreyreans*. At an early period, it was called *Gylæe*, from a *Corinthian* of that name. It was a flourishing town under the *Macedonian* sway, but when it fell into the hands of the *Romans*, it became very celebrated; many persons being induced to settle there on account of its delightful situation.

There were three places of this name in *Macedonia*, but the most important is that described. The history of this town is often confounded with the *Apollonia* visited by *St. Paul*. The latter was a place of little note on the road from *Amphipolis* to *Thessalonica*, in connexion with which it is mentioned, *Acts* xvii. 1.

EPIDAMNUS.

Epidamnus, a maritime city of *Macedonia*, among the *Taulantii*, was a colony of the *Coreyreans*, founded by *Phaulus* of *Corinth*, who is said to have descended from *Heracles*. It was situated on the coast of *Albania*, in a peninsula which projects into the *Adriatic*, forming the southern boundary of the gulf of *Dium*. *Epidamnus* underwent a long chapter of vicissitudes, under the *Coreyrean*, *Corinthian*, and *Macedonian* sway, and it eventually fell under the power of the *Romans*, when its name was changed to *Dyrrachium*, from the conception that the former name was ominous. At the present day, it is called *Durazzo*, and is included in the pachalic of *Skutari*, near the borders of that of *Berat*. It carries on some trade by sea in the exportation of corn, which grows in abundance in the neighbouring plains. Its population is near 5000, and it has a Greek bishop.

AMPHIPOLIA.

This town stood at the mouth of the river *Strymon*, which passed on each side of it, whence its name is derived. Originally, it was called *Ennea Hodoi*, "the nine ways," and belonged to the *Edonians*, a people of *Thrace*. It was en-

larged and fortified by the *Athenians*, who took it about 437 a.c. During the *Peloponnesian* war, the town was taken by the *Lacedæmonians*, and at a later date it submitted to the power of *Philip* of *Macedonia*.

Amphipolis was one of the most important towns under the control of the *Macedonian* empire. It has, however, been now long in ruins, and a village of about one hundred houses, called *Jeni Keel*, inhabited by *Turks* and *Greeks*, occupies part of its site. *M. Cousinery*, French consul at *Salonichi*, found some traces of the town wall, some remains of sculpture, and a curious Greek inscription of a decree of banishment against two citizens, at *Amphipolis*. Some medals, also, are still found on its site.

Amphipolis is mentioned in the *Acts* of the *Apostles* as one of the places through which *St. Paul* passed to *Thessalonica*. *Amphipolis* was on the direct road to that city from *Philippi*, *Acts* xvii. 1.

The above are all the principal towns of which any detailed account can be given. There were others of some note, concerning which little is known. Among these may be enumerated the town of *Ichne*, celebrated for an ancient temple; the town of *Dium*, at the foot of *Olympus*; *Celetrum*, the modern *Kastoria*, or *Kerie*; *Heraclea*, situated on the great *Egnation* road; *Pelagonia*, near the sources of the *Strymon*; *Aphytia*, where was a celebrated temple of *Bacchus*; *Mende*, a colony of *Eretria* in *Eubœa*; *Scione*, said to have been founded by the *Pellenians*, from *Achaia*, in *Peloponnesus*; *Sane*, founded by the inhabitants of *Andros*; *Acanthus*, situated on the low, flat isthmus which connects the peninsula of *Acte* with the main land; and *Chalcis*, one of the chief towns in the interior of the peninsula of *Chalcidice*. Many of these, with others of less note, have passed away, like a cloud in the morn of a bright summer's day, leaving no trace of their existence; and those which remain are following fast in the track of desolation.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE POLITY OF THE MACEDONIANS.

It has been seen in the preceding pages, that *Macedonia* was anciently inhabited by various nations. An *Argive* colony, conducted by *Caranus*, is said to have invaded *Æmathia*, one of its districts, by the command of an oracle, and to have been conducted by a flock of goats to the city of *Edessa*, which they took during a storm. This colony gradually enlarged their dominions by their sword, and by their kindness to the vanquished, so that in process of time, the various tribes were reduced into one nation, under one monarch, whose position in the state, was as follows.

THE KINGLY POWER.

Although the *Macedonians* were governed by a monarch, yet they enjoyed greater liberty than most of the *Grecian* states. Their monarchs

ruled, but it was after the maxims of natural equity. Their authority was sufficient to enable them to act as the guardians of the state, but not to render them its oppressors. They dared not commit any flagrant injustice to gratify their own wills, or their private revenge. A law was laid down for their actions at the commencement of the constitution, and it was not subverted but with the kingdom. Hence, Lucian, introducing Philip and Alexander in his "Dialogues," makes the former call the Macedonians "freemen."

The crown of Macedonia was hereditary; and it continued in the family of the founder of the monarchy till the destruction of that family after the death of Alexander. The strict line of succession, however, was not always followed. It was nearly four centuries before any deviation took place from the lineal order, but after that period, the crown was sometimes seized by, or consigned to a collateral branch of the royal house.

The complaints of the subjects of the king of Macedonia were heard by him in person. In civil cases, he was bound to administer justice in an even scale; and those who pleaded before him were allowed a liberty of speech unknown to other nations. To what extent this freedom was carried will appear from the following anecdotes, as related by Plutarch and Athenæus. An old woman, having a cause in the king's court, urged Philip's personal attention to it. The monarch did not refuse, but excused delay, by alleging want of time. Provoked at this conduct, the woman replied, "If you cannot find leisure to do justice, cease to be king." It is said again, that an old woman pleading her own cause before him, he, annoyed by her lengthened narrative, engaged in conversation with a bystander, upon which the woman indignantly exclaimed, "I appeal!" Philip, surprised, said, "Appeal to whom?" "From the king inattentive," she answered, "to the king attentive." Philip received this as a just rebuke, and without the least resentment. This custom continued as long as the monarchy prevailed in Macedonia; for Livy tells of Perseus, the last of this illustrious race, that he sat in an ivory chair, and heard causes, and even those of minor consequence.

In all capital cases of punishment, the cause was submitted to the people or the army; nor was it till they had passed sentence, that the king could order the criminal to execution. Many instances of this may be seen in the life of Alexander, who maintained the custom when in strange countries, and in the midst of his victories. Curtius says, indeed, that when, in the fury of his anger, he killed his friend Clitus, he stood self-convicted of acting contrary to the constitution of his country, and would have laid violent hands on himself, if the army had not exonerated him from the guilt by taking it upon themselves.

The ancient kings of the Macedonians were modest in the emblems of their regal dignity; contenting themselves with superior armour to the army in general, and a simple chair of state. Alexander the Great was the first who wore a diadem and robes of state; after which, they were worn by his successors.

The kings of Macedonia were, in all ages, easy

of access, and affable in manner to their subjects. Individuals of the higher ranks gave their advice to the monarch without hesitation, and they were considered his friends and counsellors. The result of this conduct was, that, for many centuries, the Macedonians preserved a firm loyalty and attachment to their rulers. It is difficult to pursue a proper course of loyalty; even the Macedonians carried their affection towards their monarch too far, by making a law, or adopting it from the Persians, to the effect, that not only conspirators, but all their relations should be put to death. Alexander saw the injustice of this law, and showed his wisdom and clemency by dispensing with its rigour.

When the kings of Macedonia were sick, the whole nation united in prayers for their recovery, and exhibited all the signs of sorrow usual for their dearest relations. When they died, they were interred in the royal sepulchre, and the people mourned for them as for their parents. Such was the paternal character of the princes of Macedonia, and such the filial obedience of their subjects. They were united in one common bond of affection, and harmony prevailed between them for many a long age. According to Justin, the friends of the Macedonian kings were companions in war, and associates in the empire. They were permitted to wear purple, were entrusted with armies, to act at pleasure, and when the Macedonian greatness triumphed over nations, they were appointed governors of them with all the pomp and power of majesty.

The kings of Macedonia were rigidly strict in the education of their children. Their sons were educated under the best masters in learning and science, and their daughters in the practice of every virtuous art. Alexander's speech to Siagambis, the queen-mother of Persia, illustrates this. "Mother," said he, "the robe I have on was not only the gift of my sister, but the work of her hands." From this cause, the princes of Macedonia were usually learned, or patrons of learned men. Thus, Archelaus honoured Euripides, while living, and mourned for him when he died. Philip was generous to every genius or learned man who sought his aid, deeming himself honoured thereby. Justin says, that he would pardon even the lampooner, because he would not punish genius in an enemy. So many learned men resorted to his court, that it has been said of his son, Alexander the Great, if he had not been the most active warrior in the world, he would have been the most celebrated for wisdom. The observation is logical; for as

"Iron sharpeneth iron:
So a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend."
Prov. xxvii. 17.

The associate of the learned and the wise, if he be not a very churl, must become wiser for his companionship. That Alexander was not celebrated for wisdom, therefore, must be attributed to his passion for war; a passion which distinguishes all the best feelings of human nature, and frequently causes the possessor to trample upon learning and science as things of little worth. War, and the din of war, is the most harmonious music to the ears of such as the

world calls heroes, and the tactics of a battle field the secret of wisdom.

The household of the kings of Macedonia was very sumptuous in its state. They had a life guard, but it consisted only of a few members. The post, however, was one of high honour; for Oxathres, the brother of Darius, was admitted into their number. Besides these, there were other household troops, the commanders of which were men of note; and even the private men of this body were sometimes raised to honourable posts. Among the civil officers, that of secretary was reckoned the most honourable. The office of this functionary was to draw up orders, and see them executed. The royal physician, also, was a person of note in the court of Macedonia, and was treated as an intimate friend of the monarch.

It may be mentioned, that, although the kings of Macedonia were, in general, beloved by their subjects, it would not appear that they ruled undisturbed by jealous ambition. The reform of the government which Archelaus sought to effect, was greatly impeded by the jealous hostility of the nobles, who, in his reign, were a kind of petty princes, barely conceding to him the right of precedence. These facts would show that the government of Macedonia was not so happily constituted as ancient writers would have us believe; and that the most affectionate and right-minded conduct on the part of princes is not sufficient to exempt them from the hostility of ambition.

THE PRIESTLY POWER.

Religion and civil government are so nearly connected with each other in the history of every country, that no description can be given of one without reference to the other. Among the Macedonians, the princes acted as occasional priests, and offered sacrifices for themselves and the people. The life of Alexander affords many illustrations of this fact: he offered sacrifices, erected altars, instituted games, and dedicated statues, in order to propitiate the imaginary deities of the Macedonians, or in gratitude for his victories.

The priests of Macedonia themselves do not appear to have had any influence in the state beyond that which their sacerdotal office gave them. Their occupation was solely to officiate in the many vain and ridiculous rites that made up the sum of the religion of the Macedonians.

What this religion was, will be found described at length in the History of the Greeks; for the religion of the Macedonians was that of the other Greeks. But it may be here mentioned that Jupiter, Hercules, and Diana, were had in especial reverence among them: the first, as their protector; the second, as the patron of the brave; and the third, as the goddess of hunting, a sport of which they were peculiarly fond. So vain had they become, like the rest of mankind, "in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened," Rom. i. 21.

THE MILITARY POWER.

The art of war was the glory of the Macedonians. Their warlike disposition exhibited itself in the earliest ages, and it kept pace with

their extension of empire. It was this warlike spirit, indeed, that enabled them to conquer the various tribes in their own country, and to extend their dominions. By degrees, they acquired such skill in that terrible art, that, joined with invincible courage, they became so powerful, as to overthrow the mightiest empire in existence, that of Persia.

It must not be supposed, however, that the small kingdom of Macedonia, though in itself a nursery of soldiers, supplied Alexander with troops sufficient for this enterprise. The recruits he received from thence could not repair the losses and fatigues of war, and fill the places of those veterans who were dismissed by him to their native home. The greater portion of his army must have consisted of mercenaries. Accordingly, it is said, that when at Susa, he received a reinforcement of 16,000 men, of whom 6500 only were Macedonians. It is said, also, that Greek mercenaries, to the number of 23,000 men, tired of the unceasing din of war, left the ranks of his army immediately after his demise, in order to return home to enjoy repose.

But although the whole of Alexander's forces were not Macedonians, still the great strength of his army lay in the Macedonian phalanx, which was one of those grand military innovations, which have rewarded their inventors with power, conquest, and fame. During two centuries, this phalanx was deemed invincible, and no military tactics could avert its power. It consisted of one thousand and twenty-four files, and sixteen deep. Polybius says, that the soldiers in this phalanx stood so close to each other, that the spears of the fifth rank reached beyond the front of the battle. Those behind the fifth rank leaned their spears on the shoulders of those who were before them; and, locking them fast, pressed urgent against them when they made the charge, so that the first five ranks possessed the impetus of the whole phalanx. Hence it was that their charge was irresistible. It could not be withstood by the shorter weapons and less compact arrangement of the Greeks in general, much less by the rude and undisciplined multitude of Asiatics.

But even this phalanx was not at all times composed solely of Macedonians. Arrian says, that after the conquest of Persia, Alexander formed the three foremost ranks with Macedonians, the twelve next with Persians, and the hindmost file of Macedonians, by which intermixture the want of skill and bravery in the Persians was compensated. It is probable they were all called Macedonians, though twelve parts out of sixteen were Persians.

Besides the phalanx described, there were two other foot divisions in the army of the Macedonians; namely, the light-armed, and the peltastæ, or targeteers. When they were in the field of battle, the phalanx was generally drawn up in the centre, and the horse and light-armed troops in two lines on the right and left. In engagements, the phalanx took what form the king directed. Sometimes it extended itself in front, at others deepened its files, till it assumed the shape of a wedge. In these positions they fought steadily and obstinately, till the force of the enemy was broken, when the light-armed forces

and the horse pursued the fleeing foe, leaving the phalanx to keep the field of battle.

As the opposing forces drew near, the Macedonian charge was sounded by trumpets, after which the king or general harangued the soldiers. When they charged, they exclaimed, "Aha, aha," a word which answers to the spirit-stirring English word, "Huzza."

With respect to the hardihood, frugality, and good order of the Macedonian troops, all authors are agreed. Through a long period of time they were much admired for the regularity of their discipline. When in the field, a place was marked out for a camp, and well fortified by a ditch and trench. Their tents were small, serving only as a covering against the inclemency of the weather. These were made of skins, and were sometimes used for fording rivers. The tent of the Macedonian monarch was pitched in the centre. This consisted of two apartments, one where the king reposed, the other where he gave audiences.

In all the wars of the Macedonians, the king was commander-in-chief. In camp, in sieges, and in battles, he went every where, and directed all movements. On these occasions, also, he fared as meanly as any of his soldiers, and far exceeded them in his labours. Livy records of the last Philip, that he trod in the steps of his ancestors, and disclaimed that his age should excuse him from any part of the fatigue which he required at the hands of the meanest Macedonian.

The arms of the Macedonians were both offensive and defensive. According to Arrian, they had a large shield, called, in Greek, "aspis," and a small buckler, called, "pelte;" the former belonging to the heavy armed troops, the latter to the targeteers. Their swords were made for pushing and cutting: the hilts of these were made in various forms. The Macedonians also made use of daggers, similar to those used by the Persians. Their spears were of two kinds, long and short. The long spear was used by the phalanx, and it was frequently twenty-one feet in length. The shorter spear was used by the light-armed troops. The head piece of the Macedonians was made of raw ox-hide. Livy speaks of horns being attached to it. It is probable that these were the wings of a double crest, one of which was struck from the headpiece of Alexander, at the battle of Granicus. The Macedonians, also, had breastplates made of quilted linen, and they wore a peculiar kind of military shoe. The horsemen wore the same defensive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were smaller and their spears shorter.

When the Macedonians were in quarters, in order to preserve discipline, military games were instituted, wherein rewards, both honorary and lucrative, were bestowed. After a victory, their kings were wont to reward such as had distinguished themselves. Those who fell in the battle were honoured with public monuments, and their family freed from tribute. In every other respect, the soldiers of Macedonia were treated with great consideration. When the time of their service expired, or if they were rendered incapable of serving, they were dismissed with ample provision for themselves, that they might enjoy

repose, and excite the youth among them to follow in their path of warlike fame.

Thus it appears that the Macedonians were peculiarly a warlike people. They were trained up to the use of arms, and hence they preferred war to peace. Even if their own monarchs were not engaged in spreading desolation in the world, they were ever ready to receive hire for the slaughter of their species from foreign potentates. Lost to every principle of humanity and benevolence, they looked upon the rest of mankind as their prey. Hence it was, that the ambition of Alexander to conquer the known world was fostered and brought into action. He knew the material he held in his hands. He knew that the soldiers of Macedonia were animated, like himself, by a love of conquest; and that they only wanted a leader to conduct them on to rapine and slaughter. This is an awful picture of human nature; testifying at once to the evils that waited on paganism, to the corruption of the heart of man, and to the necessity of his being, in all ages, born again unto righteousness and true holiness, that he may desire to follow the precepts of his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

THE COMMONALTY.

History has not preserved any records concerning the gradations of society among the Macedonians. As, however, nothing is related touching revolts among the poorest classes, it may be concluded, that, though they might be in bondage, they were not the victims of rapacity and cruelty. The great landholders, forming the aristocracy, seem to have resided principally on their estates, avoiding congregating in cities, which insulated condition contributed to the permanence of the Macedonian monarchy.

There was one circumstance, however, unfavourable to the welfare and strength of the kingdom of Macedonia; namely, the practice of placing the younger sons of the royal family in the government of frontier provinces. Having to defend these provinces against neighbouring hostile tribes, their situation was similar to that of the lord marchers of the feudal ages in Christendom. Besides, the system of appanages was productive of prejudicial effects. As in modern ages, they were mostly hereditary; hence the granting such not only weakened the kingdom, but often opened a door to intrigues, disturbances, and foreign intervention. Perdiccas saw this evil, and endeavoured to remedy it; but his success was not equal to his exertions. The evil still continued, and, in process of time, Macedonia was like "a house divided against itself."

LAW.

It has been seen that the laws of the Macedonians consisted only in the decrees of their princes, founded on the principles of natural equity; and that in capital cases judgment was awarded by the army. It may be here observed, that the accused was suffered to defend himself with the greatest freedom, and that in doubtful cases the torture was permitted without respect of person.

The punishments among the Macedonians were of various kinds. Sometimes the criminals were thrust through with darts, and at others,

crucified with their heads downwards. In some cases, they were, also, thrown chained into rivers; but that which was most frequent was stoning to death, wherein the army were alike judges and executioners.

COMMERCE.

The commerce of the Macedonians was very limited. For traffic, indeed, they had very little facility. Nearly the whole of the ports on the coast of Macedonia were in the hands of the Grecian states, or of colonies from Greece, who were always jealous of, and hostile to rival traffic. Hence the Macedonians were generally deprived of those benefits which commerce confers on those by whom it is conducted in an active and enlivened spirit: for

— The band of commerce was designed
To associate all the branches of mankind;
And if a boundless plenty be the role,
Trade is the golden girl of the globe.
Wise to promote whatever end he means,
God opens fruitful nature's various stores;
Each climate needs what other climes produce,
And offers something to the general use.
No land but listens to the common call,
And in return receives supply from all.—*COWPER.*

It is probable, however, that Macedonia exported some of that box-wood, to which the prophet Ezekiel refers, as being "brought out of the isles of Chittim," Ezek. xxvii.

REVENUE.

The revenue of the Macedonians arose chiefly from their gold and silver mines, which produced an abundance of the precious metals. It was this that enabled the Macedonian monarchs to maintain and reward their troops with so liberal a hand. "Gold's attractive metal" was to them, in truth, the "spur of activity," and a powerful incentive to both good and evil; the latter preponderating. In different ages, many coins were struck in Macedonia. One of the most remarkable was the Philippic, so called from bearing the bust of Philip, the father of Alexander. This coin is frequently mentioned by ancient authors, and it was for a long time the current coin of Greece. Many others are mentioned by antiquarians, and some are yet extant in the cabinets of the lovers of the antique. These not only bear the busts and inscriptions of the princes in whose reign they were coined, but also the names and figures having reference to the cities where they were struck, on their reverses.

CHAPTER IV.

THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA, FROM THE EARLIEST AGES, TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

ALTHOUGH no ancient writer has written a connected account of the Macedonian monarchy, yet the pages of Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Justin, Pliny, Solinus, etc., afford much light on the origin and development of the Macedonian kingdom. The first monarch was,

CARANUS.

a native of Argos, and a remote descendant of Heracles.

Caranus, from some unknown cause, left his country about B.C. 813, accompanied by a considerable body of Greeks, in search of a foreign settlement. Consulting the oracle where he should proceed, and what measures he should take in establishing his colony, it is said he was answered, that he should be guided in his measures by the direction of goats. Caranus proceeded into Macedonia, and particularly the small principality of Emathia, then governed by a prince called Midas, and drew near to its capital, Edessa. The sky being suddenly overcast, and a heavy storm coming on, Caranus observed a herd of goats running for shelter into the city. Recalling to memory the response of the oracle, Caranus commanded his men to follow him closely, and entering the city by surprise, he possessed himself of it, and eventually of the kingdom.

Such is Justin's account of the origin of the mighty Macedonian monarchy; and though there is an air of romance thrown over it, in the matter of the oracle, yet the main facts seem to be substantially correct. It is confirmed, indeed, by the Macedonian standard. In order to perpetuate the memory of this extraordinary event, Caranus made use of a goat in that standard; and it is remarkable, that in Scripture, a goat was symbolical of Alexander the Great, the most celebrated of the Macedonian monarchs.

At the period when Caranus took possession of the kingdom of Emathia, Telegonus, the friend of Priam, and one of the heroes of the Trojan war, governed Pœnia; and there were several other petty princes presiding over the several regions of which Macedonia is composed. Caranus subdued several of these princes, and added their dominions to his own, laying thereby the foundation of that kingdom which his successors rendered so celebrated in history.

Caranus is said to have ruled twenty-eight years, after which he was succeeded in his kingdom by his son.

COENUS.

Coenus reigned for an equal length of time, during which no events are recorded, and then left his throne to his son.

THYRMAS.

Nothing is known concerning the actions of Thyrmus. He possessed the crown of Macedonia forty-five years, and then bequeathed it to his son.

PERDICCAS I.

This prince followed the example set him by his ancestor, Caranus, in the extension of his dominions. Feeling that he was stronger than his neighbours, he carried war into their territories; and he was so successful in his conquests, that the light of his "glory" has been obscured, like that of most other heroes, by the shades of romance which have been cast over it by his panegyrist, particularly the marvel-loving Herodotus. From this circumstance, what Perdikkas is

reality performed cannot be stated. The only fact which can be depended upon is that of the period of his death, which occurred after he had reigned forty-five years. When full of years, he is said to have pointed out the place where he desired to be buried, and where he likewise exhorted his son to order his own body to be laid, and those of his posterity; signifying, that till this custom was abolished, there should not want one of his line to sit upon his throne.

Perdiccas was succeeded in his kingdom by

ARGÆUS.

Argæus was a mild and beneficent prince, and governed his people with applause. In his reign, the Illyrians, a fierce and barbarous nation, invaded the Macedonians, and caused them much alarm; but Argæus having by a stratagem drawn them into his power, fell upon them, and put them to the sword with great slaughter.

Argæus ruled over Macedonia thirty-two years, when he died, and left the kingdom to Philip I.

PHILIP I.

This monarch is said to have been wise and valiant; but nothing is recorded of the transactions of his reign, except that he resisted the attacks of the Illyrians with great courage. According to some authors, he reigned thirty-five years, at the end of which time he was slain in battle, leaving the crown to his infant son.

ÆROPS.

At the commencement of the reign of Æropus, the Thracians and Illyrians ravaged the country of Macedonia, and were successful in all their battles with his subjects. At length, however, enraged by the misfortunes they had endured, and conceiving that they could only be successful under the auspices of their king, they carried the infant Æropus with them to battle; and, either encouraged by his presence, or disinclining to leave him in danger, they fought with such obstinate resolution, that they put their foes to flight, and obliged them to retire from their country. No farther particulars are related of the life of this prince by ancient historians. He reigned forty-two years, and left his kingdom to his son.

ALCETAS.

Alcetas commenced his reign when the Grecian states were seeking to extend their fame and dominion by sea and land, when the affairs of Asia and the east had undergone a mighty change by the fall of the Assyrian empire, and the coalition of the Medes and Persians, under the justly celebrated Cyrus, and when the princes in his vicinity began to feel the effects of the Grecian power on the one hand, and of his newly erected kingdom on the other. It does not appear, however, that Alcetas took part in the turbulence of the times; rather, he seems to have contented himself with the kingdom left him by his ancestors, and fought rather to preserve that in peace, than to run the hazard of war, through an ambitious desire of increasing his possessions. He died after a reign of twenty-three years, and was succeeded in his kingdom by Amyntas.

AMYNTAS I.

In the reign of Amyntas, the kingdom of Macedonia was fast rising into importance, when it was doomed to receive a check, by becoming tributary to the Persians under Darius. (See the History of the Persians, chap. iv.) Macedonia, the Persian general, is said by Herodotus to have annexed Macedonia to the Persian dominions. This must, however, be understood in a restricted sense. The Persians never did deprive Amyntas, or any of his posterity, of the kingdom, but on the contrary, treated them always with kindness and respect. Amyntas bowed to the storm with which he was threatened, and thereby escaped its terrors. His son Alexander, indeed, was made choice of by Macedonia to be his ambassador to the Grecian states, which is a proof of the high estimation in which they were held by, and of their fidelity to the Persian court.

Macedonia was subject to Persia during the remainder of the reign of Amyntas, which lasted forty-nine years, and also during the chief part of the next reign.

ALEXANDER I.

Alexander now succeeded to the throne. After the overthrow of the Persians at Platæa, however, Macedonia virtually recovered its independence, although it was never recognized by the Persian kings. Alexander was obliged to accompany the Persian army into Greece, but he was able on several occasions to render important services to the Grecian cause. See the History of the Persians, chap. iv.

The time of the death of Alexander I. is uncertain. Some authors say that he reigned forty-three years; and it is known that he lived to B. C. 461, when Cimon recovered Thasos. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

PERDICCAS II.

The peace of Perdiccas was disturbed for some years by the ambitious designs of his youngest brother, Philip, who aspired to the throne. In the beginning of his reign, indeed, Perdiccas found himself surrounded by suspicious friends, and open foes. The Thracians, and other barbarous nations, looked upon his kingdom with an envious eye; the Persians affected to treat him as their vassal; and the Athenians menaced the safety of his throne by their colonies and allies on the sea-coast. Perdiccas amused the latter with a show of friendship; but when he found that they treated him as an inferior, he resolved to check their progress in the vicinity of his dominions.

When a monarch is disposed for war, occasion will seldom be wanted to find some pretext to justify the commencement of the strife. Thus it was with Perdiccas. The city of Epidamnus, distracted by seditions at home, and threatened by foreign foes, was in the utmost distress. The weaker party had called the Illyrians to their assistance, by which the government was so reduced, that they sent to the Corcyreans and Corinthians for aid. The Corinthians sent relief to Epidamnus, which the Corcyreans resented, and sent a fleet on the coast of Macedonia, in order to compel the

Epistatians to submit to whatever terms they thought proper to prescribe. The Athenians took part in these proceedings, and Perdicas embraced the opportunity of declaring war against that state.

The first measure of Perdicas was, to persuade the Chalcidians to abandon their sea-ports, and to inhabit and fortify the city of Olynthus. Enraged at such a proceeding, the Athenians determined to revenge themselves on those who had deserted them, and on the instigator of their defection, Perdicas. To this end, they sent Agnon with a fleet, and a large army on board, to besiege Potidea, and to reduce the Chalcidians; but the plague infecting his army, he was obliged to return without accomplishing his purpose. He left Potidea as he found it, blocked up by a small army the Athenians had there before, and which eventually proved sufficient for its reduction. By the end of winter, the Potideans were so much reduced, that they stipulated with the Athenian generals, Xenophon, Hestiodorus, and Callimachus, to retire from the city, *a. c.* 431.

Another cause which tended to widen the breach between the Athenians and Perdicas was as follows. One of the principalities of Upper Macedonia was the appanage of Philip, younger brother of Perdicas, and another was the inheritance of Derdas, cousin to the royal family. About the time of the Coreyran war, Perdicas proposed to deprive both his brother and his cousin of their territories, and the Athenian administration thought proper to take those princes under its protection, and support them against the intended injury. Perdicas resented this as a breach of the ancient alliance, and perhaps this was the chief motive of his inciting the Chalcidians to revolt, and of his hostility to the Athenians.

The breach between the Athenians and Perdicas became wider and wider. On his part, he intrigued not only with the Chalcidians, but with the Potideans and Bottiæans, subjects of Athens in his neighbourhood, for the purpose of engaging them to revolt; while on theirs, they incited the powerful sovereign of Thrace, Sitalces, to dethrone him, and to bestow his kingdom on Amyntas, who had been expelled by Perdicas his uncle from his inheritance.

The ruin of Perdicas seemed inevitable. Sitalces chose the winter for the invasion of Macedonia; at which season he put himself at the head of a large army, and with Amyntas in his train, he directed his march for the inland district of Macedonia, which had been the appanage of Philip, father of Amyntas. Here the young prince still had friends, and the towns of Gortynia and Atalanta opened their gates to his protector. Perdicas trembled for the event. Weakened by civil war with the princes of his family, he was utterly unequal to meet the Thracian army in battle. He attended upon its motions only with his cavalry, while his people sought refuge in fortified towns, or in the mountains, woods, and marshes.

The first opposition that Sitalces encountered was from the town of Eidomont, which he took by assault. He next attacked Europus; but unskilled in, and unprovided for sieges, he there

failed. The Macedonian horse now made some charges upon the army, and produced some impression; but being always in the end overpowered, they soon desisted from their efforts. All the open country was, therefore, at the mercy of the Thracian prince; the provinces of Mygdonia, Grestonia, Anthemania, and Emathia, were desolated.

It had been concerted with the Athenian government, that an Athenian fleet should co-operate with the Thracians: but it was so little expected that Sitalces would undertake his enterprise in the winter, that this fleet was not sent. As soon, however, as it was known that he had actually entered Macedonia, an embassy was dispatched to make excuses for the omission, with presents for the Thracian monarch. Gratified by this attention, Sitalces now sent a part of his army into Chalcidice, and the ravage of that country was added to the destruction of the internal provinces. The people, however, found security in their towns; for the whole force of Thrace was of little avail against a Grecian town moderately fortified.

One stroke of refined policy on the part of Perdicas brought the unhallowed hope of the Athenians to the ground, and saved Macedonia from destruction. The rigour of the season having paralyzed the efforts of the Thracians for a brief period, Perdicas embraced the opportunity for negotiation. He found means to communicate with Seuthes, nephew and principal favourite of the Thracian monarch, to whom he offered Stratonice his sister in marriage, with a large portion. The intrigue succeeded. After Macedonia had been trodden under foot by the Thracians for a whole month, and mischief had been done beyond calculation, Sitalces led his forces home without accomplishing the purpose for which the expedition was undertaken. A treaty of amity followed between the two monarchs, and the Macedonian princess gave her hand to Seuthes.

Delivered from this exigency, in order to be revenged on the Athenians, Perdicas allied himself with the Spartans in the first Peloponnesian war, *a. c.* 429; and much of the success of Brasidas was owing to his active co-operation; the particulars of which belong to the history of the Grecians.

The success which the Spartans obtained over the Athenians was advantageous to Perdicas. It inclined the Athenians to court his favour, notwithstanding the mutual injuries they had inflicted upon each other. Perdicas was disposed to favour their views; he chose, indeed, rather to conclude a peace with Athens, than to throw himself entirely into the arms of his new allies, *a. c.* 423.

The fidelity of Perdicas, however, was soon suspected by the Athenians. They charged him first with treachery in not having efficiently assisted Nicias in the battle of Amphipolia, and eventually they ordered a body of horse to be transported to Methone, from whence they made inroads into Macedonia, and devastated some parts of the country.

Nothing more is recorded of the reign of Perdicas *II.*: he died *a. c.* 413, after reigning twenty-three years, leaving his kingdom to his son.

ARCHELAUS.

By some authorities, Archelaus is branded with the twofold stigma of base birth and sanguinary crime. These charges, however, rest upon slender authority. It is more satisfactorily ascertained that he was a prince of eminent talents, and that the kingdom of Macedonia was more indebted to him than to any of its preceding monarchs, for the advance in all that was truly glorious. To extend civilization, and to provide for the defence of his kingdom, were his absorbing cares. To attain the first of these objects, it was necessary to begin by securing the second; and he, therefore, increased and disciplined his military force, formed magazines of arms and stores, and fortified some of his principal towns. The only war in which Archelaus was engaged, was with the city of Pydna, in the province of Pieria, which had revolted from him. That place was compelled to surrender, and the inhabitants were exiled from Pydna, and sent to dwell sixty miles further from the sea-shore, that they might not easily receive succour from Athens, or any other of the Grecian states.

Undisturbed by foreign and domestic foes, Archelaus ardently cultivated the arts of peace. Agriculture was encouraged, and an invaluable benefit was conferred on the kingdom, by the formation of roads to connect distant districts. Learning, literature, and art, found in him an admirer, and a munificent patron. Socrates was invited to his court, and Euripides became his guest. The celebrated Zeuxis, also, attracted by his liberality and courtesy, adorned the royal palace with some of the productions of his matchless pencil. Archelaus, moreover, instituted games, in imitation of southern Greece, dedicated to Jupiter and the Muses, and bearing the name of the Olympian.

In the midst of all this splendour, Archelaus perished by the hand of a traitor. Craterus, who is said to have been his favourite, prompted by ambition, or revenge for personal dishonour, or by both united, conspired against him, and slew him, after he had reigned thirteen years.

The nameless crime which led to the death of Archelaus, shows how impotent civilization is to save man from the corruptions of a fallen nature. He exhibited, in all his actions, a more enlightened mind than any of his ancestors; yet he was equally deficient in moral conduct. The "works of the flesh" were the glory of the heathen world. Too frequently, they were looked upon as godlike actions, and the shameful indulgence of them was hence practised, especially by those who had power on the earth. Their very gods and goddesses were represented as beings with like passions as themselves, and some systems of religion taught that the delights of heaven consisted in these things. A paradise of sensual gratifications was held to be the acme of bliss by some philosophers. They had no notion of the "beauty of holiness," and of the delights that are to be found in the "way of righteousness." The Bible, and the Bible alone, teaches such exalted doctrines, and the experience of the faithful proves them true.

The murder of Archelaus, says Heeren, was fol-

lowed by a stormy period, wrapped in obscurity: the unsettled state of the succession raised up many pretenders to the throne, each of whom easily found the means of supporting his claims, either in some of the neighbouring tribes, or in one of the Grecian republics. Craterus was the first who usurped the throne of Macedonia; but he held his station for the brief space of four days only, at the expiration of which time he met with the death he had inflicted on his prince. He fell by the hands of violence.

CRESTES.

Creteas, the infant son of Archelaus, now became nominally king, under the guardianship of his relative Aëropus. But Aëropus was an ambitious man. The title and authority of regent were not sufficient to satisfy him, and he is said to have attained the supreme power by the murder of his infant ward.

During the sway of Aëropus, who continued as guardian and as king for a period of six years, Agesilaus, king of Sparta, returned out of Asia into Greece. The Spartan monarch sent to him, as he had done to others, to desire a free passage. Aëropus replied, "I will consider of it." "Let him consider," rejoined Agesilaus, "but let us march." This resolution of Agesilaus overawed Aëropus, and his march was accomplished without opposition.

After the death of Aëropus, A.C. 394, the throne was succeeded by his son Pausanias.

PAUSANIAS.

Pausanias was less fortunate than his father, for he was precipitated from the giddy height before the expiration of twelve months. He was cut off, and his throne seized by Amyntas.

AMYNTAS II.

Amyntas II. was the son of Philip, and nephew of Perdiccas II., whose cause had been first espoused and then abandoned by the Thracian monarch Sitalces.

Amyntas was not suffered to reign in peace. A rival appeared in the person of Argæus, a brother of the slain Pausanias. Argæus, by intrigue, obtained the support of a numerous body of Macedonian malcontents, and began the strife. But it was not upon the Macedonians alone that Argæus depended. At this date, there existed on the western frontier of Macedonia a prince able and willing to avail himself of its weakness. This was Bardyllis, the sovereign of Illyria, who from being a bandit leader had become the supreme ruler of the Illyrians. It was on Bardyllis that Argæus chiefly relied for support in the enterprise: and his hopes were not disappointed. After an obstinate resistance, Amyntas was defeated, and compelled to retire into Thessaly, leaving the kingdom in the hands of Argæus.

But the sovereignty thus obtained was a mere viceroyship under Illyrian control. Hence, in two years, the tide of popular favour returned towards Amyntas, and the Thessalians furnishing him with an auxiliary force, he entered Macedonia, and obliged his competitor to retire. On the return of Amyntas, the Illyrian monarch was neutral, from which some suppose that he

had received a large bribe from the exiled monarch. Be this as it may, the neutrality of Bardylis enabled him to resume the throne.

The most important event which occurred during the reign of Amyntas, was his contest with Olynthians. At the period of his expulsion from the kingdom, he ceded to the Olynthians a considerable extent of territory contiguous to their own. Whether this cession was conditional or final, it is impossible to ascertain. The probability is, however, that it was final, and that it was given to the Olynthians to prevent its falling into the hands of his rival, or that it might involve that republic in a quarrel with Argæus. But under whatsoever conditions this territory might have been given, when Amyntas was re-established on his throne, he demanded its restitution. His pretext was, that the transfer was designed only to be temporary, while the Olynthians contended that it was final, and prepared to defend their title by force of arms.

Amyntas knew that he was not able to contend with so powerful a people as the Olynthians single handed, and he had recourse to the Spartans for assistance. That republic had long looked with a jealous eye on the power of the Olynthians, whence they readily yielded to his request. They sent 13,000 auxiliary troops to the aid of Amyntas; and when these were defeated by the Olynthians, they sent a new army, under the command of Tallutius, the brother of Agæolians, to renew the war.

Tallutius was a man of great courage, and vigorous in action. Before the Olynthians were ready to take the field, he wasted their country, and enriched the soldiers with the distribution of the plunder. But his triumph was brief. The Olynthians, having received succour, quitted their city, and, in an action, which was long and obstinately contested, they defeated the Spartans. Tallutius and 1200 men were left slain on the field.

This slaughter was but the signal for renewed action. A third army, under the command of Agæopolis, their king, hastened to the aid of Amyntas. At his approach, the Olynthians perceived that they should be at length besieged; and they protracted the war for one year, in order to raise fortifications, and to prepare for the fearful contingency. About the end of that time, Agæopolis died, and Polydus was sent from Sparta to take the command. The tide of success now turned against the Olynthians. Polydus gained several victories over their forces, and at length compelled them to submit to the Macedonians, *a. c.* 380.

After this, Amyntas strengthened himself by an alliance with the Athenians. He also strengthened the interest of the Macedonian monarchy, by uniting himself in marriage with the granddaughter of the prince of Lyncestia, or Lynceus,* who claimed descent from the royal Corinthian family of the Bacchidae. Justin describes this princess as a monster of iniquity, and as concluding a long career of crime by accelerating the death of her husband. But the death of Amyntas appears to have occurred in

the course of nature. He died at an advanced age, respected by the Grecian states, and beloved by the Macedonians, *a. c.* 370.

Amyntas left three sons; namely, Alexander, who ascended the throne, and Perdicas and Philip, who were yet in their boyhood.

ALEXANDER II.

The commencement of the reign of Alexander was disturbed by an incursion of the Illyrians; and as he was not prepared to meet them in the field, he was under the necessity of purchasing peace, either by a sum of money or the promise of a tribute.

In these dark ages, this concession was reckoned a stain upon his character. But this was soon effaced by the spirit and success of his proceedings on another occasion. The Thessalians were oppressed by Alexander of Phœrea, who sought, by the aid of the poorer classes, to make himself absolute lord of the whole country. The nobility applied to the Macedonian monarch for assistance, which he readily promised. Alexander the Phœrean, having intelligence of these negotiations, marched towards the frontier, for the purpose of giving battle on the territory of his enemy. The Macedonian monarch, however, contrived to elude him, and to reach Larissa, the Thessalian capital, where he was joined by the malcontents. This promptitude saved Thessaly from the tyranny of the Phœrean. Their combined force was too numerous for him to encounter, and he therefore retired to Phœrea.

Having settled affairs in Thessaly, the Macedonian monarch placed garrisons in Larissa and Cranon, and then withdrew to his own country. He returned, to perish by the hand of violence; for he was assassinated shortly after, during a martial dance, by Ptolemy Aborites, who was either an illegitimate brother of the king, or a member of one branch of the royal family, *a. c.* 368.

PERDICAS III.

Alexander's crown belonged by right to his brother, Perdicas, the second son of Amyntas. Accordingly, Perdicas claimed it; but Pausanias, an exiled prince of the royal family, appeared on the stage of ambition to dispute it with him. Having engaged a body of Grecian mercenaries, he entered the kingdom, where, aided by his partisans, he rendered himself master of Anthemus, Therma, Strepsa, and other towns, and assumed the regal title.

The stability of the throne of Perdicas seemed doubtful, when it was preserved to him by the address of his mother, Eurydice. The Athenian general, Iphicrates, was now commanding, on the coast of Thrace, a squadron which had been intrusted to him for the recovery of Amphipolis. Eurydice hearing of this, applied to him for succour; and that general hastened in consequence to meet her at Pella. The interview was one that could not fail to make a deep impression upon a benevolent mind. Leading her two sons, and with a countenance full of grief, Eurydice approached him as a suppliant. She then presented Perdicas to the hand of Iphicrates, and placed Philip on his knee, and addressed him

* This was a small territory in the west of Macedonia, on the frontier of Epirus.

thus: "Remember, Iphicrates, that Amyntas, the father of these orphans, considered you as his adopted son. These, then, are your brethren. To you they look for compassion; to you they seek for succour. Pity their youth, a victim to usurpation; pity their mother, who sues for your aid to redress their wrongs. Nor have they less public than private claims to your care. They are the sons of one who was attached to your fellow-citizens, one who was anxious to strengthen the long subsisting alliance between the Macedonians and Athenians." The appeal was not in vain. Iphicrates, moved with the scene, and the prayer of Eurydice, compelled Pausanias to desist from his enterprise, and Perdiccas was established on his throne.

But Perdiccas did not long enjoy tranquillity. A more formidable foe soon invaded his repose. This was Ptolemy Alorites, who seems ever to have had designs upon the throne. By degrees, Ptolemy so wrought himself into favour with the people, that he assumed the ensigns, and discharged the functions of a king. Perdiccas, however, did not quit his title to the crown. A small part of the country owned him as monarch, and he sought the aid of the Athenians and Thebans to restore him to the full enjoyments of his rights. Distress at home long prevented these states from listening to his prayer. At length Pelopidas, general of the Thebans, who was held in high reputation for his probity, drawing together a few mercenaries, marched towards Macedonia, in order to restore Perdiccas. The usurper trembled for the event. Fearing the resentment of Pelopidas more than many armies, he referred the difference between himself and Perdiccas to his decision. Pelopidas declared in favour of Perdiccas, and the Macedonians now universally submitted to his way.

In order to secure the permanence of the arrangement he had made, Pelopidas took hostages from both parties. Of these hostages, Philip, the brother of Perdiccas, was one, who, on his arrival at Thebes, was committed to the care of the great Epaminondas, by whom he was educated in the arts of war and state policy, whence he became, in after years, one of the most celebrated characters recorded in the pages of ancient history.

The service which the Theban general had rendered to him, seems to have obliterated from the mind of Perdiccas the remembrance of former favours shown him by the Athenians. Thebes was at this time hostile to Athens, and Perdiccas resisted the claims of the latter to the possession of Amphipolis. The Athenians sent an army, under the command of Callisthenes, to enforce those claims, and Perdiccas was defeated in a battle; but he contrived to overreach the Athenian general by negotiation, and Amphipolis retained its independence. Callisthenes concluded a peace with the Macedonian monarch upon terms which his own defeat alone could have justified.

In the internal management of his government, Perdiccas committed some grievous errors, which, though they sprang from honourable motives, were prejudicial to the interests of his subjects. Priding himself upon his learning, he patronised all who resorted to his court as men

of letters, without discrimination. Enphrates, a worthless Platonic philosopher, exercised an influence over his mind very detrimental to good government. While he was immersed in the philosophical speculations of this man, the civil and military concerns of the state were neglected, and the welfare and safety of his subjects endangered. This was soon made manifest. Encouraged by the internal condition of Macedonia, Bardylis demanded the payment of the tribute which had been exacted from the predecessors of Perdiccas; and he marched into Macedonia with a large army to enforce his claim. Perdiccas collected some troops, and endeavoured to stop the progress of the Illyrian prince; but it was in vain. In a severe conflict with the Illyrians, Perdiccas was slain, *a.c.* 360, with 4000 of his men, and the remainder of his army were dispersed abroad.

The kingdom of Macedonia was now in a perilous situation. The Illyrians followed up their success by plundering the country, and the Thracians rushed in to share the spoil. Internal commotions added to the distress. Pausanias and Argæus, old aspirers to the crown, trampling upon the rights of Amyntas, an infant son of Perdiccas, arrayed their forces against each other to contest the prize. Pausanias was aided in his designs by Cotys, the Thracian monarch; and Argæus, who had still a considerable party in various towns, obtained from the Athenians the succour of a fleet and 3000 land forces, to make good his title to the diadem. Argæus could also rely upon the friendship of the Illyrians, who had formerly countenanced his ambition.

Macedonia seemed now upon the verge of ruin. It appeared to be destined to dwindle into insignificance, or, perhaps, to lose its independence. But such was not the result. Macedonia was yet to rank among the first of the nations. The Governor of the universe had yet a work for Macedonia to perform, hid in the counsels of his eternal will, and no human events could prevent its accomplishing that work. While the demon of destruction seemed to hover over the whole breadth of the country, a master genius appeared as its deliverer.

PHILIP.

Philip, the youngest and last surviving son of Amyntas, who had been placed under the instruction of the Theban, Epaminondas, now succeeded to the throne.

The reign of Philip, says Heeren, is one of the most instructive and interesting in the whole range of history, as well on account of the prudence he displayed, as for the manner in which his plans were arranged and executed. Though it may be difficult to trace in his morals the pupil of Epaminondas, yet it is impossible to view without feelings of astonishment, the brilliant career of a man, who, under the almost hopeless circumstances in which he commenced his course, never lost his firmness of mind, and who, in the highest prosperity, preserved his coolness of reflection.

It is uncertain where Philip was residing when the Illyrians triumphed over the Macedonians. Diodorus affirms, that he was still detained at

Thebes, while Athenæus relates, that Philip was then governing a frontier province which had been conceded to him by Perdiccas, on the recommendation of Plato, with whom he was a favourite. The account which Athenæus gives is more probable than that of Diodorus, as it exhibits Philip at the head of a power whereby he might cope with his enemies. With the means which his province could supply, and which his genius would not fail to render available, he might venture upon a resistance, which, as an exile from Thebes, and with a shattered army only for his resources, he could scarcely have attempted with any hope of success.

The capacity in which Philip undertook the government of Macedonia is also a subject of doubt. According to Justin, whom Heeren follows, he was at first merely regent, and not king, acting for Amyntas, the infant son of Perdiccas. Justin adds, that Philip was afterwards imperatively called to the throne by the people, who set aside the succession of his nephew. Diodorus, however, relates, that Philip entered at once into the possession of sovereign power; and his testimony is more credible than that of Justin.

Philip commenced his regal career with all the vigour which youth, talent, necessity, and the love of glory can inspire. His activity in every quarter, and in every branch of the state, was incessant. Feeling that the crown he had placed upon his head was insecure, he stretched every nerve to preserve it: a fine lesson to the Christian, to be active and diligent in securing that crown of glory which is held out to him as the final reward of his Christian course, in the service of his Lord and Saviour.

The first object to which Philip directed his attention was the remodelling and the augmentation of his army. He caused his soldiers to be constantly exercised, and formed to the manoeuvres, and inured to the toil of war. He provided, also, an ample supply of weapons, and made some improvements in the construction and use of these implements of destruction. He introduced, moreover, a change into some of the evolutions of the newly created Macedonian phalanx, by which victory was ensured over the barbarians.

Philip endeared himself to the Macedonians, not only by his exertions to secure them from foreign rapine, but by his affability, and his eloquent appeals to their interests and feelings. In haranguing public assemblies, he employed every argument and every incentive to revive the hopes of the Macedonians, and to inspire them with his own firmness and courage. Superstition lent him its potent aid to attain this object. A prediction of some sybil was either discovered or feigned, which pointed out a son of Amyntas as the founder of the Macedonian empire, and the multitude recognized the hero in Philip.

While Philip was thus devising plans to secure the present defence and future aggrandisement of his country, he was not unmindful of the establishment of his own authority. To secure this, he formed the body guard, consisting of dorýphoroi, or "spear bearers," whose duty it was to guard his chamber, and to attend upon his person in hunting and in war. They were rewarded for these services by various privileges,

particularly that of dining at the table of the monarch, and they were distinguished by the honourable appellation of "the companions."

Respite was soon obtained from the hostility of one of the foes of Macedonia. Like some half-civilized tribes in modern times, the Illyrians seem to have undertaken their enterprises solely for the purpose of acquiring plunder; and when they had obtained their desire, anxious to secure and enjoy it, they returned to their own country. It appears, however, that they designed to return, and renew their ravages on a more extended scale; but in the meanwhile Philip was enabled to direct his attention to those parts of his dominions where the danger was imminent.

The enemies Philip had now to contend with were the Pæonians, Thracians, Athenians, and the pretenders whom Thrace and Athens supported; namely, Pausanius and Argæus.

This was a formidable array of opponents; but Philip did not despair of deliverance from them. Feeling, however, that a single failure in the use of arms might leave him without hope, he did not deem it prudent to rely upon these alone. Suidas says, that having one day consulted the oracle of Delphos on the termination of his career, he received this answer:

Make gold thy weapon, and then thou wilt conquer.

Philip seemed to make this the rule of his conduct through life. He tried the persuasive agency of gold, successively with the Pæonian leaders, and the Thracian monarch, and succeeded wonderfully. By dint of liberal bribes, the Pæonians were prevailed upon to retire from Macedonia; and Cotys, the monarch of Thrace, won over by other bribes, unceremoniously abandoned the interests of Pausanius. Secret and honour-sapping gold saved Philip from all these foes.

The sole remaining enemies of Philip were Argæus and his Athenian allies,

"In whom corruption could not lodge one charm."

The sword alone could decide this quarrel, and it must leap from the scabbard without delay. Already had Mantias arrived at Methone, an Attic colony, situated in the Macedonian province of Pieria, with 3000 Athenian auxiliaries. This sea-port was about twenty miles from Pella, the Macedonian capital, and nearly forty from Edessa, or Ege. In this latter city, Argæus had partisans, who had promised to deliver the city into his hands on his appearing before its walls. He had collected a force in Pieria, and he was now joined by the Athenian auxiliaries. As soon as he had formed this junction, he hastened towards Edessa. But it was only to experience that bitter portion which waits upon the steps of mankind through life, disappointment. The partisans of Philip were more numerous than his own, and the gates of Edessa were closed against him.

Foiled in this attempt, Argæus began a retrograde movement to Methone. But Philip did not suffer him to accomplish this retreat. He attacked the rear of his army, and a general engagement ensued, in which Argæus was slain, and his troops dispersed. Many of these troops took post on a neighbouring eminence; but Philip invested them in that position, and compelled them to yield at discretion.

By this victory, Philip was delivered from the most dangerous of his rivals, and gained a fresh accession of force to his army. On taking an oath of fidelity, the Macedonian prisoners were distributed among his own troops, and they were treated with such kindness, that they became attached to his service.

The friendship of Athens at this period was an object of paramount importance to Philip. His enlightened policy saw this; and in order to prepare the way for negotiation, he liberated the Athenian captives without ransom, restored their baggage, entertained their officers at his own table, expressed his esteem for their fellow-citizens, and then supplied them with conveyances to return into Greece.

Such liberality of sentiment and action told upon the minds of the Athenians, and Philip increased these new-born feelings of respect by another well-timed proceeding. Knowing that the Athenians desired the recovery of Amphipolis, and that they had espoused the cause of Argæus, to avenge themselves for the opposition formerly made by Peribœas, he withdrew the Macedonian troops which had long been stationed there, declaring that he abandoned all claim to it, and that he recognized it as a free and independent community; thereby leaving the Athenians to gain the ascendancy over the Amphipolitans whenever they thought proper. This was a doubtful line of conduct; but Philip gained what he sought by it—peace with Athens. His pacific overtures to that state, seconded as they were by the gratitude of the returned prisoners, and his apparently liberal conduct respecting Amphipolis, were listened to, and a treaty of amity was concluded.

It is remarkable, that no mention is made in this treaty of Amphipolis; whence Philip and the Athenians were left at liberty to execute, without a direct breach of faith, at a more convenient season, those plans which it is probable both of them had already formed. The Amphipolitans were left in the dark as to the motive which induced Philip to act thus toward them. Pleased with his conduct, they decreed divine honours to him, and declared their attachment to his person, and their determination to support his government. And yet they were virtually betrayed!

Philip has appeared hitherto struggling only for existence as a sovereign; henceforth we shall see him extending his territory and influence, through the force of his genius and ambition, till at length he acquires ascendancy over the whole of the Grecian states, and prepares to crown his victorious career by undertaking one of the most important enterprises recorded in the pages of history.

The Pœnians, who had recently been bribed to neutrality in the affairs of Macedonia by the gold of Philip, were the first to feel the weight of his newly established power. At that time, they were governed by a prince of the name of Agis. The death of Agis, which now took place, induced Philip to retaliate upon the Pœnians for their hostility to Macedonia, when he was surrounded by almost insuperable difficulties. He entered Pœnia with a considerable army, defeated the Pœnians, overran and wasted the country, and subjected them to his power.

Without resting, Philip marched from the north towards the western frontier, where he had a more formidable enemy to cope with, and more serious injuries to avenge. Macedonia had suffered twice from the ravages committed by Bardyllis, the prince of Illyria, and a third invasion was expected. Philip conceived that it would be wiser policy, while yet his troops were flushed with success, to assume the character of assailant, than to wait for an attack. Accordingly, he harangued his army on this subject, and by working upon their feelings of glory, interest, and revenge, he excited them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and the cry for war against Illyria was unanimous.

The force with which Philip took the field against the Illyrians, consisted of 10,000 well-disciplined foot, and 600 horse.

Bardyllis, the prince of Illyria, who had now reached the advanced age of more than ninety years, although his courage continued unabated, deemed it prudent to seek peace with Philip by negotiation. The terms he offered were, that each party should retain its present possessions. But this proposal was by no means satisfactory to Philip. His desire was extended dominion, whence he replied, that, if the whole of the territory which had been wrested from Macedonia was not restored, recourse must be had to the sword.

The proud spirit of Bardyllis could not submit to such a degradation without a struggle. Considering the valour of his subjects, he marched with 10,000 foot, and 500 horse, to seek his antagonist. They met, and a fearful struggle ensued. For a long time, the conflict raged without any decisive effect being produced by either party. At length, however, the compacted mass of Illyrians was broken by the Macedonian phalanx, and its defeat was thereby rendered inevitable. The aged monarch in vain sought to restore order; the rout was complete, and he himself perished in the conflict, with 7000 of his followers. The result of this battle was, that the Illyrians purchased a peace at the expense of all their conquests. All their possessions to the eastward of lake Lychnitis were ceded to Philip, by which he secured two important objects; namely, an enlargement of his territory, and a defensible frontier.

The successes Philip had obtained, served only to enlarge his desires. It is evident, indeed, that from this period he entertained the project of becoming lord of the Grecian states. But before he could cope with Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, he had much to accomplish. These were opponents far more to be dreaded than the Pœnians and Illyrians. The situation of Macedonia was also adverse to his rapid acquirement of political influence over the states. From a speech which was delivered to his mutinous soldiers by Alexander, it may be gathered, that the kingdom was in extreme poverty. "When my father succeeded to the crown," said he, "he found you a poor, wandering people, chiefly clad in skins, and pasturing your scanty flocks on the hills, to retain the possession of which, you were continually obliged to combat, and not always successfully, with the neighbouring Illyrians, Triballians, and Thracians. Instead of skins, he

arrayed you in coats of cloth. He led you from the mountains to the plains, accustomed you to discipline, and taught you to rely for safety on your own courage, and not on inaccessible positions. He collected you into cities, and achieved your civilization by wise laws and institutions. He raised you, also, to be masters over the barbarians, by whom you had been so long plundered and enslaved." This is, no doubt, an overwrought picture of the humiliation of the Macedonians; yet it proves that they were not only poor, but that they held a low place in civilized society. Hence the poverty of the kingdom of Macedonia was adverse to Philip's extension of dominion, not less so was the situation of Macedonia. It was enclosed by formidable states, and it had no commerce, and scarcely any communication with the sea. On the south, it was bounded by Thessaly; on the east, by Thrace: foreign colonies were planted thick upon its coasts, and the whole of Chalcidice was possessed by the Olynthian confederacy, which could equip a fleet of fifty triremes, and take the field with a numerous and well-disciplined army.

A mind of an ordinary standard would have looked at all these difficulties with alarm. But not so did Philip. Possessed of uncontrolled ambition, and a genius that scorned to be baffled by difficulties, he determined to raise Macedonia to the first rank among the powers of Greece.

The first blow struck by Philip in furtherance of his schemes of aggrandizement, was on Amphipolis, towards which he had, on a previous occasion, acted with so much seeming liberality. Having secured the neutrality of Athens, by a promise to restore Amphipolis to the Athenians; and the co-operation of Olynthus, by relinquishing all claim upon Anthemus, and a promise to conquer and give up the city of Potidea to the Olynthians, Philip proceeded to this enterprise. Perceiving that the storm was about to burst upon them, the Amphipolitans despatched Hierax and Stratocles to Athens, to entreat that the Athenians would send a fleet, and take them under their protection. Philip foresaw that this might happen, and he repeated his assurances, that his conquest should be given up to Athens; and Hierax and Stratocles were consequently unsuccessful in their mission. Amphipolis was now besieged by Philip, at the head of a powerful army, aided by military engines. The citizens long defended themselves, but their exertions only retarded their fall. A breach was at length made, and Amphipolis fell into the hands of Philip; who, regardless of his promise to the Athenians, united it to his own dominions.

After the reduction of Amphipolis, Philip turned his arms against Pydna, which appears to have made no resistance. He next invested Potidea, which also speedily surrendered. This latter city he resigned to the Olynthians, in pursuance of his compact. But this was not so much from motives of honour as policy. One of his maxims was, that "Those are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome," and his conduct on this occasion seems to have been an illustration of this maxim. The Olynthian confederacy was yet too powerful for him to encroach, and therefore he gave them the city of Potidea. The Athenian garrison which Philip found in this

city, was liberated without ransom, and provided with the means of returning home; which seeming liberality, and the flattering terms with which Philip spoke of the people of Athens, seem to have reconciled them to the loss of Amphipolis.

The road to future conquests was now open. Situated at the head of the Strymonic gulf, near the mouth of the river Strymon, the city of Amphipolis commanded the most practicable pass into the Thracian territory. And Thrace was a country not to be forgotten by Philip. He had injuries to avenge there, and objects to attain, which were indispensable to his future operations. He remembered that he had once to purchase the forbearance of the Thracian monarch by stores of shining gold; and he knew that in its vicinity, and at a short distance from his own dominions, he should find means of extending his influence over the Grecian states.

Philip, therefore, now turned his arms toward Thrace. At this period, Thrace was under the sway of Cotys, a prince whose intellects, though clear on some subjects, were yet clouded by insanity on others. He delighted to take up his abode in forests, on the banks of clear streams, where he could indulge in luxury and conviviality, and brood over the fancies of his disordered intellect. It is said, that his mania consisted in being enamoured of Minerva, and in imagining that the goddess regarded his passion with favour. Mitford thinks, that as the appearances of the deities in human shape was an article of belief in the heathen world, his love was inspired originally by some real object, which his disordered mind invested with celestial attributes.

At the period when Philip invaded Thrace, Cotys was holding his sylvan court at Onocarsia, which was situated in the centre of a beautiful wood, and was one of his favourite retreats. When he heard of the approach of Philip, instead of adopting defensive measures, he had recourse to flight. At the same time, Cotys despatched a letter to Philip, which, from a remark made by the latter, must have contained either angry remonstrance or the effusions of insanity.*

Whatever were the contents of the letter, regardless of them, Philip pursued his march. Between the Strymon and the Nestus, are the mountains of Pangæus, a branch from the chain which then bore the name of Rhodope. These mountains were famous for their gold and silver mines, and, therefore, they had often been an object of contention. The Athenians and Thracians had held the territory before the Thracians, and had made themselves rich with its treasures. A Thracian settlement had recently been established at Crenide, in the immediate vicinity of these mines; but the attention of the rustic settlers was directed to the surface, and not to the bowels of the soil. They had not yet become lovers of the corrupting mass, but lived in peaceful content upon the fruits of the earth. Philip, however, looked upon gold as his best weapon, and his most faithful servant, and he resolved to seize upon this country, and to extract from its bowels a treasure sufficient to purchase that empire over

* The idea of a letter from Cotys having excited the laughter of the Macedonian officers, Philip is said to have observed, "It is, indeed, from Cotys: does that cause your mirth? You little think what are his demands."

his fellow-men which he so ardently desired. Crenida, its capital, fell without opposition into the hands of Philip, who placed in it a Macedonian colony, and changed its name to Philippi.

After Philip had gained possession of Crenida, he caused the mines in its vicinity to be cleared and drained, and the requisite buildings to be erected. The mining operations were carried on with such spirit, that he is said to have ultimately derived an annual revenue of about 300,000 pounds sterling from this source, which was a large sum in that age, and sufficient to enable him to carry on his work of corrupting the probity of individuals and nations.

Having gained this rich territory, Philip desisted, for the present, from hostilities against Thasos. By this brief campaign, however, his boundary was extended eastward as far as the river Nestos.

It was from the gold of Pangæus that Philip first caused the golden coin bearing his name to be stamped, and it was this coin that enabled him to ensure many victories. It was his unhallowed boast, indeed, that he had captured more cities by gold than arms; that he never forced a gate till after having attempted to open it with a key of gold; and that he did not think any fortress impregnable into which a mule laden with the tempting ore could find an entrance. One of the ancients said of him, that he was a merchant rather than a conqueror, and that it was not Philip, but his gold, which subdued Greece. An allusion is made to these historical facts, by the poet Horace, in one of his odes, in which he inculcates content.

Stronger than thunder's winged force
All powerful gold can speed its course,
Through watchful guards its passage make,
And loves through solid walls to break
From gold the overwhelming woes
That crushed the Grecian augur rose:
Philip with gold through cities broke,
And rival monarchs felt his yoke.
Captains of ships to gold are slaves,
Though fierce as their own winds and waves.
Yet gloomy care, and thirst of more,
Attend the still increasing store.

After Philip had conquered Greece, he had pensioners in every state, and he retained those in his pay who had the greatest share in the public affairs. It is said, he was less proud of a battle than of a victory gained by negotiation, because in the latter the honour was all his own.

The capture of Amphipolis and Crenida occurred a.c. 358. In the following spring, Philip was called upon to redress the wrongs of the Thessalians, who were oppressed by the tyrants Tisiphonus and his brother Lycophron, who, by the murder of Alexander of Phars, had succeeded to the office of tugs. The Thessalian nobles, particularly the ancient and kindred family of the Alevada, had long held a friendly intercourse with the royal house of Macedonia; each party affording succour to the other in the day of danger. The Thessalians, therefore, being resolved to shake off the yoke of the tyrant brothers, the Alevada, who took the lead in the enterprise, applied to the Macedonian monarch for aid. Philip was rejoiced to find an opportunity of establishing his influence in Thessaly, and he hastened to lead his army into that country. The forces of the tyrants

were quickly routed by the superior troops of Philip, and he restored their authority to Phars alone, and restored to the Thessalians their ancient liberty. Philip gained much power by this enterprise. Even after this, in all his wars and conquests, the Thessalians were his zealous confederates, and they continued to be such to his son Alexander the Great.

Soon after his return from Thessaly, Philip formed a union with Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus, king of Molossia, the most important of the fourteen diminutive states into which Epirus was divided, and which was bounded by Thessaly on the east, and Macedonia on the north. The nuptials were celebrated at Pella with great magnificence, being attended with a long series of banquets, religious ceremonies, dramatic exhibitions, and martial games, as was usual in the courts of ancient kingdoms.

While engaged in these festivities, a confederacy was formed against Philip, which threatened to shake his dominion to the very foundation. The monarchs of Illyria, Thrace, and Pæonia, fearful of his growing greatness, and smarting with the recollection of their humiliation by his sword, united to overthrow his supremacy. They hoped, by a simultaneous and sudden attack on three sides of Macedonia, he would be unable to make head against them. But Philip was not so absorbed in his marriage festivities as to be careless of his political interests. Ever active in his government, he had already procured information of their design, and was prepared to defeat it. He despatched Parmenio, his best general, into Illyria, while he himself marched against the Pæonians. Victory soon declared in his favour. He re-subjected the Pæonians to his sway, and then, hastening into Thrace, where he was joined by Teres, one of the Thracian princes, he pursued the war with such vigour, that all opposition vanished before him, and he obtained a predominant influence in that country.

We see here the effects of watchfulness and activity. The three-fold foes of Macedonia, about to attack it in as many quarters, vanished before them. Philip, had he slumbered in the delights which his youthful bride held forth, would, doubtless, have been driven from his throne. But holding himself loose to these delights, and rising up from among them, he placed his toes beneath his feet. This speaks to the professed Christian. Three foes, more mighty than the Illyrians, Pæonians, and Thracians, beset you on every hand. The world, the flesh, and the devil, would rob you of your crown. Imitate, then, the watchfulness and activity of Philip, and strive manfully for the victory over them. Remember, the crown which Philip fought for was but a temporal crown; that you seek, is to be worn throughout eternity.

Joyful tidings followed hard upon the heels of Philip's victories. One messenger brought him information that Parmenio had routed the Illyrians; a second announced that the horse of the monarch had won the prize in the Olympic race; and a third followed with the crowning news, that Olympias had brought him a son and heir. In allusion to the ancient prejudice, that an

extraordinary series of prosperity is necessarily succeeded by heavy calamities, Plutarch says, that Philip exclaimed, on hearing these tidings, "O Fortune! send some slight misfortune, to atone for all these blessings." The prejudice alluded to is founded upon right reason; for daily experience teaches us, that adversity is one of the dark features in the life of man, and that no degree of prosperity can ensure exemption from it.

One adequate support
Exists—one only; an assured belief
That the procession of our fate, howe'er
Sad or disturbed, is ordered by a Being
Of infinite benevolence and power;
Whose everlasting purposes embrace
All accidents, converting them to good.
The darts of anguish fix not where the seat
Of suffering hath been thoroughly fortified,
By acquaintance in the will supreme,
For time and for eternity; by faith,
Faith absolute in God, including hope,
And the defence that lies in boundless love
Of his perfections; with habitual dread
Of aught unworthily conceived, endured
Impatiently, ill done, or left undone,
To the dishonour of His holy name.

WORDSWORTH.

The diviners are said to have predicted that the child born to Philip under such auspicious circumstances must needs prove invincible. It is probable that this was fabricated when Alexander's actions would justify the assertion; but the child was destined to eclipse the fame of the parent. Philip himself prepared the way for this consummation. He resolved that nothing should be wanting to qualify him for the kingly station. How anxious he was about the education of Alexander, may be seen from his letter to Aristotle, the philosopher, on his birth. This letter, which is a finished model of simple elegance and politeness, imperial brevity, and dignified elevation of sentiment, reads thus:

PHILIP to ARISTOTLE greeting.

I wish you to know, that to me a son is born. For this, I return thanks to the gods; not so much for the birth of the boy, as for his being born during your time. I trust that, formed by your care and instruction, he will become worthy of us, and worthy also to succeed in the government of Macedonia.—FAREWELL.

Aristotle subsequently became preceptor to the youthful prince; and, by his instructions, formed Alexander's character.

Macedonia now enjoyed a brief interval of repose. The Grecian states, however, were at this time in the utmost confusion. A war was raging, which was called "The sacred war," it being undertaken from religious motives, which lasted ten years. In this war, Philip took no part. He had little regard for religion, or the interest of Apollo; and it was his policy not to be engaged in a war by which he could not be benefited, but to take advantage of this juncture to extend his frontiers, and to push his conquests without any apprehension of opposition. Philip also was pleased to see the Grecian states weaken and consume each other, that he might thereby pursue his designs upon them with greater probability of success on a future day.

Thus favoured by circumstances, the ambition of Philip soon stirred him up again to action. In pursuance of his plan, to clear the Macedonian coast from enemies, he now, *a.c.* 353, resolved to make himself master of Methone. He invested the city; but its great strength, and the facility with which it could receive supplies by sea, rendered the siege a slow and difficult operation. The citizens held out during the autumn and winter, in the hope that the Athenians would succour them in the returning spring. The Athenians were slow in affording relief. They decreed that a fleet should be sent to their aid; but when it arrived, Methone was captured. Exhausted, and despairing of relief, the Methonians submitted, and Philip raised their city, and divided their lands among his soldiers. The terms which the Methonians obtained were more favourable than was the custom in these ages of barbarous warfare, especially when it is considered that Philip lost an eye during the siege, by a wound from an arrow. They were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel, to seek a refuge in some other territories.

No sooner had Philip reduced Methone, than he carried his arms eastward, to the neighbourhood of Byzantium. On the north shore of the Propontis, near Perinthus, stood the city of Heracleum, originally colonized by the Samians, and which derived its name from Juno, who was there worshipped. To this city Philip now laid siege. At the same time, for the purpose of establishing his interest in this part of Thrace, he expelled some of the petty princes, and established others on whose friendship he could depend.

The investment of Heracleum caused much alarm at Athens. The Athenians foresaw, that if Philip established himself on the northern coast of the Propontis, Byzantium, the Chersonesus, the commerce, and the very subsistence of Athens, would be at his mercy. Under these circumstances, the people assembled, and a stormy discussion took place. At length, however, it was decreed, that forty galleys should be sent to sea; that all citizens under the age of forty-five should embark; and that sixty talents (about 12,000 pounds sterling) should be levied to provide for the expenses of the armament.

This appearance of vigour on the part of the Athenians was only momentary. While Philip was proceeding with the siege of Heracleum, he was attacked by severe illness, and rumour spread the tidings at Athens that he was no more. This induced the Athenians to slacken in their preparation. Many months passed before they sent to the relief of Heracleum, and at last they only sent ten ill-manned ships, under Charidemus, with five talents (or about 1000*l.*) only, to defray the expenses of the expedition. These, however, were not wanted; for Philip appears to have relinquished his designs upon Heracleum.

It is probable that the Macedonian conqueror relinquished his designs upon Heracleum from a request made to him by the Thessalians to aid them once more against the tyrant Lycophron, who ruled over them with an iron sway. This was his next enterprise. Philip gladly responded to the call, and by the junction of his forces with the Thessalians, those of Lycophron were over-

matched. Lycophron, however, strengthened himself by the protection of the Phocians. Onomarchus, the assessor of Phocia, despatched his brother Phayllas, with 7000 men, to strengthen the tyrant; and when the combined forces of Phayllas and Lycophron were defeated, he himself marched into Thessaly with his whole army, before Philip could profit by his victory.

Philip was now, for the first time, opposed to an enemy whose military abilities, if not equal to, might nevertheless compete with his own. The forces of the enemy, also, outnumbered those of the Macedonians and Thesalians. Philip, however, did not decline the combat. The opposing armies met, and, at the first shock, the Phocian ranks gave way, and fled in apparent disorder to some neighbouring rocks. This was a snare laid for Philip. The fancied conquerors had no sooner entered among the rocks and passes, than the Phocians hurled huge masses of stone down among the soldiers of Philip, and swept away whole ranks. The phalanx itself was thrown into confusion, and the Phocians, taking advantage of this, charged them with incredible fury, and defeated them with great slaughter.

Undaunted by this overthrow, Philip again appealed to arms, and was again defeated with severe loss. By this second defeat, indeed, and by the subsequent vigilance of his adversary, his troops could hardly be restrained from deserting him, and it required all his skill to make good his retreat into Macedonia. Lycophron, therefore, yet triumphed over the Thesalians.

Winter hushed the tumults of war for a time; but revenge did not slumber. Each party was fully occupied during that season in preparing for the renewal of the contest. Onomarchus strengthened himself by fresh enrolments of mercenaries, and meditated carrying his arms into Beroia. But in this he was frustrated, the inhabitants of Larissa, Pharsalia, and the other cities of Thessaly, who abhorred the yoke of Lycophron, again resolved to shake it off, and his forces were again required to aid the tyrant.

The aid of Philip was once more sought by the oppressed Thesalians; and being anxious to retrieve his reputation for the feats of war, and to establish his own power in Thessaly, which was essential to his future designs upon Greece, he cheerfully complied with their request. No sooner had spring appeared, than he led a formidable army into Thessaly. He was joined by the enemies of Lycophron, and their united force amounted to 20,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry.

Lycophron, unable to withstand so mighty an army, shut himself up in Pherræ, and despatched messengers to seek assistance from Onomarchus. Pleased with the new lure held out to him, the autocrat hastily collected his forces, passed the Thermopylæ, and advanced towards Pherræ. His army consisted of 20,000 infantry, and 500 cavalry. He continued his march to the northern extremity of the Pagasan gulf, in which there was an Athenian squadron, commanded by Chares, probably intended to disturb the motions of Philip, and to co-operate with Onomarchus and Lycophron. At this point, however, Onomarchus was met by the forces of Philip, and a

conflict was inevitable. Both sides prepared for it. Philip, knowing the valour of his antagonist, and feeling that he was contending for nothing less than fame and power, used his utmost exertions to infuse courage among his soldiers. Appealing to their religious feelings, which, in all ages, is the most powerful motive for action that can be held out to man, he elevated them to the dignity of champions and avengers of Apollo, and ordered them to crown themselves with laurels, that tree being consecrated to the Delphic deity, and he assumed as his own ensign the emblem of the god. Thus inspired, the signal was given. Both sides fought with determined valour, and the fate of the day was for a long time dubious; but at length the Thesalian cavalry succeeded in driving back the Phocian array, and repeating its efforts, which were seconded by Philip, the Phocians were routed. The cause of Lycophron was lost. The vanquished fled towards the sea, to take refuge in the Athenian ships in the gulf; but the Thesalians and Macedonians, whose swords were edged by the remembrance of ancient animosities, and resentment of the present invasion, pursued them vigorously, and made a terrible slaughter among them. Six thousand Phocians are said to have fallen on this day, among whom was Onomarchus, and 3000 were taken prisoners. The rest escaped, some by taking refuge in the ships of the Athenians, but the greater portion by the way of the mountains into Phocia.

According to Diodorus, the conqueror sullied his triumph by an action which exhibited the depravity of the human heart in characters not to be mistaken. Prompted by a barbarous policy, he caused the body of Onomarchus to be nailed to a cross, and the corpses of the rest of the slain to be thrown into the sea, as being the remains of sacrilegious murderers who had forfeited all claim to funeral rites. It is doubtful, according to the same writer, whether the same barbarous doom was not assigned to the prisoners. No bitter is the revenge of the unregenerate heart. It operates like poison upon the body, swelling and convulsing nature; nor can there be any sound health in the soul till it is conquered and expelled by sovereign grace.

Lycophron and his brother Pithecolus, seeing now no hopes of retaining power in Thessaly, resigned their pretensions, and delivered up the city of Pherræ into the hands of Philip. The victorious monarch restored all the cities of Thessaly to liberty, as he had promised; but he was not unmindful of his own interests. He placed garrisons in Pherræ, Pegasus, and Magnesia, and took other measures to secure himself against any change that might occur in the public mind among the proverbially fickle Thesalians.

Philip had now cleared the way for his master-stroke of conquest, that of the subjugation of the states of Greece. As regards Phocia, he had a plausible pretext in their late opposition to him, and he soon put his forces in motion to invade that territory.

At this time, *s.c.* 352, the Phocians had recovered from their overthrow, and were at war with the Thebans, who, probably, seconded the design of Philip by their solicitation. Be this

as it may, he commenced his march towards Thermopylae, the possession of which pass would have given him a free passage into Greece, especially into Attica. But he was doomed to receive a check in his career. The Athenians, foreseeing that the safety of Athens and of all Greece would be endangered if Philip were allowed to carry his design into execution, promptly sent a squadron to sea, under the command of Diophrantus, with troops sufficient to defend the strait of Thermopylae. When Philip, therefore, appeared at the entrance of these straits, he found his further passage prohibited, and he prudently led his army back to its former station, and subsequently to Macedonia.

This retreat of Philip may be looked upon as the era of his deep-rooted enmity to the Athenians. He saw that they were the only people capable of efficiently opposing his designs upon Greece, or of causing him uneasiness in his own dominions. For the purpose of humbling them, therefore, he provided a fleet of light ships, which continually disturbed their commerce. He also increased his army by new levies, and projected the destruction of the Athenian colonies in Greece. Nor was this all: by large appointments, and the corrupting influence of his gold, he secured some eminent orators to hold forth the prospect of enduring peace, or to alarm the public with expensive estimates, while they pretended a zeal for waging war with Macedonia.

Demosthenes alone, of all the Athenians, had a just idea of the danger to which his country was exposed from the growing power of Philip; and he alone had capacity sufficient to point out the proper method for reducing his power. He now came forward as the opponent of the Macedonian sovereign. Against him he commenced that series of orations, denominated "Philippics," which have handed down his name to distant ages as an orator, and as a foe to tyranny.

After apologizing for taking upon himself to commence the debate, he being the youngest orator in Athens, in a strain of animated eloquence, he proceeded to rouse his fellow-countrymen from their lethargy, and to develop his plans for the improvement of the public affairs. He told them that they had no reason to despair, and ascribed their calamities solely to their sloth and indolence. These, he said, might be removed by exertion; and he reminded them of the glorious stand which, in defence of the liberties of the states of Greece, they had recently made against Lacedaemon, in order to stimulate them to like action. He did not deny that Philip was a formidable adversary; but he urged that had Philip himself allowed the fear of encountering a noble foe to deter him, he would never have ventured to contend with Athens, nor have risen to such a height of power. Philip, said the impassioned orator, displayed a different spirit. He knew that the numerous possessions, which seemed to render his antagonists unassailable, and which he sought to obtain from them, were prizes which must fall to the lot of him who acted with superior vigour and perseverance; whence, following up his system of activity, he became master of all, either by conquest, alliance, or treaties.

"If, then, Athenians," continued Demosthenes, "you will now choose similar sentiments; if every one of you, laying aside all pretence, will, to the utmost of his ability, serve his country, the rich by contributing, the young by fighting; in one word, if you will act simultaneously, then, if the gods permit, you may recover what you have lost by your indolence, and may avenge yourselves upon Philip. For, let it never be imagined that his greatness is immutably fixed, as though he were a god. Among those who seem devoted to him, there are those who fear, envy, and hate him; and if they suppress their feelings, it is because, thanks to your singleness and indelence, they have no refuge whither they might fly. This indolence, I repeat, you must shake off. For look, O Athenians, at the state of affairs! See, to what a pitch of insolence this man has reached! He leaves you no longer the choice of acting or remaining quiet; but he menaces you by his haughty language, and by encroaching upon you in all quarters. He draws a net round you on every hand, while you sit motionless, and look on.

"When, O Athenians, when will you act as you ought? When some occurrence rouses you to action? When some necessity compels you to arm? In what light do you consider your present condition? Is not disgrace the most pressing necessity which free men can experience? Will you be content to wander through the public places, asking of each other, What news? Can any thing be more now, than that a man of Macedonia, should subdue Athens, and regulate the affairs of Greece? Is Philip dead? No, but he is ill. But what matters it to you whether he die or live? If this Philip were to die, you would soon raise up another by your carelessness to your own interests. It is not to his own strength, but to your supineness, that he is indebted for his aggrandizement. Be sure of this—Should aught happen to Philip—should we be thus favoured by Fortune, always more ready to serve us than we to serve her, you might, by being on the spot, be able to dispose of all things at your pleasure. But as you now are, tardy at once in council, and preparation, you could not take possession even of Amphipolis, though offered to you by some auspicious event."

The measures proposed by Demosthenes were: 1. That fifty ships of war should be manned by Athenians, and attended by an adequate number of transports and store ships for half the cavalry. 2. That the military force should consist of 2000 foot and 200 horse, of which number, Athenians, who were to serve for a limited period, were to constitute one fourth. 3. That ten light vessels should form a covering squadron. 4. That the pay and subsistence of the hired troops should be regularly provided for them, and that they should be commanded solely by Athenian officers. 5. That an army should be kept constantly ready for action in the vicinity of Macedonia. And, 6. That all military affairs should be conducted in future in a systematic manner.

At the close of his harangue, the orator reverted to, and strengthened some of his arguments, and endeavoured to awaken the Athen-

ions to a sense of their danger, by appeals to their pride, shame, and apprehensions. He declared to them that they must look for safety only to their own means and exertions, and that if they did not carry war fearlessly and vigorously into the territories of their enemy, they would be reduced to the calamitous necessity of sustaining it within their own domains.

History does not inform us concerning the result of this celebrated oration. It is probable that the eloquence of the speaker delighted his listening audience, and a decree was perhaps enthusiastically passed, to carry his advice into effect, and speedily forgotten. Such was the fatal defect in the Athenian character, as may be gathered from the oration of Demosthenes for the Rhodians. In reproach, he tells them, that it is not difficult to convince them with respect to the measures which are best to be pursued—the difficulty consists in persuading them to carry those measures into execution. He adds, "When you have determined what to do, and when you have anew confirmed your determination by a decree, you are just as far from doing it as you were before."

How does the character of the Athenians resemble that of mankind at the present day, in an affair of greater moment than even the salvation of Athens. They are convinced, by the lips or the pen of eloquence, of the evils of sin, and they resolve to forsake it—of their need of grace, and they determine to seek it—of the transitory nature of all earthly affairs, and they decree within themselves to prepare for eternity. But they go out in the world, and these impulses for good are forgotten. They are again convinced, again make resolutions, and again forego reform, till at length the day of ruin comes, as it did on the Athenians, and the opportunity of seeking the Saviour's grace, of suing for pardon and peace, and thus working out their salvation, is lost for ever. Notwithstanding all their resolutions, they

"Die self-accused of life run all to waste"—Cowper.

The divisions of the Grecian states, as well as the supineness of the Athenians, were favourable to the projected invasion of Philip. On one side, the Athenians and Lacedæmonians were intent on reducing the strength of the Thebans, whilst, on the other, the Thebans and Thebans devoted themselves to the service of Philip, thereby assisting him in forming their own yoke.

Philip, like an able politician, knew how to take advantage of these dissensions and this supineness, and he recommenced, indirectly, indeed, but not less effectually, reducing the power of the Athenians.

Olynthus, a city of Thrace, in the peninsula of Pallene, was originally a colony of the Athenians. Its inhabitants had been at variance with Amyntas, father of Philip, but had made an alliance with the latter soon after he became monarch, as seen in a previous page. But the friendship of the ambitious is inconstant as the waves of the ocean. When Philip found himself able to execute his project, he took proper measures in order to besiege Olynthus, and annex it to his own dominions.

The inhabitants of Olynthus, discerning the

storm gathering at a distance, sought the aid of the Athenians. Ambassadors were despatched to Athens, to propose a league between the Athenians and Olynthians, and to seek such assistance as would enable the latter to make head against the ambitious monarch of Macedonia.

Demosthenes hailed these overtures with delight, and he resolved to support them with all his influence in the general assembly; in pursuance of which resolution, he delivered the oration denominated the first Olynthiac.

The orator commenced this oration in a triumphant tone. He considered it, he said, as an especial favour of the gods to Athens, that she should now be offered the alliance of a state possessed of respectable resources, and which was situated on the frontier of Philip's dominions. Convinced that any accommodation with him must be destructive, he conjured his hearers not to disgrace and injure themselves, by failing to take advantage of the event. He then censured their past conduct, telling them that the greatness of their enemy was chiefly their own fault, and that of the traitors among them, who ought to be punished at a seasonable opportunity. Then raising his eloquence at Philip, he described him as the most perfidious of human beings, who was indebted for his elevation to fraud and falsehood, in proof of which he instanced the manner in which the Athenians, Olynthians, and Thebans, had been, each in their turns, deceived by his specious show of friendship. From this he augured his fall. "When," said the orator, "a confederacy is based on the mutual good will and interest of the allies, they share the evils cheerfully, they endure reverses, and yet persevere. But when, as is the case with Philip, a man has been raised by ambition and violation of right, the first and slightest shock is sufficient to subvert the fabric of his greatness. For it is not possible that a durable power should be built upon injustice, perjury, and deceit. During a limited period, imposture may succeed, and may seem destined to flourish; but time unmasks it, and it sinks of itself into ruin. A house, a ship, and every edifice, ought to have firm and solid foundations; so ought justice and truth to be the basis of our actions, which is not the case with respect to the deeds of Philip."

Demosthenes now advised the Athenians to send prompt and effectual aid to the Olynthians, and suggested that an embassy should be sent to encourage the Thebans to revolt, and assert their claims to Pagasæ and Magnesia. He then warned the Athenians that words alone would be useless, decanted on the weakness of Macedonia, and again blackened the character of Philip; affirmed that the Macedonians were tired with perpetual toils and sacrifices, and contemptuously depreciated the merit of the boasted military establishment of Philip.

The orator drew an odious picture of the vices of Philip, representing him as meanly jealous of rival excellence, envious, greedy of flattery, intemperate, detached, and obscene. Yet he bore testimony to what some historians have termed his "splendid qualities." He described him as thirsting for glory, eagerly pursuing the phantom, despising safety, and even life, to obtain it;

always in the field, every where present, active, vigilant, and letting no opportunity slip which could be turned to advantage. With some bitterness of heart, Demosthenes then contrasted this conduct with that of the Athenians, representing them as wasting their days, and the strength of the state, in debating, delaying, decreasing, seeking news, hoping that others would take up their cause, accusing and impeaching each other, and in expecting to be saved by the very measures which had ruined them.

Still the orator predicted the downfall of Philip, should the people of Athens act with wisdom and vigour. Then, blending reproach with eulogy, he expressed his astonishment that they who had warred against Lacedæmon for the liberties of Greece—they who had often displayed a noble disinterestedness in forbearing to aggrandize themselves—they who had exposed their lives and lavished their riches in behalf of others, and had frequently extended protection to the other Grecian states, should now, when their rights were invaded, decline to contend with the foe, withhold the requisite contributions, and tamely submit to losses and wrongs.

The principal means of checking the progress of Philip, suggested by Demosthenes, were, that each person should pay in proportion to his fortune; to take the field with alacrity, till all the citizens should have served in their turn; to suspend prosecutions till affairs should be brought into a better condition; to render it the interest as much as it was the duty of the generals to act vigorously for the commonwealth; to put an end to the custom of throwing upon one portion of the community the whole of the public burden; to allow freedom of speech and action to every one anxious for the welfare of the community; and to consider the wisdom of the advice given, rather than the reputation of the orator.

Demades, an orator who had risen from humble life by the force of his own genius, and who was held in high reputation among the Athenians, took the lead in opposing Demosthenes. By his enemies, he was accused of being in the pay of Philip, and his exertions on this occasion are said to have been largely rewarded by the Macedonian sovereign. The efforts of Demades, however, were of no avail in the present instance. Roused by the eloquence of Demosthenes, the Athenians resolved that succour should be granted to the Olynthians; but they satisfied themselves with adopting a half measure instead of acting with vigour; thus insuring their own defeat. They deemed it sufficient to assist Olynthus with thirteen galleys and two thousand mercenary troops, the command of which was intrusted to Chares, and which was wholly insufficient to rescue Olynthus from the grasp of Philip.

While these proceedings were going forward at Athens, Philip commenced hostilities against the Olynthians, A.C. 349. He led his army into the territory of Chalcidice, and opened the campaign by storming the fortress of Zeira, which he levelled with the ground. Terrified by his arms, or seduced by his arts and bribes, the inhabitants of several of the neighbouring cities displayed some rivalry as to which should be the first in submitting; so that Philip was em-

barrassed to decide which he should first receive into obedience.

At length the expedition under Chares arrived. It was too weak, however, to oppose Philip; whence Chares resolved to make a diversion by invading some unprotected part of Macedonia. Accordingly, he steered up the Thermaic gulf, and effected a landing in the province of Bortima, which, though containing the Macedonian capital, was left unprotected. Chares overran the open country, and laid it under contribution; then embarking his troops, he sailed to the peninsula of Pallene, where Philip had stationed 800 men, probably to support such of the inhabitants as had declared in his favour. Chares attacked and routed this division, after which he collected a considerable booty. He then returned to Athens, where he gave an exaggerated account of his achievements, and treated the citizens with a public supper at the cost of sixty talents, or 12,000*l.*

Winter suspended the military operations of Philip; but, while his army was reposing, he carried on the system of intrigue and bribery, which had already been so successful, by his active emissaries and partisans. Alarmed by the progress he made, and by the defection of their allies, the Olynthians applied to Athens for more effectual assistance than had yet been afforded. Demosthenes supported this application in an oration denominated the second Olynthiac.

In this oration, Demosthenes lamented the carelessness and negligence of his countrymen, and insisted that the preservation of Olynthus was necessary for the security of Athens. Olynthus, he said, was the last barrier left to check the progress of Philip. He then contrasted the conduct of the present generation with their progenitors, marking with bitter censure the measures of those who held the reins of government. "We are now," exclaimed the orator, "without rivals. Lacedæmon is in the dust; Thebes has enough to do at home; no other state can dispute supremacy with us; yet at a time when we might have enjoyed internal security, and been umpires abroad, we have been stripped of our foreign possessions, have spent more than 1500 talents fruitlessly, have lost in peace the allies gained during war, and have raised up a formidable enemy to ourselves." As regards resources for the fitting out of an adequate armament, he proposed that the revenue called the "theoria," which was appropriated to theatrical representations, should be restored to the service of the state. This proposal was alike opposed to the decree of Eubulus, and the disposition of the public mind, and was therefore hazardous to advance; but Demosthenes displayed so much skill in keeping clear of the penalty denounced by the decree of Eubulus, and in pointing out by what means it might be rescinded or eluded, that the advice was listened to by the people with a degree of patience that astonished the orator himself. They did not, however, attend to the advice. Pleasure, which is the pulse of this busy world in all ages, was loved too much to allow of their forgoing it; and the salutary advice, though listened to, produced no effect. The poet has well said, -

Though various are the tempers of mankind,
 Pleasure's gay family holds all in chains
 Some most affect the black; and some the fair:
 Whate'er the motive, pleasure is the mark:
 For her, the black assassin draws his sword;
 For her, dark statesmen trim their midnight lamp,
 To which no single sacrifice may fall.
 The Stoic proud, for pleasure, pleasure scorn'd;
 For her, affliction's daughters, grief and pain,
 And fond, or hope, a luxury in tears;
 For her, guilt, shame, toil, danger, we defy,
 And with an aim voluptuous, rush on death.
 Thus universal her despotic power — *YOUNG.*

Although the Athenians would not consent that the theatrical fund should be appropriated to a nobler purpose, the eloquence of Demosthenes induced them to grant the Olynthians a fresh reinforcement. As on the former occasion, however, they neutralized their assistance by its inadequacy. They voted only 4000 mercenaries, 150 horse, and eighteen triremes; and over these, Charidemus, a man devoid of all principle, and whose brutal propensities excited hatred and disgust, was appointed commander.

Philip resumed his operations in the spring of a. c. 348. His sword, however, was almost needless. Gold had so effectually cleared the way before him, that his approach to a place seemed to be the signal for throwing open its gates. Thus fell Mycerbina, a town near the head of the Toronaic gulf; thus fell also the sea-port city of Torone, not far from the southern extremity of the Sithonian peninsula, and thus the whole of that peninsula submitted to his dominion. The only efforts made to stop his progress, by Charidemus, moreover, were some useless incursions into the province of Bottia; after which, he retired to Olynthus, probably to repress rebellion in the city, for there was a faction in that city favourable to Philip.

Thus weakened and embarrassed, the Olynthians once more called upon the Athenians for immediate and effectual aid, and their cause was again pleaded by Demosthenes in his third Olynthiac.

In this oration, the Athenian orator restated all his former arguments, strengthened them with cogent reasons for acting vigorously, and expatiated on the folly and danger of foregoing this opportunity of arresting the power of Philip. By defending Olynthus, he said, they might make Macedonia the seat of war; but if Philip were allowed to triumph over it, there was nothing to hinder him from carrying his arms wherever he thought proper. Attica would be exposed to invasion, and a contest continued for one month only, within their own frontier, would produce a ruinous expense and lasting ignominy.

The plan of operations now suggested by Demosthenes was, that two armaments should be simultaneously despatched; the one to secure the Olynthian cities, the other to harass Philip, and divert his movements by descents upon Macedonia. Unless this mode of attack were adopted, he said, the expedition of the Athenians would most probably be of no avail; for if the whole of the succours were employed in ravaging his kingdom, Philip would defer meeting it till he had reduced Olynthus; and if they were sent to Olynthus, he would persevere against them and the Olynthians till he had overpowered them.

Demosthenes succeeded in stirring up the Athenians to increased energy. A reinforcement of 2000 infantry, all Athenian citizens, 300 cavalry, and seventeen triremes, was voted by the people. But this force was not sufficient to save Olynthus. Having subjugated or seduced the confederate cities, Philip now led his army towards that city. The Olynthians, fearing his power, endeavoured to open a negotiation. Philip continued his march without replying, till he arrived within five miles of the city, when, in one brief and cruel sentence, he pronounced their doom: "Either you," said he, "must quit Olynthus, or I must quit Macedonia."

The sword was now the only resource left to the Olynthians. Collecting their troops, therefore, in conjunction with a portion of the Athenian auxiliaries, they resolved to risk a battle. They failed in a first engagement; but, undismayed by the repulse, they again gave battle to the monarch. They were defeated a second time, and were compelled to confine themselves to the defence of their walls. But the emissaries of Philip were within the walls of Olynthus, and defence was of little avail. The city was soon after betrayed by Euthyrcates and Lasthenes, who, in an evil hour, were intrusted by the people with the direction not only of military, but also of civil affairs. Thus Philip entered Olynthus, by the breach which his gold had made. The city was delivered over to his power with no other stipulation than that the lives of its citizens should be spared.

The stipulation concerning the existence of the Olynthians was observed; but they were deprived of all that renders existence valuable. Stripped of their possessions, and without distinction of age or sex, they were publicly sold as slaves to the ends of the earth. Their city, also, recently so beautiful, flourishing, and potent, was belied with the ground. From that date, it existed only in the memory of the captives, and the page of history.

Reader, mark the erring nature of man! Overjoyed at the reduction of Olynthus, and regardless of the sighs, the tears, and the bitter groanings of the captives, Philip, in token of his joy, celebrated, with all possible magnificence, the Olympian festival, instituted by his predecessor Archelaus. The world stamped its approbation of his conduct. Multitudes thronged from distant quarters to witness the sacrifices, sports, and theatrical entertainments, in which actors from every Grecian state played their part. Philip himself presided at the banquets, and laboured to win the hearts of his guests. He was not unsuccessful; for he distributed his gifts and promises, on this occasion, with such profusion, that he gained many converts to his cause. Thus the spoils of the ruined city were employed to purchase the instruments of future conquest.

One memorable instance of friendship which occurred at this season of rejoicing deserves recording. Matyrus, a distinguished comic actor, was observed to be thoughtful, and to manifest no anxiety to profit by the royal bounty. Philip questioned him as to the cause.

"For such presents as the company in general receive," replied Matyrus, "I have no wish; but there is one favour, the easiest of all to grant,

which I would willingly ask, did I not fear to be denied the boon."

Philip desired Satyrus to speak freely, and promised that his request should be granted, whatever it might be.

Encouraged by this assurance, Satyrus proceeded: "Apollophanes, of Pydna," said he, "was my friend. When he was wrongfully put to death, his relatives, fearing the lives of his daughters, sent them to Olynthus for safety. When that city was taken, they were made prisoners, and they are now your captives. I entreat you to bestow them upon me; I will make no unworthy use of your gift. My only intention is, to give them marriage portions, and to provide them with husbands, that they may be happy wives."

The guests unanimously applauded the conduct of Satyrus, and the monarch himself was moved by such a request. Apollophanes was obnoxious to him, he having been concerned in the murder of Alexander, his eldest brother; but silencing his feelings of revenge, he yielded to the request of Satyrus, and added to the boon a liberal donation.

The fall of Olynthus created great alarm at Athens. In the transport of their anger, the Athenians passed severe decrees against the betrayers of their allies, and they turned their indignation upon Chares, who had commanded the succours sent to Olynthus. Some gratification was afforded to their revengeful passions, by the fate of Euthykrates and Laethenes, who, having fallen into disgrace with Philip, were put to death: thus receiving the reward of treachery at the hands of their associate.

This was not the only effect the fall of Olynthus had upon the public mind. It threw a damp over the martial spirit of the Athenians; and reviewing their own weakness, and the power of Philip, a desire for peace became general. There was an obstacle, however, in the way, both of making overtures, and of receiving them from Philip. In a fit of indignation, they had previously passed a decree, by which all communication was prohibited, even by the means of a herald, with the government of Macedonia. Philip had himself already endeavoured to elude this decree; but his overtures were passed over in silent contempt. But the Athenians were now more humble than at that time, and they resorted to an indirect method of discovering whether Philip was still disposed to embrace the sweets of peace. Phrynon, and Ctesiphon, a friend of Demosthenes, were sent to the Macedonian court, under the pretence of procuring an exchange of prisoners. They were received with great courtesy by Philip; and in a conversation with Ctesiphon, the monarch protested that he had reluctantly engaged in the war, and that he desired its termination. This was sufficient. On his return, Ctesiphon reported this to the people, adding many flattering expressions and promises of benefit which Philip had uttered. The Athenians, notwithstanding their former experience as to the monarch's veracity, confided in his word, and they seized the opportunity of removing the chief stumbling-block which stood in the way of negotiation. A decree was passed, revoking that which forbade any envoy to be admitted from Macedonia.

The moment for establishing peace between the Athenians and the Macedonian monarch was not yet arrived. Hitherto the wily monarch had observed a neutrality with respect to the sacred war, and he seemed to wait till both parties had weakened themselves by slaughter, before he declared himself favourable to either party. That period now (a. c. 347) arrived. The haughtiness and ambitious views with which the victories of Epaminondas had inspired the Thebans, had now abated. Weakened by the Phocians, they sought the aid of Philip, and he resolved to espouse their cause. To give a specious colour to his arms, besides the gratitude which he affected to feel for Thebes, in which he had been educated, he pretended to derive honour from the zeal with which he was fired with reference to the insulted Deity; and was glad to gain the reputation of being a religious prince, in order to conciliate the esteem and friendship of the Greeks. His only motive, however, for joining the Thebans was, to gain a footing in Greece, that he might bring the several states under his dominion.

The Athenians seemed to be aware of this, and deserting the cause of the Phocians, which they had hitherto espoused, they thought only of averting the evil by making peace with Philip. There was some difficulty in propounding peace with the ambitious monarch of Macedonia, as any advance on their parts might be regarded by the adversary as a confession of weakness. Recourse was therefore had to stratagem, as on a former occasion. Among the Athenians who, on the surrender of Olynthus, fell into the hands of Philip, there were two men of note; namely, Stratocles and Eucrates. It was resolved, that some one should be sent to negotiate with the Macedonian monarch, for the ransom of these captives, by which an opening would be afforded for ascertaining whether Philip was still inclined to a treaty.

Aristodemus, who was an actor by profession, and who had acquired the favour of Philip by displaying his theatrical talents at Pella, was chosen to perform this mission. Aristodemus performed the office assigned to him, and speedily returned to Athens. Instead, however, of rendering an account of the proceedings to the council, he preserved a dogged silence on the subject. In the mean time, Stratocles was released without ransom, and grateful for this generosity, he came publicly forward to declare that Philip was anxious for peace. Aristodemus was now summoned to make his report, and he confirmed the testimony of Stratocles, with reference to the pacific intentions of Philip. Gratified by these tidings, the Athenians forgot the delay in communicating them, and decreed a golden crown, at the instance of Demosthenes himself, as a reward for the services of Aristodemus.

After Aristodemus had made this report, a day was appointed to deliberate on the propriety of negotiating with Philip. In this council, which was held a. c. 346, it was decreed, unanimously, that ten envoys should be deputed to treat with the Macedonian sovereign. The deputies appointed were Demosthenes, Eschines, Aristodemus, Phrynon, Ctesiphon, Philocrates, Istocles, Decyllus, Nausicles, and Cimon, all men of note in

the state. An eleventh ambassador was appointed, whose business it was to watch over the interests of the dependents and allies of Athens. The person to whom this charge was committed, was Agathemon of Tenedos.

As soon as the resolution for negotiating a peace with Philip was passed, a herald was despatched to Pella, to demand a passport for the Athenian envoys. It was the policy of Philip, to hold out hopes that he was favourable to peace, and therefore the passport was granted. The envoys now took their departure for Pella, on their important mission. On their way, it was arranged what part each should act in the negotiation, and the order in which they should speak. It was agreed that the eldest should open the business, and should be followed by his colleagues, according to age. Eschines says, that Demosthenes, who was the junior orator, boasted that he would strike Philip dumb; that he would convict him of injustice with regard to the origin of the war, and induce him to surrender Amphipolis. He had made a wrong estimate of his own powers, and the character of the monarch.

Immediately on their arrival at Pella, Philip gave audience to the envoys. Eschines opened the negotiations by a speech in which he pleaded the cause of his country with much eloquence, reminding the monarch of the favours that he himself, and others of his family, had received from Athens. The rest of the envoys took up the tale, each in their turn, according to their seniority. At length Demosthenes commenced his address. All eyes were fixed upon him, expecting to hear a masterpiece of eloquence. But they were disappointed. He who had so often hurled the thunder of his eloquence against the head of the monarch from the tribune of Athens, now trembled in his presence. With a faltering voice he commenced obscurely, hesitatingly, and ungracefully. For a moment he then rallied his energies, but his trepidation returned; he lost the thread of his discourse, paused, strove to recover himself, and at length became mute. Philip courteously, yet sarcastically requested his oratorical adversary to take time for recovering his spirits and memory, significantly remarking that he was not in a theatre, exposed to the clamours and insults of a crowd. Demosthenes then essayed to continue his speech, but after uttering a few sentences, he gave up the struggle, and retired with his colleagues, that the monarch might prepare to reply to their various arguments.

The envoys were soon summoned into the royal presence, to hear the monarch's reply; and though he had been addressed by nine speakers, he left no point touched upon unnoticed. To Eschines he responded at length, which mark of attention, and his silence towards Demosthenes, is said to have excited the evil passion of envy in the breast of that orator. The audience being concluded, the monarch invited the envoys to sup with him; on which occasion, he called into action all his powers of conversation, conviviality, and flattery, to win the hearts of his guests. Diminution taught him to act thus, that their hostility might be disarmed, and that he might, on a future day, triumph over their country at his pleasure.

The envoys, soon after this, had their audience of leave. On this occasion, Philip reiterated his professions of good will towards Athens, and delivered to them a letter, in which his sentiments were contained with respect to their overtures. In this epistle, he expressed a wish to be both at peace and in alliance with Athens; darkly intimating, that if they admitted him to alliance, the republic might expect some benefit of importance at his hands. He added, that he was now on the eve of marching to complete his conquests in Thrace; but he promised, that while negotiations were pending between the Macedonians and the Athenians, he would refrain from hostilities on this side of the Chersonesus. All this, however, was only to preserve Athens in fancied security, to prevent them from making preparations for the field of battle on a future day.

With the same design in view, Philip at length sent ambassadors to Athens to conclude a treaty. The men chosen for this mission were, Parmenio, the most celebrated of his generals; Antipater, eminent as a statesman; and Eurylochus, eloquent as he was brave.

After some days' delay, occasioned by the feast of Hecæus, during which the ambassadors were hospitably entertained, especially by Demosthenes, who was anxious for the honour of his country, the proposals of Philip were deliberated on in the assembly of the people. The debate was long and vehement; but the resolution for alliance, as well as peace, was finally carried, and the preliminaries of the treaty arranged. By a strange circumstance, Phocis was excluded from the muster-roll of the allies of the Athenians. On the part of Philip, this was doubtless a feature of his design; but on that of the Athenians, it is a mystery, and reflects greatly on their character for political wisdom.

According to Demosthenes, it was during the discussion on this treaty, that Eschines exhibited signs of being corrupted by the gold of Philip. He founds his charge upon the abrupt change in the sentiments of Eschines. One day, he violently opposed a motion of Philocrates, and he as violently supported it on the next. The gold of Philip was, therefore, still at work. The hand of Demosthenes alone, indeed, of all the Athenian orators, finally escaped the "ugly smutch" imprinted on it by bribery.

The treaty of peace and alliance with Macedonia was now complete on the part of the Athenians; but it was not so with Philip. He was not definitely bound till he had ratified it in person, by oath, in the presence of deputies from Athens. Eleven individuals were, therefore, sent as envoys to receive his solemn ratification. Among these, were Eschines, Eubulus, and Demosthenes. The latter, suspecting some of the envoys, seems to have resolved to embrace this opportunity of watching their actions, though a wish to ransom some prisoners was the ostensible reason for his acceptance of this second mission.

It was some time before the envoys set forward on their mission. So dilatory were they, indeed, that Demosthenes was compelled to obtain a decree, from the council of the five hundred, directing their departure. This decree set them in motion; but neither that, nor the remonstrances and

reproaches of Demosthenes, could stimulate them to proper exertion. Six days only were requisite for their journey, and they were twenty-five in accomplishing it. When they arrived at Pella, Philip was waiting in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont. The decess directed them to proceed to the spot where Philip was to be found; but notwithstanding this, and the bitter invectives of Demosthenes, they remained at Pella twenty-seven days, till Philip returned. All this time had been employed by the monarch in reducing Serrium, Doriscum, and Myrtium, towns allied to Athens, and in securing to himself dominion over Thrace.

The envoys were soon admitted to an audience with Philip. What passed at this audience, however, is uncertain, the distorted narrative of Echines, alone, being handed down to posterity. The same courtesy and hospitality which had been experienced by the former envoys were extended to the present; and the politic feelings of Philip were further exhibited by the tender of a large present to each of the deputies, which was accepted by all but Demosthenes.

The envoys had now been absent from Athens more than two months. It was Philip's policy to detain them still longer; and to accomplish this purpose, he is said to have won their acquiescence by bribes, Demosthenes excepted, who was detained by force. The pretext for detaining them, was, that he was desirous of their mediation to reconcile the Haliens and Pharsalians. In pursuance of this scheme, he took them with him to Phære. At this place, when his preparations to pass Thermopylæ were completed, and opposition would be vain, he ratified the treaty.

By this treaty, the Athenians were secured in the possession of the Chersonesus, with the exception of Cardia; but they resigned Amphipolis, Doriscum, and the other recently conquered towns, and abandoned the citizens of Halus, the Phocians, and the Thracian allies. Such a treaty was dishonourable to the Athenians, and served to show the deep policy of the overreaching Philip.

On the return of the envoys, Demosthenes hastened to represent the conduct of his colleagues to his fellow citizens. Every circumstance which had occurred, from the day of their departure till the day of their return, convinced him that the interests of their country had been betrayed by them. These sentiments he enforced with his wonted eloquence. He accused them with having grossly and corruptly failed in their duty; warned his hearers not to rely on the delusive and fraudulent promises which would be made to them; and recommended that Thermopylæ and Phocis should be immediately secured, that the fatal consequence which would result from the treachery of his accomplices in the mission, and the ambition of Philip, might be averted.

For a moment, the Athenians were inclined to follow the advice of Demosthenes, and were justly indignant at the conduct of the envoys; but when the business of the embassy was brought under cognizance, Echines and his colleagues triumphed. Delighted by the magnificent prospect which Echines opened to their view, as following in the train of the friendship

of Philip, the credulous multitude were dismournous in their applause. Demosthenes in vain attempted to disabuse them. He was interrupted on every hand by jibes, jests, and vociferous shouts of laughter, so that he was compelled to desist from his harangue, and retire. He did so with these memorable words: "If, Athenians, any of those things which my colleagues have promised to you should come to pass, then bestow on them praise, honour, and reward, and refuse them to me; but if the contrary should happen, let the weight of your anger be borne by them alone."

While these transactions were pending, the Thebans again sought aid at the hands of Philip, *a.c.* 345. Notwithstanding they had been assisted by some Macedonian reinforcements, the Phocians had defeated them at Neon and Hedyllium, and pushed their exertions with so much vigour, that the Thebans were convinced their present force was inadequate to withstand their power, and they resolved to solicit Philip for more efficacious succour. Accordingly, a Theban embassy was despatched to Pella, where it arrived while the Athenian envoys were on their second mission. Demosthenes records, to the honour of this embassy, that they refused rich presents in money, captives, and golden cups, which Philip offered to them. It was his assistance alone, they said, that they sought, and this was promised to them.

The Phocians were sensible of the coming danger, and prepared to resist it with resolution. They applied for aid to Lacedæmon, their sole remaining ally, and the politic Archidamus complied with their request, chiefly, it would appear, to be at hand to support, in case of their fall, an ancient Spartan claim to the superintendency of the Delphic temple. With this design, he led a body of 1000 heavy armed infantry into Phocis, and he likewise sent envoys to Pella, to divert the plans of the Theban deputies. Phalæcus, who ruled over the Phocians, thus reinforced, occupied the pass of Thermopylæ with 8000 men, watching the shadow of coming events.

The progress of Philip was now marked with consummate skill. Prudence, that quality of the mind which gives value to all the rest, waited on his every step. He saw that the time was not yet arrived when he might march into Phocis, and lay it prostrate, without danger to himself. Thermopylæ was held by Phalæcus; Halus continued to hold his army at bay; Phære exhibited signs of a refractory spirit; discontent was visible in other quarters of Thessaly; Proxenus was hovering on the coast with his squadron; and he feared that Athens would take the alarm, and be roused into action. His policy, therefore, was, to excite the hopes of all parties. To the Thessalians and Thebans, he held out the prospect of revenge and aggrandizement; to the Lacedæmonians and Athenians, the expectation that Thebes would be humbled; and to the Phocians themselves, whose destruction he meditated, the hope that he would shield them from that destruction with which they were threatened by their foes. So far did he carry this base dissimulation, that he expressed a wish, either to give up the task of settling the affairs of the Phocians, or to share it with those who were inclined

to favour them. The Lacedæmonians and Athenians were successively invited by him to undertake the arrangement, but they declined: the former, from having discovered that Philip meant to deceive them; the latter from some motives hard to be understood, and difficult to reconcile with sound policy.

The moment at length arrived when Philip could securely proceed on his work of desolation. Halus had surrendered, and its inhabitants driven into exile: Thessaly was quieted; and all his resources, and those of his allies, thereby became available. One obstacle, however, was in his way. Phalæus still held the pass of Thermopylæ, and it was necessary, to prevent difficulty, delay, and loss, that he should be removed. The art, seconded perhaps by the gold of Philip, effected his removal. Negotiations having been entered into, Phalæus was permitted to retreat to Peloponnesus, with the mercenaries under his command, on condition of delivering up the towns of Thronium, Nœæ, and Alponus.

Philip now passed the straits of Thermopylæ, at the head of the Macedonians and Thessalians. His approach to Phocis was the signal for the emigration of numbers of the natives of that country, which Philip observed with pleasure, as it cleared the way for victory. The great body of the Phocians, however, still remained. But these did not look upon the march of Macedonia in the light of an enemy. On the contrary, they persisted in regarding his movement as the guarantee of their safety from the power of their bitter enemies, the Thessalians, Lœrians, and Thebans. Their hopes were founded on the language which Philip used towards them, and still more upon the strong assurances concerning the beneficent intentions of the monarch, as given by Eschines and his colleagues to the Athenians. It was these feelings which now induced the Phocians to conclude a treaty with Philip, by which they surrendered up their cities to him, and submitted to his decision.

When the Phocians made this treaty with Philip, they had forgotten that his generous impulses never interfered with his policy, and that the guide of his actions was ambition. For various reasons, all centring in his own interests and honours, their destruction was quickly resolved upon. That he might not appear unjust, however, in an affair which concerned all Greece, he assembled a fraction of the Amphictyonic council, to sit in judgment on the Phocians. The council was formed of their most deadly enemies. In it sat the representatives of the Thessalians, Thebans, Lœrians, and the wild mountaineers of Ceta, all thirsting for blood. The latter vehemently insisted that the Amphictyonic law should be enforced against sacrilege in its extremest rigour, and they demanded that the whole population of Phocis should be cast headlong from the rocks of Delphi. Eschines appropriates to himself the merit of subverting this barbarous proposition: and it is certain that he was at the council. It may be doubted, however, whether the policy of Philip was not more potent than the pleading of Eschines in this matter. But though death was not assigned to the Phocians, every degradation short of abso-

lute slavery was their lot. Malice itself might have grinned with satisfaction at their doom. It was decreed that their cities, venerable for antiquity, and renowned in the Homeric page, should be destroyed, or reduced to small towns of fifty houses each; that they should yield up their arms and horses, the one to be broken and burned, and the other to be sold; that they were only to retain their lands on condition of paying annually sixty talents, or 12,000*l.*, till the whole amount of treasure expended was reimbursed; and that those who had committed the sacrilege which gave rise to the war should be irrevocably proscribed. Against those Phocians who had become voluntary exiles, it was decreed that they should be considered beings accursed of the gods, and excluded from a refuge in every part of Greece. Philip also demanded their deprivation of the privilege of sending delegates to the Amphictyonic council; a privilege which the council readily transferred to Philip and his descendants. Philip was also invested with the superintendence of the Delphic temple, and the presidency of the Pythian games, the latter of which officers was taken from the Corinthians, because they had rendered their assistance to the Phocians.

The task of putting this sentence into execution was committed to the Thebans, to whom, also, the sovereignty over Crœneæ, Orchomenus, and other towns taken from them during the war, was restored. The Thebans performed their welcome task with alacrity and precision. Demosthenes declares, that when he passed through Phocis to Delphi, at a subsequent date, words could never describe its deplorable situation. Ruined houses, walls overthrown, and ravaged fields, made up the scene; with here and there a few women and children, and dejected and feeble old men, on whom the soldiers of Thebes and Macedonia were quartered, for the purpose of stifling the voice of complaint, and enforcing the payment of the fine imposed by the Amphictyonic council.

"— What are ye, laurel'd heroes, say,
But *Slaves* of the suffering world ye say!
Sweet Nature, stripp'd of her embroidered robe,
Deplores the wasted region of the globe,
And stands a witness at truth's awful bar,
To prove you there, destroyers as ye are."—*COWPER*.

When the intelligence of the hard lot of Phocis reached Athens, the people were confounded and dismayed. They saw they had wronged Demosthenes, and that they had abandoned themselves to the idle promises of a traitor, who had sold his country. In a transport of terror and indignation, it was decreed that their ramparts should be repaired, the Piræus fortified, and, as was the case when war was imminent, that the sacrifice to Hercules should be performed in the city. They also resolved, as a proof of their sympathy with the sufferers, that hospitality and succour should be afforded to the Phocian exiles.

Philip heard of these manifestations of Athenian wrath, and derided them. Phocis being stripped of every means of defence, he could assume the language of dictation. In a letter sent to the Athenians, he boasted of having reduced the Phocians to slavery, charged themselves with

iniquitable and inconsistent conduct, in concluding a treaty with him, and then taking up arms for a people not comprehended in that treaty, and finally dared them to the combat.

The Athenians replied to this letter by a deputation to Philip; but concerning their instructions or movements nothing further is known, than that it furnished additional occasion to criminate Eschines. Demosthenes says, that this orator was so eager to receive the reward of his treachery, that he hastened to join the Macedonian monarch, on learning the fall of Phocis; and he adds, that he sat at the festal board of Philip, and joined in the songs which celebrated the downfall of the friends of Athens.

A second incident occurred which excited the wrath of the Athenians against Philip. He had now taken his seat at the Amphictyonic council; but as he had been elected only by those who were under his control, he sought the acknowledgment of his election by the remaining members of the Grecian confederacy. An embassy, accompanied by Thessalian deputies, was accordingly sent to Athens for this purpose, as well as for their assent to the recent proceedings. An assembly of the people was convened to hear the letters of the envoys, and a debate ensued, in which the claim of Philip was generally opposed by the excited multitude. Eschines alone raised his voice in favour of the monarch of Macedonia, and he was silenced by a shout of loud disapprobation, and compelled to retire from the tribune. As he descended, he observed, that of the numbers, now so clamorous, there were few among them who would be disposed to manifest their courage in the field. A dark hint, and one that shows that he was acquainted with the monarch's secrets.

Demosthenes observed these ebullitions of popular wrath with concern. He saw that in present circumstances, Athens would show her wisdom by maintaining peace with Philip, and he laboured with all the might of his eloquence to convince them of their error. The reasons which he adduced were cogent and convincing; but he exerted himself in vain. Heat and impatience are very ill directors in the affairs of life; and the Athenians were not in a temper of mind to be guided by any other dictates. They decreed that the claim of Philip as an Amphictyon should not be acknowledged, that he should admit Chersonneus of Thrace to the benefit of the treaty, and that the treaty should be modified in all those articles which were considered objectionable.

Notwithstanding appearances, peace was for the present maintained with Athens. Through the indulgence of the Athenians, and the exertions of the peace party, their decree soon became a dead letter. Philip, also, was too skilful a politician to engage imprudently in a war, for the purpose of punishing a verbal insult, which affected neither his popularity nor his power. He stifled his spleen and resentment, and after having made arrangements with his Amphictyonic colleagues, and having been flattered by a decree that his statue should be placed in the temple of Delphi, he returned into Macedonia. He carried with him, says the historian, the gratitude of his allies, the character of a pious

prince, the scourge of the sacrilegious, and the avenger of Apollo.

It was, probably, at this period that Isocrates published his celebrated oration called the Panegyric, which he addressed to Philip. The purport of this oration was, to recommend the cessation of hostilities at home, and the direction of their combined forces against the Persian monarch. On a former occasion, he had proposed to place Athens and Lacedæmon at the head of the confederacy; in this oration, he recommended that Philip of Macedonia should take the lead, which marks the change wrought in the political state of Greece at this period.

The prize held out to the ambition of Philip was a glittering one; but he supposed that it was not yet attainable. He kept it in view; but he saw that it would be more easy to secure it when he had extended and consolidated his own dominions, and reduced the Grecian states to absolute servility. The oration itself, unanimously, was calculated to confirm him in this line of policy. It represented the Grecian states as almost incapable of self-defence, and as, therefore, existing by sufferance alone. The wily Philip rejoiced in this confession of weakness, and accordingly postponed his attack on Persia till he could appear as the sovereign ruler of Greece.

Under the rule of the peace party, the Athenians now sank into silence and inactivity. But it was not so with Philip. He was active in providing for the safety, improvement, and aggrandizement of his dominions. In order to secure his possessions in Thrace, he founded a city on the Hebrus, now the Maritza, and another adjacent to the eastern extremity of Mount Hæmus, which he peopled partly with Macedonians, and partly with those Phocians who had been delivered into his hands, as a punishment, for having resisted to the last. Philip, also, settled a colony in the island of Thasos, now Thaso, opposite the mouth of the river Nestus.

These occupations engaged Philip's attention during the whole of the year a.c. 344. The next year, he again took the field, and invaded Illyria. What provocation the Illyrians had given him is not known: probably his own policy alone was his motive for action, or, as they were a predatory race, and hated the Macedonians, they might have been guilty of acts of aggression. Whatever it was, they smarted under his power. Philip ravaged the country, captured several towns, and returned to Macedonia laden with spoils.

While Philip was invading Illyria, dissensions took place in Thessaly, at the instigation of Simo and Endicæus, two citizens of Larissa, which afforded a pretext for his intervention. Accordingly, when he had spoiled Illyria, Philip led his forces into Thessaly, where he now modelled the government in such a manner as to render it entirely subservient to his purposes. He removed the hostile inhabitants of Phœnæ to various places, and garrisoned their citadel; and he also stationed garrisons in other towns. Knowing, however, that power gained by the sword is insecure, he strove to win the Thessalians by personal favours, by flattering their national vanity, and by conforming to their customs and manners. These arts induced the majority of

the Thracians to give a ready sanction to his measures, and the influence he gained thereby rendered him still more dangerous to Greece.

The reputation of Philip was great, at this period, in many parts of Greece. The Arcadians, Argives, Messenians, Megalopolitans, regarded him with partiality; and though many of the citizens of Elea were hostile to him, there were others that took up arms in his behalf against their fellow-countrymen, over whom they prevailed. His agents were, also, actively at work in some of the states of Central Greece, and their efforts were successful in Megara and Eubœa. For the purpose of furthering his views upon this latter state, he purchased the town of Antron, which stood opposite the northern coast of Eubœa, and commanded the entrance of the Euripus.

The plan which Philip adopted to gain dominion over all the states of Greece, was, by working upon their mutual jealousies, rivalries, and antipathies, and by exciting the hopes of some, and the fears of other states. This work was carried on by the leading men of the Grecian cities, whom he seduced by bribes and fair promises. "Throughout all Greece," said Demosthenes, in one of his orations, "a contagious and fatal evil is spread, which can only be averted by the favour of the gods and the prudence of the people. The most eminent men in the republic have plunged themselves into a servitude decorated with the refined appellations of the goodwill and friendship of Philip, and of familiarity with that monarch. The other citizens and the magistrates, instead of punishing these perfidious statesmen, admire and envy their fortune." The situation of the Peloponnesus at this time exemplified the effects of this system of the Macedonian monarch. The Athenians had in past days entered into a treaty with the Lacedæmonians to forward their designs in the peninsula, hoping thereby to establish a counterpoise to Macedonian and Theban influence. They now displayed a willingness to fulfil that treaty, but the power of Lacedæmon was held at bay by the Argives, Arcadians, and Messenians, on one side, and by the Thebans on the other. and Philip himself declared for these several republics. He commanded the Lacedæmonians to relinquish their pretensions upon Messenia, and sent troops to the Peloponnesus to enforce his command. The Athenians despatched an embassy, at the head of which was Demosthenes, to dissuade the Messenians and Argives from putting trust in Philip; but notwithstanding the embassy, and the eloquence of Demosthenes, these people remained unshaken in their adherence to Philip. Warning and counsel were alike unheeded by them, and they fell into his snare.

The Athenians were becoming every day more certain of the designs of Philip, and hence more dissatisfied with the treaty they had concluded with him. Philip saw this; and not deeming it politic to come to an open rupture with them for some time to come, he sent an embassy to Athens, at the head of which was Pythou, the Byzantine, to vindicate his measures, and to ratify his friendship with the Athenians. Pythou declared that Philip was solicitous to preserve the alliance of the Athenian state, and that he

was willing to amend any objectionable article of the treaty. This latter declaration was tested by the Athenians. Two points in the treaty were, that each party should enjoy their own dominions, and that all the Greeks who were not included in the treaty should be independent, and should receive succour from the contracting parties, should they ever be invaded. The first of these stipulations was intended by the Athenians to lead to the recovery of Amphipolis. This had failed, and they now passed a decree, on the motion of Hegesippus, that the city in question still belonged to Athens, and sent an embassy to Philip to demand the surrender of the place. Philip was too fond of dominion to give up any part of his possessions on demand. He refused to admit of this new construction of the revised article, maintained that his possession was confirmed by the terms of the article, and denied that his envoys were authorized to make any such concession as that now required at his hands. Nor did Philip retort only by argument. He banished the Athenian poet Xenocides from Macedonia, because he had given a hospitable reception to the envoys; and it is probable that it was at this period that he put to death a citizen of Carystus in Eubœa, who was his prisoner, and the liberation of whom had been thrice solicited by the Athenians, on the ground of his being their public guest. Philip carried his resentment still farther: he refused to give up the remains of the Carystian for interment, which was considered a deep insult by the ancients.

This conduct of Philip rendered the populace of Athens still more inclined to war. The anti-peace party now, indeed, resolved to make a vigorous attack upon his opponents. They instituted proceedings against Philocrates and Eschines, who had been the most forward in bringing about the treaty with Macedonia. The prosecution of Philocrates was undertaken by Hyperides, an orator of distinguished talents; and he so forcibly convicted him of intrigue, that the accused deemed it prudent to withdraw from Athens. The task of convicting Eschines was undertaken by Demosthenes, who made his conduct in the embassy to Philip the subject of impeachment. Demosthenes accused him of having been corrupted by the gold of Philip; of betraying the interests and honour of his country, of causing the destruction of the Phocians; of giving Philip time to carry his plans into full effect by the slowness with which he performed his previous mission; of having nocturnal interviews with the monarch; of joining in banquets and songs of triumph to celebrate the ruin of the allies of Athens; of making false statements with reference to the promises and intentions of Philip; and with numerous other circumstances, which he contended were demonstrative of guilt. The danger of Eschines was great, but the power of his eloquence triumphed over that of his accuser. He was acquitted; but the majority in his favour was small, and he was indebted partly for this to Eubœus, one of his intimate friends, who exerted himself to the utmost on his behalf.

The acquittal of Eschines was a triumph for the peace, or Macedonian party at Athens; but the authority of that party hourly became weaker,

through the restlessness and the encroaching spirit of Philip. While these proceedings were going forward at Athens, he had wrested Naxos from the Achæans, and assigned it to the Ætolians; had captured three cities in the small province of Cassiopia, and added them to the dominions of Alexander, his brother-in-law; and he was now preparing to attack Ambracia and Lencæa, two Corinthian colonies, allies of Athens. All this irritated the Athenians; but the chief incentives to their anger at this time were, his retention of the island of Halonnesus, one of the group of isles at the entrance of the Malæic gulf, and his support of the Cardians, who were grand enemies of their Chersonesian colonies. Thus insulted and injured, they began to take measures for impeding the career of the Macedonian monarch: with the nature of these measures, however, we are unacquainted.

This warlike attitude of Athens seems to have made Philip pause in his career of conquest, southward. True to his principles, he notwithstanding resolved to carry his arms eastward, where he might enlarge his dominion, and sustain a numerous army, without exciting the suspicion of the Grecian states. Before he proceeded, he attempted to reconcile himself with the Athenians, that his kingdom might be secure during his absence. For this purpose, he despatched ambassadors to Athens with a letter, containing his wishes for an amicable arrangement. The contents of this letter—in which he offered Halonnesus to the Athenians; to submit the dispute between the Cardians and Athenians to the decision of an umpire; and proposed a treaty for regulating the commercial intercourse between the two nations—was calculated to betray the Athenians into their wonted habits of hateness and fancied security. So, also, was the speech of Python, who was again at the head of Philip's embassy. He expatiated long and eloquently upon the moderation and just intentions of his royal master, and upon the slanderous and malevolent conduct of those orators who were ever blackening his character. There were those in Athens who thought that Philip's letter was reasonable, and his conduct upright; but the orators Hegesippus and Demosthenes so completely unmasked his intentions, and exposed the flimsy contents of the letter, that the newly awakened vigilance of the Athenians remained unaffected. Hegesippus, who took the lead on this occasion, concluded his oration, which takes its title from the Halonnesus, in these imperative words: "There are men among you, who think that the letter, now before us, from the king of Macedonia, is very reasonable. Such are more deserving of your hatred than Philip. By opposing you, he acquires glory and advantages, and they who manifest their zeal for him and not for their country, ought to be devoted by you to utter destruction. It only remains for me to draw up such a reply to this 'reasonable' letter, and to the speeches of the ambassadors, as may be just and conducive to the welfare of the state." The reply which Hegesippus drew up has not reached our age; but it was doubtless unpalatable to the monarch of Macedonia.

During the discussion of the Athenians on the contents of Philip's letter, that monarch engaged

in an expedition to Thrace, instigated thereto by the conduct of Chersonleptes, who had committed several acts of hostility against the Grecian colonies in the neighbourhood of the Euxine. This war lasted nearly twelve months, and the result of it was, the humiliation of Chersonleptes, who lost a portion of his dominions, was compelled to pay an annual tribute, and was surrounded by fortified towns, which overawed his frontiers. Thrace was, in effect, a province of Macedonia.

While thus engaged, circumstances occurred in the south of Thrace, which widened the breach between Philip and the Athenians. A new colony was sent by the Athenians to the Chersonesus, under the command of Diopithes, who belonged to the anti-peace party. Provoked by the protection which Philip had recently given to the Cardians, and perhaps invited by the Thracians, Diopithes invaded the maritime territory of Philip, stormed the towns of Crobyle and Tiristasia, and carried off a considerable booty, and many prisoners, to the Chersonesus. Under the influence of the same feeling, Diopithes refused ransom for the prisoners, threw the envoy, who was sent with that intent, into prison, and refused his release till he had purchased his liberty by the payment of nine talents, about 1800 pounds sterling. This conduct of Diopithes would seem to admit of no extenuation, and yet it was the cause of severe debate at Athens. Philip not being able, at the moment, to avenge himself by the sword, contented himself with making complaint, by letters, on the subject. The peace party held Diopithes up to the indignation of the people, as guilty of plunging them into a war with Philip, and insisted that he should be recalled, and the mercenaries under him disbanded, as men unworthy to bear arms.

Demosthenes, seeing that the censure of Diopithes would be at once a triumph for the partisans of Philip, and prejudicial to the state, undertook his defence, which is the subject of his oration on the Chersonesus.

In this oration, the orator first dwelt on the evils of disbanding the army, and leaving the field open to the machinations and aggressions of Philip. He then vindicated the character of Diopithes, sarcastically reproving his hearers for leaving him without pecuniary means, which compelled him, as it had done others before him, to exact contributions wherever they could be obtained. He next attacked the actions and designs of Philip, in language unequalled by any former oration for its asperity. He contended that his conduct, ever since he had signed the treaty, had been a series of aggressions; that his feelings toward the Athenians were of unmitigated hatred; and that his fixed purpose was to complete their ruin. There was no safety to be found, he said, from the clutch of such a man as Philip, but in exertions equally vigorous and persevering as his own. "If," exclaimed the orator, "if the states of Greece should require an account of every favourable occasion which your indolence has lost—if they should say, 'Athenians, you are ever sending envoys to us to assure us that Philip is plotting the subversion of our liberties, and that we ought to guard against his designs; but, most pitiful of men! when that prince was

ten months absent from his kingdom, when sickness overtook him, did you deliver Eubœa? did you recover from him any of your dominions? While you enjoy ease and health, he establishes two tyrants in Eubœa, the one facing Scythus, the other Attica, to hold you constantly at bay. You have not endeavoured to thwart him in this, nor have you resented the outrage; but by your submission you have shown that, were Philip to die ten times, you would still remain inactive! Why, then, these embassies? these accusations of Philip? these attempts to involve us in disputes? If this should be said by the Greeks, what answer could we give? None!"

The measures which Demosthenes recommended for adoption, in this oration, were, that an effective army should be maintained, supplies raised, abuses reformed, and corrupt ministers punished with unsparring severity.

Demosthenes triumphed. Diopithes was continued at the head of his forces in the Chersonesus, supplies were voted to him, and it was decreed that vigorous measures should be taken in other quarters.

Offence had been given to the Athenians by the towns on the Pegasæan gulf, allies of Philip. Aristodemus and Callias were now sent to chastise them, and the towns were taken and plundered. Callias also stopped all vessels bound to Macedonia, and consigned the crews to slavery.

Philip complained of these hostilities in vain. his complaints were scornfully passed over, while the public thanks were voted to the commanders for their services. Encouraged by these proceedings, the inhabitants of the island of Peparthus made a descent on Halonnesus, and captured the Macedonian garrison. In return, Philip attacked and vanquished the Peparthians, and ruined their country.

These events tend to show that the spirit of war now ruled dominant among the Athenians. The peace party had ceased to govern; but it still retained, in a great degree, the management of public affairs. For the purpose of crushing their power altogether, the inflexible Demosthenes once more came forward. It was at this time that he uttered his third Philippic, under the bitterness and eloquence of which, the government of the peace party sank to rise no more. The orator himself became, in effect, the prime minister of the people of Athens.

Raised to this exalted station, Demosthenes, undimmed by the many adverse circumstances by which he was surrounded, concentrated all the powers of his capacious mind to work out the salvation of his country. By his wise measures, he made up for the deficiency of resources; equalized taxation, which the rich had thrown upon the shoulders of the poor; and remedied many other abuses which had crept into the state. Neither bribes, threats, nor impeachments, could turn him aside from the path of reform; he withstood, he triumphed over all.

The system of foreign policy which Demosthenes proposed to follow, was calculated to preserve the honour and safety of his country. He meditated the encircling of Athens by a barrier of friendly republics, rendering Eubœa her outwork towards the sea, Boeotia on the north, and Megara, and other neighbouring states, on the

side of the Peloponnesus. He also meditated alliances with Byzantium, Perinthus, Abydos, Rhodes, Chios, and Persia; to cut off the resources of hostile powers as far as practicable; and to procure for Athens all those with which she stood in need.

The most important of these projects was that of converting Eubœa into a bulwark of Athens. Philip himself had denominated that island, "The fetters of Greece," and the possession of it by enemies, would have deprived Athens of a portion of its subsistence, and have enabled them to threaten her territory with invasion. Philip already possessed Eretria, which was advantageously situated to threaten the northern coast of Attica and Oreeum, which stood at the northern end of the island. Hipparchus, Antomedon, and Clitarchus, were placed as governors over Eretria; and Philistides, a man of obnoxious character, over Oreeum. The tyranny of these rulers, supported by the power of Philip, had long made them obnoxious to the citizens, and they had made some bold attempts to rid themselves of the yoke. But they were unsuccessful. Aided by the power of Philip, all opposition was put down, and their burdens made heavier. At length, the tyranny of the Macedonian faction in these cities became insupportable, and embracing the change of opinion which had been wrought in Athens, some of the citizens, at the head of whom was Callias, sent deputies to Athens to propose a new alliance. Demosthenes strenuously supported the proposition, and it was adopted. The Athenians recognized the complete independence of the Eubœan cities, and sent troops, under the command of Phocion, to secure that independence. The expedition was successful. No resistance was made; Clitarchus of Eretria, Philistides of Oreeum, and other obnoxious leaders, fled, and left the people in possession of their rights.

This was a proud triumph for Demosthenes. The success was hailed with delight by the Athenians, and on the motion of Aristonicus, the thanks of the people was decreed to him, in a general assembly, together with a crown of gold, which was to be presented to him in the theatre at the festival of Bacchus.

The suppression of Macedonian influence in Eubœa, must have been bitter news to Philip; but he neither sought to prevent it, nor manifested any resentment at the change. This was design. His silence served as a cloak to cover his ulterior measures from the gaze of mankind. His wish was to work in the dark, that the glory he had in view might be obtained by a sudden triumph. He knew that an invasion of southern Greece was too hazardous to be ventured at present, and his prudence taught him to take the circuitous path of safety.

Acting upon these principles, Philip changed his sphere of exertions: still seeking the extension of his own power, and the reduction of that of Athens. The Athenians chiefly relied for their supplies of corn and other necessities, on the countries bordering on the Euxine; and an extensive commerce was therefore carried on by them with Perinthus and Selymbria, on the Propontia, and with Byzantium on the Euxine. Philip saw, that if he possessed himself of these

cities, he should have the means of distressing Athens, and of carrying into effect his projected invasion of the Persian empire. Accordingly, an army of 30,000 men was marched towards Perinthus, the first object of his attack.

While on his way to Perinthus, the monarch turned aside to take vengeance upon Diopithes, commander in the Chersonesus, who had rendered himself obnoxious to him, and who was now, B.C. 340, making an inroad into the territory of Cardia. Philip came suddenly upon his adversary, and, in a skirmish which ensued, Diopithes was slain.

Having thus satiated his revenge, Philip hastened to Perinthus. This city, the only remains of which is a miserable village called Old Ereklî, from Heracles, one of its former names, stood on a peninsula, which presented a rapid slope on the side of the land, the houses rising like an amphitheatre, one above the other. It was rich by its extensive commerce, and strong, not only by its position, but by its ramparts, and the bravery of its citizens. On the approach of Philip, the Perinthians prepared for an energetic defence. Philip was as resolute in his determination to take the city. In order to drive the defenders from their ramparts, he raised towers higher than the walls, from which an incessant shower of missiles was discharged. When the ramparts were thus rendered approachable, the battering-rams and mine were employed unceasingly in the work of their destruction. The Perinthians sustained this attack with great bravery, and inflicted severe loss upon the besiegers, as well as retarded their progress. At length, a breach was made in the wall; but the city was not yet taken. To the astonishment of the besiegers, a new rampart, reared by the Perinthians since the commencement of the siege, opposed their progress. Irritated, but not dismayed, Philip strained every nerve to surmount the difficulty thus cast in his way. He increased the number of his battering engines, and strove to wear the garrison out by one continued series of assaults. The Perinthians endeavoured to retard his progress; but their attempts were attended with much loss of life, which diminished their powers of resistance. Despair began to cast its dark shadows over them; but relief was at hand. The king of Persia, alarmed by the ambition of Philip, ordered the satraps of the provinces bordering upon the Propontis to afford them relief. His orders were promptly obeyed. Stores and provisions, with a reinforcement of troops, and money to pay them, were despatched to Perinthus by the satraps, whither they safely arrived. Byzantium, also, justly alarmed for her own safety, sent a body of soldiers, under a skilful commander, to the aid of the Perinthians.

Still Philip pushed forward his designs upon Perinthus. His steps were not easily turned aside from the pursuit of military glory. Assault after assault was made, and the zeal of his soldiers quickened by those powerful incentives to exertion, largesses and plunder. By these means, the second rampart was at length taken. But this was of no advantage to the besiegers. Necessity, which is the mother of invention, had taught the Perinthians so to barricade and entrench

the narrow streets, and to connect the houses, as to form a stronger bulwark than either of these yet taken. From these, had the besiegers ventured to attack them, the Perinthians could have dealt out destruction to them with impunity.

Philip was baffled. Other measures must be adopted before Perinthus could be taken, and Philip was not slow in the choice of new measures. He drew off a part of his forces from Perinthus, and invested Selymbria, now Selivria, by which means he closed up the only avenue whereby supplies could be thrown into the beleaguered fortress.

This brought Philip and the Athenians into collision. Viewing with alarm the dangerous project of Philip, with regard to the Hellespontine cities, the Athenians directed Leodimas, their admiral on the Propontic station, to escort twenty merchant vessels, laden with corn, for the relief of the Selymbrians. This commission, however, was to be executed by stealth, in order to avoid the appearance of hostility. But the plan proved unsuccessful. These vessels were seized by the Macedonian admiral, and, though Leodimas pleaded that their cargoes had been purchased in the Hellespont, for the inhabitants of Lemnos, they were retained as prizes. The Athenians heard of this transaction with indignation; and they sent three ambassadors, Cephisophon, Democritus, and Polycratas, to demand the restoration of the ships.

To this demand Philip returned a cold and sarcastic reply, and yet, withal, politic. "It appears to me," said he, "that you must be egregiously simple if you could imagine that I should not discover that these ships, under the pretence of conveying provisions from the Hellespont to Lemnos, were, in reality, despatched for the purpose of succouring the Selymbrians, who are besieged by me, and who are not included in the treaty of peace subsisting between us, as your allies. The instructions your officer received were not authorized by the Athenians at large; they were given by certain magistrates and others, who are now in a private station, and who are ever striving to urge the people to commence hostilities with me. I will, however, release the ships, and for the future, if you will not allow your leaders to act upon this pernicious system of politics, but will reprimand and restrain them, I also will strive to preserve peace."

The allusions which this letter contained to Demosthenes and his party, served to increase the conviction in the mind of that great orator, that Philip projected the subversion of Grecian liberty. Under this impression, and urged by the critical state of public affairs, he uttered the harangue known as the fourth Philippic.

In this oration, Demosthenes repeated many of his former opinions and arguments. He severely reprobated the carelessness, vacillation, and imprudence of the Athenians, and called upon them to make a thorough reform in the state. He then strove, with consummate art, to excite against Philip all the passions of his hearers; appealing to their pride and apprehensions, and representing him as their implacable foe. Every blow he aimed, said the orator, was in reality against the Athenian state. "No one," he exclaimed, "can imagine that the desire of

Philip are limited to the possession of some contemptible villages in Thrace; that for such conquests he exposes himself to the inclemency of the seasons, the severest labours, and the greatest perils. Nor can any one imagine that he does not covet the ports, arsenals, revenues, situation, and the magnificence of Athens; that he will disdain all these advantages, and leave you to enjoy them in quiet, while he is contented to live in frost and snow in a Thracian cellar, and to feed upon the rye and millet of Thrace. It is Athens which Philip has ever in view, let him turn his arms to whatever quarter he may." "It was not to be wondered at," continued the orator, "that Philip should cherish a deadly hatred against their city. The ground on which it stood, its very gods, and, above all, its free and popular constitution, which afforded a refuge to those who were desirous of shaking off his fetters, were the causes of his hatred."

Demosthenes at length gained his point. Excited by his eloquence, the Athenians decreed that an attempt should be made to save the cities of the Propontis from the grasp of Philip. The passing of this decree was probably hastened by the circumstance that the Byzantines, who saw themselves threatened by Philip, at this time sent an envoy to Athens to implore assistance. A fleet was now sent, in compliance with this decree, to the succour of the Hellespontine cities, under the command of Chares.

The sagacious Philip saw the danger to which he was exposed, and he determined to try whether the Athenians might not be diverted from their present purpose, by complaint, remonstrance, and menace. In such strains, he penned a letter to them, which has been pronounced one of the most masterly state papers produced in any age or country. It aggravated all the grievances which he was justified in resenting; placed the conduct of his opponents in the most unfavourable light; and sunk every circumstance which might tend to injure his own cause. The arguments contained in the letter were subtle, and the strain calm, firm, and dignified, with an occasional touch of sly sarcastic humour. The reasonings adduced by Philip were so cogent, and the facts so startling, that it rendered any attempt to answer it a task of no small difficulty. It fell to the lot of Demosthenes to make the reply, and passing the charges of Philip over in silence, he declaimed with such irresistible eloquence, that the Athenians resolved to persist in their efforts to rescue the Hellespontine cities from the monarch of Macedonia.

In the mean time, a.c. 339, Philip had changed his sphere of action. Not being able to make any further progress in the capture of Perinthus, he had converted the siege into a blockade, and had marched with the greater portion of his army to attack Byzantium. The approach of Chares with the Athenian fleet, also, might contribute to make Philip adopt this measure. The character of this leader was not calculated to inspire confidence, either in those whom he led, or those he was sent to aid. This was soon experienced. Many towns, from a feeling of suspicion, refused to let him enter their ports; and, thus rejected, he justified their suspicions, by his exactions and tyranny over those who had no power to resist

him. Chares at length appeared before Byzantium, and being refused entrance there, he resolved to attack the Macedonian fleet, then lying off Chalcedon, on the Asiatic coast, hoping to gain a victory, and thereby restore his waning reputation. Chares was unsuccessful. A severe sea fight took place, and he was defeated, with the loss of several vessels.

It was under these conflicting circumstances that Philip approached Byzantium. This city was situated on the site now occupied by the southern portion of Constantinople. It was strong, both by nature and art. On three sides, it was covered by the sea, while on the side of the land it was defended by lofty walls, having towers at a short distance from each other, and a wide and deep moat. Philip made approaches unassailed by the Byzantines. This inspired him with confidence. Impatient to take the city, he resolved to make an effort to carry it by sudden escalade. The season of night, amid the din of a tempest, was chosen for this purpose, and the enterprise was committed to a band of his bravest soldiers. Several of these succeeded in gaining the summit of the rampart unobserved by the garrison, and success seemed certain; but at this moment, the Byzantines were aroused to a sense of their danger by the baying of the mastiffs kept in the towers, and hastily seizing their weapons, they rushed to meet their foes. They contended like men who had every thing dear in life to lose; and though the Macedonians long persevered, they were finally compelled to make a retreat. Philip now resorted to the battering-ram and mine, neither of which availed him in the capture of this city.

Philip was thwarted in his designs by the Athenians. When news was first brought to them that the Byzantines, with the other cities, had refused admittance to Chares, they were indignant at the supposed insult offered to them, and would probably have sunk again into their former inertness, had not Phocion prevented them. It was not, he said, the Byzantines, who were to blame, but themselves, in making choice of such a general as Chares—a general in whom they could place no confidence, which was the reason why the Athenians were looked upon with a jealous eye, by a people who could not be saved without them. This reasoning prevailed; the people decreed that a fresh armament should be sent to the Propontis, and that the conduct of it should be given to Phocion himself.

According to this decree, a formidable squadron was raised, consisting of 120 sail, and the Athenian general hastened with this force to Byzantium. The Byzantines received Phocion with open arms; and his zeal, activity, and talent, combined with the aid he brought, inspired them with new spirit. They defeated the troops of Philip in several encounters; and the monarch, at length, despairing of accomplishing his purpose, raised the siege, and proceeded to the pursuit of other conquests.*

Having thus frustrated the designs of the

* Diodorus affirms, that Philip signed a treaty of peace with the Hellespontine cities and the Athenians. But this is doubtful, as no mention is made of it in later years. The next act of Phocion, indeed, as recorded in the succeeding paragraph, refutes the assertion.

Macedonian monarch, Phocius sailed from Byzantium amidst the loud plaudits of the people. In his passage homeward, he took some vessels belonging to the enemy, frustrated a design formed by the Macedonians against Sestus, repelled the incursions of the Cardians into the Chersonesus, recovered some towns on the coast of Thrace, and levied contributions. In one of his enterprises, he received a wound, which obliged him to lead his troops back to Athens sooner than he had intended.

In gratitude for the assistance rendered them by the Athenians, the citizens of Byzantium and Perinthus passed the following decree: "In consideration that the Athenians have always been friendly to the Byzantines, and to the Perinthians, their kinsmen and allies; and that they succoured us when Philip of Macedonia invaded and ravaged our territories with fire and sword, despoiling our utter ruin; we, the people of Byzantium and Perinthus, have resolved to give to the Athenians the privilege of citizenship in our states, the right of intermarriage, and of purchasing lands and houses, precedence in all public meetings, festivals, and religious ceremonies, and an exemption from all municipal charges to those residing in our cities. There shall, moreover, be erected in the port of Byzantium, three statues, each sixteen cubits high, representing the Byzantines and Perinthians crowning the Athenian people: and embassies shall be sent to the general assemblies of Greece, the Olympic, Isthmian, Nemean, and Pythian, where solemn proclamation shall be made of the crown decreed by us to the people of Athens; that all the Greeks may know of the magnanimity of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians."

The inhabitants of the Chersonesus, though they had not felt the scourge of war in an equal degree, passed a similar decree: "The inhabitants of Sestus, Eleus, Ahydos, and Alepo Connessus," runs their decree, "give to the people and senate of Athens a crown of gold of sixty talents, and erect two altars to their honour, on account of their having, by the most glorious of all benefactions, rescued the Chersonesites from Philip, and restored them to the possession of their country, their laws, their liberties, and their temples: an act of beneficence they will fix eternally in their memories, and which they will ever be ready to repay to the utmost of their power."

After Philip had been baffled in his attempts upon the Hellespontine cities, he directed his attention to Western Scythia, a peninsula situated on the lower part of the Ister, near the Euxine. This country was inhabited by a rude tribe, of which Athas was the sovereign. While Philip was engaged in the siege of Perinthus, the dominions of Athas were invaded by the king of the Istrians, and he sought the aid of the Macedonian monarch, with the tempting offer of the succession to the crown. Philip sent a body of troops to succour the Scythians; but the death of the Istrian monarch occasioned the retreat of his army, and Athas, thus freed from danger, dismissed the Macedonian forces without payment, and disavowed the proceedings of his ambassadors. Philip despatched an embassy to Athens, to

claim the payment of the Macedonian auxiliaries, and the expenses incurred by their march. The envoys found the Scythian monarch in a stable, employed in carrying his horse, which he was wont to do in times of peace. Having learned their errand, he answered, that the inclement sky and sterile soil of Scythia scarcely afforded the Scythians needful food; and that, therefore, having no treasures worth Philip's acceptance, he thought it better not to offer him any thing. He added, in defiance, that the Scythians were more remarkable for hardy bodies and valiant minds than for riches.

Thus insulted, Philip waited only for the hour of revenge, and he marched from Byzantium to Scythia to gratify that feeling. He might conceive, also, that his absence in a remote country would tend to lull the fears and suspicions of the Greeks, and that a triumph in Scythia would efface the remembrance of his failure on the Propontis.

While Philip was either on his way to Scythia, or after he had reached the banks of the Ister, he was joined by his son Alexander. This young prince, who was now only sixteen years of age, had been left as regent of the kingdom during his father's absence, and proved himself a son worthy of the sire. One of the Thracian tribes, the Medarvans, having revolted, he defeated them, captured their city, expelled the inhabitants, planted a colony therein, and commemorated his achievement by giving to the city a name adapted from his own, Alexandropolis.

During his march, Philip resorted to a stratagem, in order to lull the fears of the Scythian monarch, and therefore to put him off his guard. He despatched a herald to him, who was instructed to make amicable professions, to announce Philip's approach, and to state that the purpose of his coming was to erect, at the mouth of the Ister, a brazen statue of Hercules, which he had vowed to raise in honour of the divine hero, while engaged in the siege of Byzantium. The stratagem was of too flimsy a nature not to be penetrated by Athas; yet, without seeming to perceive it, he replied, that the statue might be sent to him. If that were done, he said, he would place it on the chosen spot, and ensure its remaining there inviolate; but if it were set up against his will, the Scythians would most probably pull it down, and convert it into the points of darts and spears. Thus foiled, Philip threw off the mask, and entered Scythia as an enemy to Athas.

It is not known how long Philip was engaged in this expedition. He appears, however, to have met with many difficulties. The bravery of the rude Scythians for some time counterbalanced the skill of their invaders; but military science finally prevailed. After a severe struggle, with much loss on both sides, Philip triumphed in a battle, in which each party brought into the field the whole of its disposable force, and having plundered the country of 30,000 of the youth of both sexes, destined to be sold for slaves, with immense herds of cattle, and 20,000 horses, he returned towards Macedonia. He had attained his two main objects in the expedition—revenge, and the recovery of military reputation.

The road which Philip took was through the country of the Triballi, which extended between the mountains and the river Ister, and led to the central pass of Haemus.* The Triballi were a people almost as rude as the Scythians, and Philip was in great danger from them. At first they let him pass quietly onward; but as soon as his army, encumbered by the captives and cattle, were entangled amidst the defiles, they demanded a portion of the booty, as the price of being allowed to pass through their territories. Philip refused, and a combat ensued, in which he was dangerously wounded. A shaft pierced his thigh with such force as to kill the horse on which he rode, and had not Alexander covered him with his shield as he lay on the ground with the slain beast, till he could be removed by his soldiers, it is probable he would have perished. The Macedonians conquered, and succeeded in passing through the defiles; but the booty which had cost Philip such a struggle to obtain, fell into the possession of the Triballi.

The Athenians considered the siege of Byzantium as an open declaration of war; and not being deceived by Philip's progress into Western Scythia, they still prepared for the strife. By the successful result of the expedition to Eubœa, Athens was rendered secure on her eastern maritime boundary, and it was further strengthened by the alliance of the republic of Megara. These were events of importance; but they would have been trivial, in comparison, had a plan formed by Demosthenes been carried into effect. Determined to check the progress of Philip, he journeyed into Acarnania and Peloponnesus, to negotiate with the states in those quarters. Having set this treaty on foot, he intrusted the completion of it to Callias of Colchia, who, on his return to Athens, informed the assembled people, that he had succeeded in prevailing upon the Peloponnesians and others to join in a confederacy against the Macedonian monarch. He likewise stated, that the sum already voted for carrying on the war was 100 talents, (about 20,000*l.*) sixty of which were to be paid by the Achæans and Megarians, and forty by the Eubœan cities. Other republics, he said, would probably supply their quota; and he added, that he had been engaged in some secret affairs, beneficial to Athens, known only at present to Demosthenes and a few Athenians. Demosthenes confirmed this intelligence, and, after having eulogized the conduct of Callias, he declared that he himself had aroused the whole of the Peloponnesians and Acarnanians against Philip. Demosthenes asserted, also, that the sums they had voted would provide an armament of 100 ships of war, 10,000 infantry, and 1000 cavalry; besides which, the Peloponnesians and Acarnanians would supply each 3000 native heavy armed foot. The command of these, he said, was confided to the Athenians; and he added, that deputies from the various republics would meet on an early day at Athens.

Demosthenes was not in the field alone. The dread of Philip, the influence of his all potent gold, and the jealousy and doubt of each other, combined with a variety of circumstances inci-

dent to all extensive coalitions, destroyed the confederacy while yet in its infancy. The congress never assembled, and consequently, neither the promised funds nor the promised troops were forthcoming.

Notwithstanding, Philip was exposed to the hostilities of the Athenians. Animated by Demosthenes, they were now averse to terms of amity with him, and all attempts at negotiation were vain. Their superiority at sea was such, that they entirely destroyed the commerce of Macedonia. No vessel could enter or depart, without being intercepted by Athenian cruisers, by which the Macedonians not only sustained loss from the suspension of the traffic in their productions, but suffered from their inability to import the necessaries of life. At the same time, the Athenians were abundantly supplied with provisions, at almost unprecedented low prices.

This was an alarming state of affairs for Macedonia; and so Philip seems to have considered it, for he resorted to a measure of the basest kind, in order to deliver himself from the emergency. It is said, that he determined to subvert, by one blow, the maritime ascendancy of Athens, and that blow was to be struck by the hand of an incendiary. The miscreant who engaged to perform this deed was one Antiphon, who had been expelled from Athens for having exercised the functions of a citizen, without a legal right, which act at all times involved that punishment. Maddened by his disgrace, Antiphon proceeded to the court of Philip, and offered his services to the monarch, to set fire to the naval arsenal of Athens. Philip sanctioned his atrocious project, and Antiphon returned to Athens to watch his opportunity of carrying it into effect. He lived for some time concealed in the Piræus; but with all his care, his return was divulged, and he was obliged to flee from thence. He was, however, sought for and discovered, and brought to trial before the people. In the first instance, he was acquitted, Demosthenes having, in the eagerness of his search for him, outstripped the bounds prescribed by law, of which Eschines, who pleaded for Antiphon, artfully availed himself. Still Demosthenes persisted in the prosecution, and having carried the cause to the court of Areopagus, that court ordered Antiphon to be again arrested. The exile was tried a second time, and being put to the torture, the practice of those dark ages, and of far later times, he made a confession of his crimes, and was condemned to death.

The conviction of Antiphon involved Eschines in disgrace. He had been appointed by the people to act as syndic in the temple of Delos, an appointment at once honourable and lucrative. The ratification of this appointment rested with the court of Areopagus, and that court set aside the nomination, and substituted Hyperides, a distinguished orator of the anti-peace party, with this humiliating remark, that Hyperides was more worthy to speak for the republic than Eschines.

That Eschines was a traitor in the camp, if not already made manifest, will be shown by subsequent events. While Philip was warring in the wilds of Scythia, Eschines was elected, in conjunction with Diognetus, Midias, and

* The country which the Triballi inhabited is now called Bulgaria. Herodotus called it the largest country in the world, except the country bordering on the Danube.

Thrasicles, who were also of the Macedonian faction, as one of the Athenian deputies to the Amphictyonic council. This was a fatal election for the Athenians; for it led to the Amphissian, or third sacred war, and to the triumph of Philip over the Grecian states, a consummation he had so long devoutly wished, and had employed all the energies of his genius to obtain.

As soon as Eschines and his colleagues had joined the rest of the Amphictyons at Delphi, Diagoras, Thrasicles, and Midias, were, either by chance or collusion, prevented from taking a share in the public council, whereby the whole representation of Athens centred in Eschines. This was the hinge on which the whole project of Philip turned. Through his machinations, as soon as the council met, a question was mooted by Eschines, whether the Locrians of Amphissa had not been guilty of sacrilege in ploughing the fields of Cyrrha, in the neighbourhood of the temple at Delphi, and which were distinctly visible where the council held its sittings. The wily orator, with impassioned voice and gestures, pointed out to the council the re-cultivated land; dwelt on the potency and sanctity of the decree which consigned them to perpetual desolation; touched upon every topic which could excite superstitious dread in the minds of his hearers; and declared that, whatever might be the decision of the council, he would support the rights of the god with his entire soul, body, property, and power, and would thus save himself, his family, and his country, from being participants in the sacrilege of the Amphissians.

The demon of war was raised by the eloquence of Eschines. Many of the members were ignorant and unreflecting men, who, instead of looking forward to results, searching for evidence, administering justice in a conciliatory spirit, and giving the Amphissians an opportunity for vindication or apology, rushed headlong into the commission of a gross outrage. At the close of a stormy debate, it was decreed, that all Delphians above the age of sixteen should assemble early the next morning, at an appointed place; that the Amphictyonic council should be on the spot; and that if any were absent, the state to which that member belonged should be excluded from the temple, as accomplices in the sacrilege.

The work of destruction commenced early on the morrow. Under the sanction of this unwise council, the tumultuary levy destroyed the harbour, burned the houses and other buildings, and ravaged the interdicted territory. The Amphissians, however, were not disposed to suffer this loss patiently. Hastily mustering their troops, they attacked and put the Delphians and Amphictyons to flight, and took some of the council prisoners.

Cottyrhus, the president of the council, convened a general assembly, on the morrow, to deliberate on the measures which ought now to be adopted. It was decreed by this council, that a written accusation should be prepared for bringing the Amphissians to justice, and that this bill should be debated on previously to the next Amphictyonic session, which was to be held at Thermopylae, after which the council was prorogued.

As soon as Eschines returned to Athens, he

exerted all his eloquence to procure the concurrence of the Athenians with the resolution passed by the council. Demosthenes opposed the measure, urging that it would bring as Amphictyonic war into the territory of Athens. His opposition was vain: partly from religious feelings, and partly, perhaps, from the misrepresentations of Eschines with reference to the hostile designs of the Amphissians, the people decided in favour of the proposition made by Eschines. Notwithstanding, Demosthenes obtained a decree from the senate, that the deputies should repair to Delphi and Thermopylae at the times appointed by their forefathers; which decree was confirmed by the popular assembly, and virtually rescinded the vote for war against the Amphissians. To render this more effectual, Demosthenes subjoined a clause which directed that the deputies should have no intercourse with the extraordinary council, which was a complete triumph over Eschines.

The extraordinary council at length assembled. To it Athens sent no representative, and their example was followed by Thebes. All the other states sent members, and these decreed that war should be made upon Amphissa, and nominated Cottyrhus general of the Amphictyonic army.

The Amphissians ward off the blow some time, by apparently submitting to the following terms, as dictated by the council: that a fine should be paid to Apollo within a given time; that those who were most deeply implicated in iniquitous guilt should be banished; and that those who had been exiled on account of their opposition to the sacrilegious acts of their fellow-citizens should be recalled. As soon, however, as an opportunity offered, the Amphissians reoccupied the lands, refused to pay the fine, recalled those who had been banished, and banished those who had been recalled.

Although thus braved, the council acted with greater moderation during the next sessions. It simply decreed, that the consecrated land should be marked out by pillars, and that the Amphissians should be warned to desist from its occupation. But this was of no avail. Encouraged by the hope of receiving succour from Athens and Thebes, the Amphissians attacked the deputies who came to establish the boundary, and prevented them from carrying their design into effect.

The council now proceeded to prepare for war. It issued summonses to the various states to furnish their quota of troops to the Amphictyonic army. The demand, however, was not readily obeyed. Some of the states refused, and others neglected to comply. Here was a favourable opportunity for the partisans of Philip to urge the necessity of seeking his aid. The opportunity was improved. The Thessalian deputies pleaded, that, unless impiety and violence were to be committed with impunity, Philip must be constituted Amphictyonic general, or the defaulters must be fined, and a mercenary army hired at an enormous expense. His devotion to the gods, they said, was well known; for already he had distinguished himself as the scourge of the sacrilegious, and there could be no doubt that he would gladly stand forward again as the champion of religion! These fallacious arguments prevailed. The council decreed that the

Maccedonian monarch should be solicited to succour Apollo and themselves from the sacrilegious hands of the Amphimians. At the same time, Philip was appointed general-in-chief of the Amphictyonic forces.

It required no arguments to persuade Philip to accept this invitation; he gladly furnished the desired aid, and took the proffered command. His first act was, to issue a summons to the Amphictyonic states, directing them to furnish their contingents, and to send them to him in Phocis, duly armed, with provisions for forty days. The states, awed by his power, obeyed. Even Thebes, which had declined to take the field, furnished its quota of troops, the command of which was given to Proxenus. Athens, however, still proudly kept aloof. No requisition, indeed, appears to have been sent; and if it had, it would doubtless have been useless, for the war party now ruled dominant in that state. So decided was their opposition to Philip, that 10,000 mercenaries were despatched to succour the Amphimians.

Ancient historians have not related the manner of the proceedings against the Amphimians, their reduction to submission alone is recorded, without reference to the period of its occurrence, or the terms granted to them when subdued.

Aware of the designs of Philip, his presence in Phocis with a formidable army excited the alarm of the Athenians. This alarm was heightened by the sudden death of several persons who at this period had been initiated in the mysteries of Ceres. The partisans of Philip were suspected, and to justify themselves, they moved that the oracle should be consulted. Demosthenes opposed this proposition. Convinced that the gold of Philip would guide the response, he uttered this sententious and emphatic expression: "The Pythia Philippizes;" which being well understood by the people, the motion for consulting Apollo was negatived. But notwithstanding the Athenians forbore to place confidence in the fallacious oracle, they resorted to a measure which exhibits the extent of their terror. A decree was passed by the senate, and sanctioned by the people, which charged Philip with laying waste the cities in the vicinity of Attica, setting the treaty at naught, and preparing to invade Attica, in violation of his pledge; and yet concluded by proposing that a herald should be sent to entreat him to preserve the harmony existing between the two states, or to grant a truce, in order that there might be time for deliberation.

Philip did not deign to reply to this "strange mixture of invective and solicitation;" and a few weeks afterwards, another decree was passed, which stated that Philip was endeavouring to alienate the Thebans; that he was ready to march towards the frontier of Attica; and that deputies should, therefore, be despatched to solicit a truce. Philip now replied, in a cold, calculating, and yet half friendly tone. "I am aware," said he, "how you have been affected towards me, and how earnestly you have endeavoured to gain the Thessalians, Thebans, and the rest of the Boeotians, over to your side. Now, having discovered that these people will not submit to your direction, you change your course, and send heralds and deputies to remind me of treaties, and to desire a

truce; and this without my having inflicted on you any injury. Notwithstanding, I am willing to accede to your wishes, and to grant the cessation requested, if you will expel those orators, who mislead you, from your city, and will brand them with the ignominy they deserve. So may you prosper."

When Philip penned this letter, he was under the impression that he had secured the Theban power on his side. After long wavering upon which side they should declare, whether for Philip or the Athenians, to the monarch's great joy, they at length declared for him, which he acknowledged in a letter, wherein he half reproves them for their past hesitation, and half commends them for their determination. "I apprehended," said he, "that you were disposed to fulfil the hopes, and to enter into the views of the Athenians; but I rejoice to find that you wish to cultivate peace with me. I commend your conduct, because it ensures your own safety, and manifests good-will towards me. I trust that you will derive much advantage from preserving this bond of union. May you prosper!"

The tardy and reluctant profusion of friendship made by the Thebans did not augur well for its continuance. The sharp-sighted policy of Philip saw this, and he provided against the consequences of their retraction. On the demolition of the Phocian cities, after the sacred war, Elatea, the second in importance, was only dismantled. This city (now a ruined village, called Elephna) stood upon an eminence, on the left bank of the Cephissus. Philip seized this city, restored its fortifications, and placed therein a garrison. His communications with Thessaly and Macedonia were now secured. By his position, also, he overawed the whole of southern Greece: in his rear, he commanded the straits of Thermopylæ; on each side, the road to Delphi at the Eurypus; and in his front, the cities of Thebes and Athens. Thus his prey was placed within his reach, and it only required prudence, on his part, to enable him to seize it.

When the courier arrived at Athens with the intelligence that Philip had secured Elatea, the Prytanes were seated at supper, and the citizens were enjoying the repose of the evening. Confusion and terror spread through the city, and prevailed during the night. At dawn, the senators were summoned to the usual place of assembling, where the people were already congregated. On their arrival, the herald proclaimed, in the customary form, that whoever desired to speak should come forward. All were silent. The proclamation was reiterated. Still all were silent. At length, Demosthenes, like a lion roused from his lair, ascended the rostrum. He first disabused the public mind of the opinion entertained, that the seizure of Elatea indicated concert between Philip and Thebes; if such had been the case, he said, Philip would have been on the very frontier of Attica, and not at Elatea. He then noticed the measures which ought to be taken, under the present alarming circumstances. He warned them that, if they persisted in resenting the injuries which they had received from the Thebans, if they even regarded them with suspicion, they would further the schemes

of Philip, and Athens would be exposed to the attack of their combined power. He then disclosed the means by which the danger might be averted. He recommended, that anxiety should only be exhibited for the Thebans, over whom peril more directly impended; that every man capable of bearing arms should instantly be sent to Eleusis, in order to keep up the spirits of their partisans in Thebes; that ten ambassadors should be nominated to negotiate an alliance with Thebes; and that nothing should be required of the Thebans in the present state of affairs. The hum of applause was heard throughout the assembly, and Demosthenes, taking advantage of it, brought forward a decree, which summed up and reprobated the encroachments of Philip, and announced the measures resolved upon to place a curb upon his ambition.

This decree, which received the sanction of the assembly, read thus: "Whereas, in times past, Philip, king of Macedonia, has violated a treaty, concluded between him and the Athenians, regardless of oaths, and of every thing held sacred in Greece; has dishonestly possessed himself of towns, and has reduced some of our allies to slavery; and whereas, of late, he has seized upon Grecian cities; placed garrisons in some, and subverted their constitutions; razed some to the ground, and enslaved the inhabitants; and in others, expelling the citizens, and giving their abodes, temples, and tombs, to barbarians, in conformity to his country and character, using his present fortunes insolently, and forgetful that he has risen to greatness from a mean origin: and whereas, while the Athenians beheld him making himself master of towns belonging to them among barbarians, they passed over acts of injustice which concerned only themselves; but now that they see him seizing some Grecian cities, insulting some, and destroying others, they would deem themselves criminal, and unworthy of liberty, if they were to look on while Greece is enslaved. Therefore, offering up prayers and sacrifices to the gods and heroes, protectors of the city and lands of Athens, it is decreed, that a fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels, should be sent to sea; that the commander-in-chief, and the commander of the cavalry, shall lead their forces to Eleusis; and that ambassadors shall be sent to the states of Greece, but first to Thebes, to exhort them to defend their own liberty, and that of the other Greeks, and to assure them that the people of Athens will aid them with all their strength, wealth, and weapons, deeming it dishonourable for Greeks to submit to the rule of a foreigner; that assurances be given to the Thebans, that the Athenians look upon them as kinsmen and countrymen, that they bear in mind the good offices rendered by their forefathers to the forefathers of the Thebans, in restoring their hereditary dominions to the descendant of Hercules, and in many other instances, which bear witness to their friendship; and that, therefore, on this occasion, the Athenians will not desert the cause of the Thebans, and of the other Greeks, but will be ready to enter into an alliance with them, offensive and defensive, cemented by allowing intermarriages among individuals, and by reciprocal oaths."

Five ambassadors were chosen by the assembly to proceed to Thebes with these proposals; namely, Demosthenes, Hyperides, Menekles, Democritus, and Callimachus. When they arrived at Thebes, they found that ambassadors from Philip, the Thebans, and others of his confederates, were already in that city. The Macedonian envoys, as the representatives of an ally, had the precedence in being admitted to an audience. Python was their spokesman, and this celebrated orator used all his powers of eloquence, which he seconded with large promises of reward, to allure his hearers over to the side of his master. He extolled Philip; inveighed against Athens; and artfully enumerated the wrongs which the Thebans had received from Athens. He represented, also, the benefit they might reap from joining with Philip to invade Attica. By doing so, they would share in the spoils of the country—its cattle, slaves, and wealth; while, on the contrary, by joining in a league with the Athenians, Boeotia would become the seat of war, and would alone suffer its calamities. He concluded by requesting that the Thebans would either join their forces with those of Philip, or permit him to pass through their territories into Attica.

History has not preserved the speech made by Demosthenes in reply to Python. From the result of it, however, it may be supposed to have been a masterpiece of eloquence. Though he addressed auditors whose minds were clouded with prejudices, and who were tempted and menaced by a potent monarch, as by a magic spell, he gained a triumphant influence over them. His nervous eloquence, rushing into their souls like an impetuous wind, rekindled there so ardent a zeal for their country, and so mighty a passion for liberty, that, banishing every idea of fear, prudence, or ingratitude, they accepted the proffered alliance of the Athenians, and passed a decree, inviting them to send their forces to the assistance of Thebes. Their enthusiasm carried them even beyond this. They admitted the Athenian succours into their city, thereby intrusting them, as Demosthenes boasted, with their wives and children, and all that was dear unto them. Such is the power which eloquence has over the minds of men, when it is impregnated with zeal for the public welfare.

By this declaration of the Thebans, the system of alliance which Demosthenes had projected was matured. Philip had thereby cause to tremble. The Boeotian cities alone furnished from 12,000 to 14,000 heavy-armed soldiers; the Athenian troops equalled those of the Thebans; and about 17,000 mercenary troops, besides some natives, were to be contributed by Euboea, Megara, Achaia, Corinth, Corcyra, Leucadia, and Acarnania. Philip contemplated this array of the sons of Greece with considerable alarm, and he was unwilling to meet them in a decisive encounter, without first trying milder means. Dropping his dictatorial tone, therefore, he adopted the language of the flatterer and the humble-minded, and sent ambassadors to negotiate a peace. Phocion and others were anxious that his overtures should be favourably received; but the Athenians were not disposed for peace. Their temples were thrown open, sacrifices were offered, religious

processions were made, and the sound of war was heard on every side. So popular was Demosthenes at this period, that the public assembly voted to him another crown, in acknowledgment of his services.

Foiled in his attempt to negotiate peace with the Athenians, Philip again turned to the Thebans. By his ambassadors, he made known to them his wish to avoid hostilities; and had not Demosthenes exerted all the powers of his eloquence to prevent it, it is probable that the popular cry would have been for peace. Reanimated by his exertions, however, they persisted in their hostility.

An appeal to the sword was now inevitable; and

The Macedonian culture mark'd his time,
By the dire scent of Chæroneæ lur'd,
And, scarce descending, seized his hapless prey
THOMSON.

Philip crossed the Boeotian frontier, and advanced to Chæroneæ, where the Athenian forces then were, resolving to give battle. He took up his station within sight of a temple dedicated to Heracles, his supposed ancestor, and which was said to have been pointed out, by ancient and modern oracles, as fated to become the scene of events calamitous to Greece. But this was doubtless the result of policy; for in those dark ages, omens were created by the crafty to impose upon the vulgar, in order to raise or depress the courage of adverse hosts. Hence it was that Demosthenes, on this occasion, also, asserted that the Pythian "Philippiæd," and exhorted the Thebans to remember their Epaminondas, and the Athenians their Pericles, who considered these oracles in the light of scarecrows, and consulted reason alone.

The forces of Philip consisted of 32,000 men, while that of his antagonists was somewhat less than 30,000, many of their forces not yet having arrived. The valour of the troops may be pronounced equal; but the merit of the chiefs was widely different. Philip in himself was a host; for he was the most renowned captain of his day. Phocion, indeed, might have successfully contended with him; but Phocion was opposed to the war, and had, therefore, been excluded from the command. The consequence was, that the Athenian confederates had no competent commander. Theagenes, an officer of moderate talent, was at the head of the Thebans; and among the Athenian leaders were Chares, of whom no honourable mention has been made, and Stratocles and Lysicles, men who had acquired no military reputation, and the latter of whom was distinguished only for his rash daring. It was probably this deficiency of skilful officers, on the part of the confederates, that lured Philip to the field of battle.

Notwithstanding the stake ventured upon, this cast of the die deeply concerned Philip. If he failed, the fame he had acquired for feats of arms, during a busy and turbulent life, would be eclipsed, and his throne would be in danger from the desertion of his allies and the revival of his foes. One starchy monitor pointed this out to him. Shortly before the contest, Diogenes is said to

have wandered into his camp, and to have been taken into Philip's presence, who inquired whether he came in the character of a spy. "Yes," replied the philosopher, "I watch your insatiable ambition, and that imprudence which prompts you wantonly to hazard your crown and life upon the issue of a single hour in the field of battle." But Philip did not regard advice in this matter. As soon as the hostile legions came within view of each other, they prepared for the struggle. Philip placed himself at the head of the right wing, which was opposed to the Athenians, while his left wing was led by Alexander, and was destined to cope with the Thebans, in whose front stood the division of valiant youths known by the name of the Sacred Band. The centre of each army was composed of auxiliaries.

The battle soon began. For a long time, the contest remained doubtful; the combatants slaughtering each other with fearful energy. At length, Alexander, animated with a desire to signalize himself, rushed upon the Sacred Band, and, after a long and vigorous resistance, routed them. At the same time, Philip charged the Athenians, and for a moment caused them to retreat; but they soon resumed their courage, regained their post, and retorted the charge with so much vigour, that they broke a part of the enemy's right and centre, and drove it before them. Had this advantage been seconded by skill, the laurel of victory would have probably been worn by the Athenians; but instead of assailing the phalanx in flank, at the head of which was Philip, and which was kept in reserve to remedy any disorder which might occur, Lysicles, hurried on by rash confidence, exclaimed, "Follow them up, my countrymen, and let us drive them into Macedonia." The keen eye of Philip saw the error. Watching the confused mass hurrying after the flying foe, he said to his officers, "The Athenians know not how to conquer," and then bore down upon them with the phalanx. The attack was irresistible. The Athenian wing was penetrated, and passing from extreme presumption to extreme terror, each individual sought safety in flight. Demosthenes was among the foremost to quit the field, and his political antagonists have accused him of throwing away his shield, which he had inscribed "to good fortune" in characters of gold, and of having prayed for mercy to a bramble, which intercepted his retreat, and which fear transformed into a ruthless pursuer.

The cause of the confederates was lost: Greece was now prostrate at the feet of Philip. More than 1000 Athenians were left upon the field of battle, and above 2000 taken prisoners, among whom was Demades, the orator. The loss was equally severe on the side of the Thebans. This battle was fought B. C. 338.

The conduct of Philip, after the victory, exhibits a fearful picture of human depravity, and shows, that it is easier to overcome an enemy in the field of battle, than to gain the mastery over that rebel, self. Under the double influence of victory and intoxication, he visited the field of battle with his officers, where he exulted over the dead, and derided the misfortunes of the living. In derision, he caused the decree of

Demosthenes to be sung in his praises. A secret horror chilled every breast, but none dared to utter his sentiments except Demades, the Athenian orator. "Fortune, O king," said his reprover, "having put it into your power to be an Agamemnon, are you not ashamed to act the part of Thersites?" Diodorus says, that this rebuke produced an instant effect: Philip cast away his chaplet of flowers, returned with an altered mind to his tent, and rewarded Demades, by restoring him to liberty, and treating him as a friend. It is more probable, however, that he sought to redeem his error, when the fumes of his debauch were evaporated, and his reason left unclouded; for he might fear that such conduct would shake the fidelity of his friends, and reanimate his vanquished foes. An insult offered to the dead, was among the Greeks, a crime of no ordinary magnitude, and one which they would be bound to revenge. Policy, therefore, would teach Philip to wipe off the stain he had imprinted on his character as a conqueror. But neither his generous conduct to Demades, nor time, have effaced the blot from the page of his history; to such universal obloquy does evil conduct expose a man, and with such care ought every one to watch over his path in life.

The news of the defeat at Cheronea excited the utmost alarm at Athens. The people saw themselves exposed to an immediate attack from their powerful and inveterate foe. But they did not sit down in despair. Demosthenes not yet having returned, the lead in suggesting measures to ward off the danger, was taken by Hyperides. He proposed, and his decree was sanctioned by the popular assembly, that the women and children, and all that belonged to the worship of the gods, should be removed to the Piræus for security; that all Athenians who had been declared infamous, should be restored to their lost privileges; and that foreigners and slaves should be invested with the rights of citizenship, on condition of their joining in the defence of Athens. These latter clauses were opposed to existing laws, and Hyperides was subsequently reproached for introducing them; but he silenced the accusation by remarking, that he was not the author of the decree, but the battle of Cheronea; which shows how deeply they felt the peril to which they were exposed by the defeat.

A victim seems to have been required by the Athenians to appease their rage, and such was found in the person of Lysicles. Accused by Lycurgus of having caused the death of a thousand citizens, and the capture of two thousand more, Lysicles was doomed to death, and the command of the Athenian forces was, after a stormy debate, intrusted to Phocion.

While these proceedings were going forward, Demosthenes returned, and though his enemies were incessant and vehement in their attacks, seeking even his life, they failed to render him odious to the people. The veneration which they had for his zeal and fidelity overbalanced the combined efforts of calumny and malice, (to which every weapon is accounted lawful,) and they committed to his care the important task of repairing the fortifications, and providing for the defence of the city, and elected him superintendent of the supply of provisions.

After the battle of Cheronea, it is said that Eschines openly boasted of his friendship and influence with the monarch of Macedonia, from which cause, perhaps, he was chosen as envoy to Philip, to request that the dead might be given up, and to discover the purpose of the conqueror. But Philip was already resolved to act generously towards the Athenians, deeming it wiser to disarm them by acts of kindness, than to exasperate them by rigorous measures. In pursuance of this resolution, his first step was to release the Athenian captives, without ransom. The return of these captives to the Athenian republic, contributed much to propitiate the people; but it was followed by another act, which had a still more powerful effect, and which exhibits, in strong colours, the Grecian veneration for the repose of the dead. Philip had ordered the bodies of the slain among the Athenians to be burned with every mark of respect, and he now transmitted the remains to Athens, accompanied by his principal minister, Antipater, who was intrusted with the care of the procession, and was appointed his ambassador. These ashes were received as a precious gift, and Demosthenes was chosen, by his fellow-citizens, to deliver their funeral oration. They were buried with all Grecian magnificence, and on their monument affection engraved this inscription:

Beneath this earth entombed, the bones of those
Who fell a sacrifice to real repose.
By their united deaths, the bitter yoke
Greece was about to wear, sunder broke.
This Jove decreed for mortals you must know,
No effort can redeem from fated woe.
The gods alone, eternally employ
In sinless lives, and never ending joy.

The conduct of Philip in releasing the prisoners, and delivering up the ashes of the dead, had its intended effect. A treaty was promptly concluded, and on terms favourable to the Athenians. By it they avoided loss, and regained the possession of the town and territory of Oropus, which had been long withheld from them by the Thebans.

The Athenians had uniformly resisted Philip's attempts to subjugate Greece, and therefore they were thus respected. The Thebans had been his allies, and had deserted him at a critical period, and therefore he assumed to them a stern countenance. He banished his foes from Thebes, and restored his exiled friends, while the government passed into the hands of the Macedonian party. The Boeotian cities were confirmed, indeed, in a nominal independence, but they were in reality under the yoke of Philip; and, lest they should endeavour to break that yoke, a garrison was stationed by Philip in the citadel of Thebes.

Hitherto, Philip has been described as struggling with his neighbours, courting the Athenians, and practising with the other states of Greece, by all the arts he could devise, to gain the ascendancy. All the Hellenic states, Sparta alone excepted, were now beneath his control. What enterprise was he now to undertake? Ambition prevented his repose, and he turned his attention to the theatre of glory. Persia, pointed out by "that old man, eloquent" Isocrates, in

order to avert the ruinous dissensions of the Greeks. Accordingly, in the spring of B.C. 337, Philip convened a congress of the Grecian states at Corinth, to which all the members of the Hellenic body sent deputies, except consummation Sparta. In this congress, war against Persia, the ravager of their country, the destroyer of their temples, and the stimulator of their quarrels, was proposed by Philip, and determined upon by the congress. The Arcadian deputies alone voting against the proposition.

Philip was elected commander-in-chief of this expedition, and he immediately commenced operations. He despatched Attalus and Parmenio into Asia Minor, with troops, to stir up the Greek cities in Asia to revolt, and prepare for his reception; after which, he returned to Macedonia, to make arrangements for his own departure.

But Philip was doomed never to set foot in Asia, nor to witness the assembling of the Grecians for the purpose of invading Persia. For although he had nothing to fear from the Macedonians at large, or the Grecian states, in his own family there was much to fear. Domestic discord there ruled dominant. His unfaithfulness had so wrought upon the mind of his queen Olympias, that her disposition had become haughty, passionate, and vindictive. This led to her repudiation, and his marriage with Cleopatra, the daughter of one of his nobles. This, with other circumstances, irritated the youthful and impetuous Alexander to such a degree, that he insulted his father, and departed with his mother Olympias to Illyria. The semblance of a reconciliation, however, was at length effected, and Olympias returned to the Macedonian court, but deadly revenge rankled in her bosom, and it was said, that she was implicated in the catastrophe which followed her return to court.

Soon after Philip's return from Corinth, a son was born to him by his new queen. This would doubtless inflame the resentment of Olympias. Philip, however, showed all regard for her children, probably to allay her resentment. At this period, indeed, he had succeeded in accomplishing his object of uniting her daughter Cleopatra to her uncle Alexander of Epirus, and he resolved that the birth and marriage should be celebrated with the utmost magnificence.

The city chosen for the scene of this festival was *Ege*, the ancient capital of Macedonia. Here it was held, and nothing was spared that could delight the senses, or captivate the mind. Actors, musicians, and singers, were brought from all parts of Greece, to charm the guests by their varied talents. Sacrifices also were offered to the gods; games and sports of every description were held; and lavish hospitality extended to the multitude. The most eminent individuals, moreover, resorted to the festival, and the principal cities sent deputations to congratulate him, and to present him with golden crowns.

Among the Athenians who resorted to *Ege*, was Neoptolemus, a famous tragic poet, who had composed a dramatic entertainment for the occasion. The title of this piece was *Corymbus*, and it was intended to represent Philip as lord of Asia. It is said, that the following lines, depicting the pride and downfall of the Persians, those ancient

enemies of Greece, so affected Philip, that he caused them to be several times repeated.

Your hopes above heaven's concave make their way,
O'er all the earth's wide globe you seek to sway,
Palace to palace join, and, madly vain,
Think that no bounds should life or lands restrain.
Alas! that lot, which ye would far remove,
With hasty step your constancy shall prove.
Secure in thought, a stroke death now impend,
Which to extended views shall give an end.
Sudden and sure it falls, nor shall your power defend.

Little did Philip conceive, when he demanded the repetition of these verses, that they were more impressively applicable to himself than to the Persian monarch whose overthrow he meditated. While they sounded in his ears, death was hovering over him. In the morning of the second day, he went in procession with his guests to the theatre. A part of the pavement consisted of the statues of the twelve greater gods, which heathen mythology had hewn out for worship. From a desire to flatter, another had been carved on this occasion, to represent the Macedonian sovereign, similarly vested with the celestial group, and embellished in the same sumptuous style. Adorned with a white robe, Philip advanced at some distance in front of his guards, in order that he might manifest his confidence in the affection of the Greeks. At this moment, as he was entering the passage to the theatre, a Macedonian youth of high rank, named Pausanias, rushed forward, plunged a sword into his left side, and laid him dead at his feet.*

The dreadful deed was beheld by the multitude with awe. Some of them pressed forward to lend their assistance to the lifeless sovereign, while others pursued his murderer. Pausanias had a horse in readiness for his escape, and would probably have effected his purpose, had not his foot become entangled in a vine, which threw him upon the ground. This enabled his pursuers to overtake him, and he was slain.

Such was the latter end of Philip, king of Macedonia! Such the issue of his feverish dreams of ambition! His was, as expressed by the poet,

The pride of strength, skill, speed, and subtlety,
The pride of tyranny,

and dominion over his fellow man was his one great aim. By his talent, combined with his arts of deception, bribery, and fraud, he acquired the most potent monarchy that had ever existed among the Greeks, and how great he was reckoned, may be seen by the adulation paid him in his last hours. But what is human greatness? If reader, you wish to know, look in fancy at the slain carcase of Philip, and you will read

* Pausanias is said to have been prompted by resentment to this crime. Philip having failed to do him justice, for an atrocious outrage—too atrocious to be recorded—which had been committed upon him at the instigation of Attalus, while he was insensible from wine. This is not improbable, but there is no doubt that the deed was the result of a treasonable plot and that Pausanias was an instrument in the hands of others, more crafty than himself. This fact, indeed, seems clearly established, and the hasty manner in which Pausanias himself was put to death would justify the suspicion that some of his enemies were his confederates, and were actuated rather by a wish to secure silence, than to punish guilt. One of the conspirators, Amyntas, fled to Sardis, and fought at the battle of Issus against Alexander.

there, "It is vanity," and will be constrained to exclaim,

How mean that stuff of glory fortune lights,
And death puts out! — YOUNG.

The death of Philip occurred a. c. 335. He was succeeded in his kingdom by his son

ALEXANDER.

Alexander, on whom mankind, dazzled by military glory, have conferred the epithet of "the Great," and who was the subject of prophecy, was born at Pella, a. c. 356.

Philip, convinced that a good education is the best gift a father can bestow upon his offspring, spared neither pains nor expense to procure him the best instructors. In his early years, Alexander was under the government of Leonnatus, or Leonidas, a relative of Olympias, who was a man of austere manners and rigid morals. From one of his preceptors, however, the young prince imbibed many errors. This was Lysimachus, an Arcanian, whose gross flattery and vanity led him to designate Philip as Peleus, Alexander as Achilles, and himself as Phoenix. To the adulatory conduct of this man are ascribed many of those faults, which at a later period sullied his pupil's fame: an apt illustration of the poet's sentiment, that,

"The education forms the common mind;
Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.

Pope.

The seeds of error which Lysimachus sowed in the heart of Alexander would probably have taken deeper root, had not Aristotle succeeded him in his office. For five years, this celebrated man poured forth the stores of his capacious mind, to render his pupil worthy both of the affections of his subjects and of empire. Nor were his labours wholly in vain. Before he took the reins of empire in his hands, Alexander was chaste, sober, temperate, and an enemy to luxury. He was also endowed with much knowledge, and he excelled in many accomplishments. Poetry (which, in the ordinary acceptance of the word, "excelleth history, not only in furnishing the mind with knowledge, but in setting it forward to that which deserves to be called and accounted good") was his peculiar delight. But, unfortunately for the world, Alexander does not appear to have delighted in that species of poetry which humanizes the heart. For him, the *Iliad* of Homer, in the pages of which war is represented as a virtue, and the warrior as something more than human, had the greatest charms. Its strains accorded with the tone of his heart; and he adopted for his favourite hero that dangerous model for a future sovereign, Achilles.

Such was Alexander, when he ascended the throne of Macedonia. Some writers have assigned to him a share in the crime of the murder of his father, in order to ascend that throne; but there is no evidence of this fact. On the contrary, one of his first acts on his accession was, to put to death Heromenes, Arrhabeus, and Amyntas, the son of Perdikkas, who were accomplices in that fatal deed.

The early measures of Alexander were calculated to conciliate his subjects, and to secure his

authority. He granted a remission of taxes, and displaced no one from office; while Harpalus, Erygius, Laomedon, Nearchus, and Ptolemy the son of Laga, who had incurred the anger of Philip, were recalled to Macedonia.

It has been seen that Philip was about to lead the army of the confederate Greeks against Persia. Alexander was heir both of the power and projects of Philip; and as soon as he ascended the throne, he prepared to execute the mighty plans formed against Persia. Before he could cross the Hellespont, however, Alexander had many difficulties to surmount. The flames of discontent raging among the Grecian states had been checked, but not extinguished, by the battle of Charonea; and they were on the point of breaking forth with renewed violence. The affairs of Macedonia assumed an alarming aspect on every hand. The Thracians, Triballians, and Illyrians, threatened hostilities; east, north, and west; while in the south, the friendship of some states was uncertain, and the enmity of others unquestionable. Thebes exhibited signs of disaffection; the Ætolians recalled the exiles expelled by Philip; the Arcadians openly avowed their adverse sentiments; the Ambraciots restored the democracy, and drove out the garrison; the majority of the citizens of Athens, influenced by Demosthenes, exhibited signs of hostility; and most of the Peloponnesian republics were eager to shake off the Macedonian yoke.

The part which the great orator of Athens took on hearing of the death of Philip, and the consequent accession of Alexander, reflects no honour on his character. On receiving the news, which was brought him by an express sent by Charidemus, his friend, residing at the court of Macedonia, he convened an assembly of the people, and announced to them that Jupiter and Minerva had revealed to him, in a dream, that Philip was dead. This intelligence was soon confirmed by couriers; and the people being re-assembled, Demosthenes proposed that a crown should be voted to the assassin, and that sacrifices of thanksgiving should be offered to the gods. Nor did he exult alone over the deed. He sneered at Alexander as a boy, and reviled him with the degrading appellation of Margites, the stupid hero of a mock heroic poem attributed to Homer. He assured the Athenians, also, that the object of his sarcasm would not dare stir out of his kingdom, but would live a life of inglorious ease; intimating that, since glory was only to be purchased by blood, it would never fall to the lot of Alexander.

Demosthenes early discovered, that he had made a wrong estimate of the character of the youthful sovereign of Macedonia, who, finding himself thus beset by his foes, bestirred himself to the utmost. At the head of his armies, he marched to Thessaly, to establish his influence there; knowing, that if the Thessalians were hostile, the Grecian states would be unapproachable. He crossed the Thessalian frontier, and marched towards Larissa, where he met with a cordial reception. A general assembly was convoked, which invested him with the same authority over them that had been enjoyed by Philip; and they bound themselves to assist in raising him to the dignity of captain-general of

the Greeks, and head of the Hellenic confederation.

From Larissa, the vigorous Alexander marched with the combined forces of Thessaly and Macedonia to Thermopylae, where the Amphictyonic council was then sitting, and among whom, by general consent, he was allowed to assume the seat vacated by the death of Philip.

Awarded the effects the display of power produces on a people, Alexander next advanced with his army into Boeotia, and encamped in the vicinity of Thebes. This movement had the desired effect. Both Thebes and Athens trembled at his presence, and stifled the voice of disaffection. From Athens, in particular, a complimentary deputation was sent to Alexander, by which their ready obedience was expressed. It is said that Demosthenes was one of the appointed deputies, and that he journeyed with them as far as Mount Citharæon, on the Boeotian frontier, when, overcome by fear at the result of meeting with the object of his ill-timed railery, he returned to Athens.

The next movement of Alexander was to Corinth, where a council of delegates from the Hellenic republics was now assembled. In this assembly, Alexander urged his claims so eloquently, that, backed by his numerous forces, he was elected captain-general of the Grecian confederacy, by all the states but contumacious Sparta, which contumacy, from motives of policy, he passed over without exhibiting resentment. The bold tone of its envoys might also have an effect upon the mind of Alexander. "The Lacedæmonians," said they, "have been accustomed to command on such occasions, and not to be commanded."

After Alexander's election, many officers and governors, with philosophers, waited upon him, to offer their congratulations. The celebrated Diogenes was then at Corinth, and Alexander anticipated a visit from him. Diogenes, however, was greater in his own estimation, though living in a tub, than the captain-general of the confederated Greeks, and Alexander looked in vain for his congratulations. Upon this, the youthful monarch determined to visit the philosopher. When he approached the cynic, he found him stretched on the ground, basking in the sunshine, but surrounded by all the chilling signs of poverty. "Is there any thing that I can do to serve you?" asked Alexander. "All I require," said the cynic, "is, that you will not stand between me and the rays of the sun." The courtiers mocked the philosopher; but the monarch, struck with this apparent greatness of soul, silenced them by exclaiming, "Were I not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." He forgot that pride, like a rank weed, grows most commonly on a dunghill; that sometimes it appears even under the cloak of humility; and that therefore this answer of Diogenes might have emanated from that evil principle. The world has given the cynic credit for humility and greatness of soul in despising the insignia of grandeur: his answer savours of arrogance and pride. There are many paths leading to the temple of fame, reared by mortal hands: Diogenes took an unfrequented one, but he has succeeded in occupying a niche in the structure.

Having succeeded to the utmost of his wishes in the Grecian states, Alexander returned to Macedonia. He spent the winter in his own dominions; but as soon as the spring arrived, he took the field against the Thracians and Triballians, who threatened his states on the east and the north. In a space of time so brief as scarcely to be credible, he subdued all the tribes between the Strymon and the Danube: he even passed the latter river upon stuffed hides, and gained a victory over the Getæ, or Goths.

The fame of Alexander in these parts attracted deputies with offers of friendship from the Celts, or Gauls, a brave and powerful people who lived in the country north-east of the Adriatic. Their alliance was accepted, and their ambassadors treated with urbanity and distinction. While they remained with him, he asked them what was most dreaded by the Celts; expecting a reply flattering to his own vanity. He was disappointed. The haughty Celts boldly replied, that they feared nothing but the falling of the sky and stars. Humbled by the reply, Alexander paused, and then dismissed the ambassadors, contenting himself with simply rejoicing, that the Celts were a boastful nation.

Having subdued the tribes south of the Danube, Alexander repassed the defiles of the Hemus, and entered Pannonia. Here he learned that the western frontier of Macedonia was threatened. Clitus, the son of Bardyllis, and Glaucias, the monarch of the Taulantians, inhabiting a part of the district of Skutari, with a tribe named the Autariata, living in the central division of modern Bosnia, on the north-east of Illyria, had confederated together against him. Holding the Autariata in check by the auxiliary force of the Agrians, he marched rapidly onward to Pellion, which had been seized by Clitus, and which, situated between the Erigonus, Apasa, Genusus, and Eordineus, (the Kutchuk Karaou, Boretina, Scombri, and Ricolistas of the moderns,) covered the heads of the Illyrian defiles on the side of Macedonia. Ascending the valley of the Erigonus, Alexander appeared before Pellion, and pitched his camp near the source of the Eordineus, resolving to assault the city on the following day. The enemy, who were posted on the hills, anticipated the onset, and fearing the result, retired into the fortress.

Alexander took possession of the camp of the enemy, and in doing so, he beheld a fearful proof of their sanguinary superstition. Three youths, three maidens, and three black rams, all bleeding and mangled, had been offered, according to ancient custom, in order to propitiate the gods: illustrating the words of the psalmist;

The dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty.—Psa. lxxiv. 20.

There is much confusion in the records of this campaign; but it is obvious that Alexander was perplexed by the after movements of the Illyrians, Clitus being in his front, and Glaucias in his rear. He was in fact compelled to make a retrograde movement, which the Illyrian princes considered as a triumph. But this apparent superiority threw them off their guard, and Alexander availed himself of the negligent security of

their widely scattered army to inflict upon them a terrible revenge. Silently crossing a river which flowed between the two camps, he came upon them suddenly in the dead of the night, and slew thousands of them. Many were slain in their sleep, numbers fell unarmed and in flight, and a great many were taken prisoners. Those who escaped, found shelter within the Taulantian mountains. Ciltus fled to Pellion; but not deeming himself secure there, he set fire to the city, and withdrew into the dominions of Glaucias.

Notwithstanding the Illyrians were thus conquered, they were not subdued. They yet had power in reserve to cause the conqueror much annoyance. Alexander knew this, and having received intelligence which required his presence in Greece, his contest with the Illyrians was concluded by a treaty.*

The news which caused Alexander to make peace thus suddenly with the Illyrians, told him of events which threatened the subversion of his power over Greece. Emboldened by his absence in the north and west, and excited by the eloquence of the great Demosthenes, Thebes had shaken off the yoke, and other states exhibited signs of renewed hostility.

It has been seen how fiercely the resentment fell upon the heads of the Thebans after the victory of Chæronea. Many had been driven into exile, and those who remained were held in subjection by a Macedonian garrison stationed in the cadmea, or citadel. The exiles were naturally eager to seize an opportunity of returning to their homes, to recover their power. Demosthenes knew this, and he cherished their feelings by his eloquence, and put arms into their hands (either from his own private resources, or from those supplied by the Persian monarch) for that purpose.

The cadmea, or citadel, was situated in the centre of Thebes, and on the highest ground, a position well calculated to keep the citizens in awe. The troops which Philip had left there were commanded by Amyntas and Timolaus. These commanders, apprehending no resistance, left the citadel, and took up their abode in the lower town. The citizens saw this error, and resolved to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them of asserting their freedom. After carrying on a secret correspondence with the banished Thebans for some time, on a certain night, the exiles were admitted into the city by their confederates. Their first step was, to put the commander of the garrison to death. This was effected; and in the morning, the people being assembled in the market-place, they were harangued by the leaders of the revolt, who told them that Alexander had perished in Illyria, and who implored them to shake off the yoke by which they were degraded and oppressed. The people answered them with one voice. All flew to arms, and the citadel was immediately invested, and a strong double entrenchment formed round it, in order to prevent the besieged from making sallies, or receiving supplies.

The spirit of revolt may be likened to a flame

* The terms of this treaty are not recorded by Arrian, from whose pages this part of ancient history is derived. It is probable, however, that they were easy, as Glaucias and Ciltus were ever afterwards friends with Alexander.

of fire, which, when it once gains the ascendancy, spreads abroad till the whole mass is enveloped by the devouring element. Thebes called on the surrounding republics to co-operate in her daring enterprise, and her call was answered. The Athenians, Arcadians, Eleians, Etolians, and others, rose in revolt against the supremacy of Macedonia, and they were joined by the bold Spartans.

This was the nature of the intelligence that reached Alexander; and he had no sooner received it, than he quitted the confines of Illyria, for the purpose of quelling the revolt. In seven days, he reached Pellene, in Thessaly, passing over the rugged provinces of Eordæa and Elymiotis, and the rocky summits of Stymphæa and Paryæa. Nor did he pause here. His motto was, "Onward;" and he passed the straits of Thermopylæ, and in six days more entered Bœotia. He had reached Onchestus before the Thebans were aware of the approach of an army; and even then they would not believe that it was headed by Alexander. The determined spirit in which Alexander approached the Grecian states may be seen in a sentence which he uttered at Onchestus. Indignant at the contemptuous language which had been uttered respecting him, he said to his officers, "When I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi, Demosthenes, in his oration, called me a child; when I was in Thessaly, I was a young man; but I will now convince him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man." Confident in the physical force he possessed, he already saw the Grecian states subjected to his dominion.

The great object of his rapid march was, to interpose his army between the city and Attica and the Peloponnesus, whence the Thebans could alone derive assistance. Accordingly, on the day after his arrival at Onchestus, Alexander encamped on the south side of Thebes, near the grove consecrated to Iolaus, the nephew and companion of Hercules. All hope of assistance from allies was now cut off from Thebes. Still, it was the policy of Alexander not to urge matters to extremities. He saw that the reduction of the town would be a tedious operation, and that whatever might be the result, the resources which he designed to use in the conquest of the Persian empire must suffer a serious diminution; and, therefore, he proposed pacific measures. He commanded proclamation to be made by herald, that he would receive as friends all Thebans who would join him; the ringleaders, Phœnix and Prothytes, excepted. The Thebans rejected this offer, and they proclaimed, in reply, by herald, that they required Philotas and Antipater to be delivered up to them, and invited all who were solicitous for Grecian liberty to unite with them in humbling the tyrant of Greece.

Still, according to Arrian, Alexander delayed to give orders for an assault; and the same authority states, that the sword was ultimately drawn from its scabbard without his permission, and that the catastrophe was produced by Perdiccas. This general, who commanded an advanced guard, perceiving that a part of the rampart was feeble, made an assault upon it without instructions. He succeeded in obtaining an entrance, and Amyntas, son of Andromenes, hastened with his

division to his support. The Thebans resisted manfully, and Perdiccas being dangerously wounded, the defeat of the assailants would have been inevitable, had not Alexander appeared to their rescue. Accordingly, he ordered the Agrians and archers to advance, while he himself remained with the heavy-armed troops, to take such measures as circumstances might require. Thus strengthened, the Macedonian troops returned to the charge, and drove the Thebans as far as the temple of Hercules. Here their success was momentarily ended. The Thebans rallied, and so fierce was their charge, that they drove the whole of the assailants out of the city in great disorder.

Had the Thebans been content with repelling the Macedonians from the city, the most important consequences might have been the result. Eager, however, to improve their victory, they pursued the flying foe beyond the walls, in equal confusion. This was a fatal error. Alexander rushed upon them, at the head of the phalanx, and they took flight, and sought refuge within the ramparts, neglecting, in their panic, to close the gates after them. The troops of Alexander poured now into the city unimpeded, and, being reinforced by the Macedonian garrison, who, beholding the coming aid, broke through the lines of investment, the city was taken. The cavalry escaped into the open country, with some small remnant of the infantry; the rest perished by the sword.

Fearful was the scene that followed the capture of Thebes. The Macedonians, Thespians, Phocians, Platæans, and Orchomenians, who formed the mass of Alexander's army, committed every excess upon the Thebans that rage and brutality could suggest. The men were butchered on every hand; the women endured indignities more horrible than death. From the very temples, nay, from the very horns of the altar, they were torn, in the agonies of despair, by the ruthless conquerors.

The calamities of Thebes did not stop here. The hatred which his allies bore to the Thebans, inspired a demand for the ruin of the Theban name. Accordingly, Alexander committed the fate of Thebes to an assembly of those republicans whose troops were under his command, and who had already written their hatred of the city in characters of blood. These enumerated the crimes of Thebes in an exaggerated strain, and demanded the destruction of the captives, and abolition of the city.

One solitary voice alone was allowed to plead the cause of the Thebans; that of Cleandrus, a Theban prisoner. This man strove to palliate the fault of his revolted fellow-citizens. He showed that they had not revolted against Alexander, whom they believed to be dead, but against his presumed successor; and that, therefore, they had erred from credulity, not from perfidy. He endeavoured to excite the pity of Alexander, also, by a lively picture which he drew of the remaining inhabitants; there being none left but a few women and aged men, who were bending to the earth with shame from the calamities they had recently suffered, and who, therefore, could not excite any apprehension from future revolt. He concluded by reminding his hearers that Thebes

had given birth to "heroes and gods," and by imploring them to spare a city where Hercules first drew the breath of life, and which had been the cradle of the rising glory of Philip, father of Alexander.

It is in the nature of man, in his fallen state, to rejoice over and trample upon a conquered enemy. Whence, although the sanguinary measure proposed by some of the deputies was not adopted by the congress, the doom passed upon Thebes and the Thebans was of a terrible nature. It was decreed that the cadmean should be regarrisoned; that Thebes should be razed to the ground; that the lands, except those consecrated to religious uses, should be divided among the conquerors; and that the remaining Thebans, of every age and sex, save the priests and the partisans of Macedonians, should be sold into slavery. This cruel decree was carried into effect to the very letter: 30,000 Thebans are said to have been consigned to hopeless slavery by it, and 6,000 to have perished in the storming of the city. Among the few who were exempted from slavery, were the descendants of the celebrated poet Pindar, who were saved at the express command of Alexander. such commanding influence his genius possessed over the minds even of ruthless warriors, whose poetry and music may be said to be the shrieks of the wounded and the dying.

Some historians represent Alexander as void of power in this transaction, and as giving up Thebes to the vengeance of his allies reluctantly. There does not appear to be any ground for such views. Alexander held unlimited sway over his allied troops, and he was too high spirited to submit to dictation. Rather, the congress of deputies would appear to have been the mere counterfeits of a representative body appointed to screen Alexander from the odium which such severe measures would inevitably draw down upon his head. In after life, it is said, indeed, that he repented of having caused or consented to the destruction of Thebes; that he imputed some of his crimes and disappointments to the resentment of Bacchus for that deed; and that he never refused a favour to a Theban suitor. The deed may therefore be considered one of the darkest spots in the life of Alexander, and the stain of which can never be erased from his memorial.

One of the ends Alexander appears to have had in view by this terrible example of his vengeance, was, to overawe the rest of the Grecian states. It had this effect. Consternation seized upon all, and they hastened to propitiate their powerful and vindictive superior. The Arcadians, Eleans, and Ætolians, were among the first who acted thus, and they seem to have been favourably received.

At Athens, the greatest alarm prevailed. When the intelligence reached them, the citizens were engaged in celebrating the mysteries of Eleusis.* These were immediately suspended. Eleusis

* This festival was observed every fifth year at Eleusis, and was the most celebrated of all the religious ceremonies of Greece. It was sacred to Ceres and Proserpine, and every thing in it contained a mystery, whence it was denominated, by way of eminence, "The Mysteries." To reveal any part of these mysteries was considered death, and the neglect of their observance was considered a crime of no ordinary magnitude.

was deserted, and the inhabitants hastily retreated within the walls of Athens. The confederate council had decreed vengeance against whoever should afford shelter to the fugitives of Thebes; but notwithstanding this, and their own immediate danger, they listened to the voice of humanity, and received all those who resorted thither for an asylum, which greatly redounds to their honour.

A general assembly was soon convoked by the terror-stricken Athenians, to devise measures for averting the impending storm. Demades, who had rebuked Philip for his exultation over the dead at the battle of Chæronea, took the lead on this occasion; and his proposal that an embassy of ten citizens should be sent to Alexander, to implore his clemency, was adopted. This deputation was courteously received by Alexander; but they were dismissed without effecting their purpose. Alexander consented, in an epistle which he sent by them, not to consider them as enemies; but he demanded that nine* of the Athenian orators should be delivered up to him as the price of his forgiveness. The names of these individuals were those of Demosthenes, Hyperides, Lycurgus, Polyæctes, Chæretes, Charidemus, Ephialtes, Diotemus, and Meroctes. These orators were accused by Alexander of being the common disturbers of Greece, the authors of the battle of Chæronea, the revolt of Thebes, and all the plots which had been formed against himself and father; and therefore it was that he required them to be delivered up to him.

The Athenians were perplexed to the utmost to know how to act on this occasion. They saw that they were ruined if they disobeyed, and disgraced if they complied with the demand. The general feeling was, to reject so fatal a precedent. This may be seen in their conduct to Phocion, who deprecated war, recommended that the orators should be sent to Alexander, and called upon Demosthenes and his companions to come forward, and offer themselves for the salvation of Athens, as the daughters of Leos and the Hyacinthides† were said to have done in the fabulous ages. This advice, says Diodorus, though it wore the garb of patriotism, was so repugnant to the feelings of the Athenians, that they tumultuously expelled Phocion from the assembly.

As may be supposed, the great orator, Demosthenes, was not silent on this occasion. As soon as Phocion was expelled, he stood up, and addressed the multitude in all the thunders of his eloquence. It can be readily imagined that, as his own existence was at stake, he was more than usually animated in this harangue; but history has preserved nothing more of it than a brief notice of the mode in which he illustrated

his arguments. Quoting the fable of the sheep who surrendered up their dogs to obtain peace with the wolves, he reminded the Athenians that the persecuted orators were the guardians of the state, and that Alexander was the wolf, who waited to devour the flock. He added, in the course of his harangue: "As merchants carry a small sample of grain in a dish, in order to sell large quantities, even so will you Athenians, by surrendering us to Alexander, deliver in reality into his hands the whole of the people."

Influenced by the harangue of Demosthenes, which accorded with the feelings of humanity, the Athenians exclaimed, that they would protect the menaced orators to the last. Had this been reported to Alexander, war would doubtless soon have been at their gates. The orator Demades saw this, and he undertook to exert his influence in behalf of his colleagues; though, if Diodorus and Plutarch be correct, his humanity was not disinterested. These historians say, that he was bribed to the act by five talents, or about 1,000*l*. Be this as it may, a decree was drawn up by him, in which Alexander was entreated to desist from his demand, and a promise was given, that if the accused were found guilty by the Athenian tribunals, they should suffer according to the law. Demades, Phocion, and others, waited upon Alexander with this decree, and they were likewise instructed to request that the Athenians might be allowed to afford hospitality to the Theban exiles. Either satiated with revenge, or from a wish to blot out, by some act of clemency, the barbarous action of which he had been so recently guilty, or anxious that nothing should retard his expedition into Asia, Alexander heard the prayer of this decree with favour. He granted all that was required, except the pardon of Charidemus, who had offended by his conduct when formerly at the court of Macedonia, and he was sentenced to be banished from the Grecian states, in order to appease his wrath. Plutarch attributes the successful result of this embassy chiefly to Phocion; and it is very probable that his presence had great influence, for he was a zealous partisan of both Philip and Alexander.

Having thus once more laid Greece prostrate, Alexander returned to Macedonia, where the winter was spent in feasting, rejoicings, and religious solemnities. The Olympic festival was celebrated at Egæ, and games and sacrifices were performed for nine successive days, in honour of the Muses. But it was not in pleasures alone that Alexander spent the winter. The golden prize of empire in the east was still in his view, and he held frequent councils to deliberate upon the best measures for securing that prize. It is said, that Antipater and Parmenio recommended that Alexander should marry, in order to have an heir to the throne before his expedition; but the youthful monarch was impatient to commence his march, and preparations were accordingly made for engaging in the enterprise in the ensuing spring, B.C. 334.

As soon as the spring arrived, Alexander led his forces to Sestos, in Thrace, whence they were transported across the Hellespont. He passed on, without opposition, till he came to the Granicus, a river that flows from Mount Ida into the Propontis. At this river he charged the Persians

* Arrian states this number, but Plutarch says eight, and Diodorus ten. Arrian seems to have had, in this case, the best means of information, and therefore his statement is here adopted.

† Leos is said, in a fabulous story, to have immolated his three daughters, Praxithea, Theope, and Eubule, for the good of Athens; and the Hyacinthides were six daughters of Erechtheus, king of Athens, who offered themselves to be immolated in order to gain the victory for their country over Eumolpus, king of Thracæ. Their names is derived from the village where the offering was made. Some, however, say, that they were the daughters of Hyacinthus.

with great fury, and obtained a decisive victory, which was followed by the subjugation of all the provinces west of the river Halys, which had formed the ancient kingdom of Lydia. Before the first campaign closed, indeed, Alexander was the undisputed master of Asia Minor.

Alexander opened the second campaign, B.C. 335, with the reduction of Phrygia; after which he entered into Cilicia, and, marching through the pass called the Syrian Gates, reached the bay of Issus. He expected to meet the Persian monarch at this place; but he, being persuaded by his flatterers that Alexander was afraid to meet him, had entered the defiles in quest of the Greeks. Eager for his prey, Alexander followed him thither, and attacking the barbarian columns with his famed phalanx, scattered them abroad; and the camp, with all its treasures, and the family of Darius, fell into the hands of the Macedonians.

In the third campaign, B.C. 332, Alexander resolved to subdue the maritime provinces, previous to his invading Upper Asia. He encountered no opposition, until he reached Tyre, the inhabitants of which city boldly set him at defiance. After a long and brave resistance, however, Tyre was taken by storm, and its inhabitants butchered or enslaved. This success was followed by the submission of all Palestine and Egypt, which concluded this campaign.

Having received, during the winter, considerable reinforcements from Greece, Macedonia, and Thrace, Alexander opened his fourth campaign by crossing the Euphrates at Thapsacus, whence he advanced to the Tigris, and, having passed over this stream, entered the plains of Syria. He found Darius encamped with a large host near the village of Gaugamela, and not far from the town of Arbela. Having halted for a few days, to refresh his soldiers, Alexander advanced early in the morning against the vast host of Darius, and, after a brief struggle, put them to the rout, with the loss, it is said, of 40,000 men. Darius fled to Hyrcania, with a small escort, where he was deposed by Bessus, and thrown into chains. Hearing this, Alexander advanced against Bessus with the utmost speed; but he came too late to save the unhappy Darius, who was stabbed by the rebels, and left to expire on the road side.

Thus the goat with a notable horn (Alexander) pushed his conquests with such celerity and irresistible fury against the ram with two horns, (Darius Codomannus,) that he smote him as predicted by the prophet. See Dan. viii. 5-8, and xi. 3-4. The date at which this event occurred was B.C. 331, when the era of the Macedonian empire, which forms the subject of the next chapters, commenced.

CHAPTER V.

THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE.

Among the earliest acts of Alexander, after the Persian empire had virtually fallen into his

* The reader will find the events of Alexander's campaigns in Persia, up to this period, more fully detailed in the History of the Persians.

hands, was the rewarding of Ammynapes, who held some office of authority in Egypt at the period when Alexander invaded it, and who had joined with Mazaces in surrendering up to the invader that important province. Ammynapes was now appointed satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania; and to secure his fidelity, a colleague, or a spy on his conduct, was given him, in the person of Tlepolemus, son of Pythopanes, who was one of the Companion cavalry.

After this, Alexander commenced a series of measures for securing the crown of Persia. The Greek mercenaries, after the death of Darius, had retired into the woody mountains which girdle Hyrcania on the side of Media and Parthia. To capture or annihilate these was his first object. Dividing his forces into three divisions, he put them in motion at Hecatompylos, the Parthian capital, where he had halted after the murder of Darius, to invade Hyrcania. Craterus was despatched to reduce the Tapeirians, who dwelt between the mountains and the sea; while he himself, with the largest and most active part of his army, took the way of the mountains, towards Zadracarta, the Hyrcanian capital; and Erygius conducted the remainder of the troops by a longer, but less difficult road to the same city, where, having fulfilled their purpose, the three columns were to reunite.

Alexander passed through the defiles of the mountains without meeting with any resistance. On his entrance into Hyrcania, he was met by Phradaphernes, satrap of that province and Parthia, with Nabarzanes, who had contributed to dethrone Darius, and other eminent men who had held offices in the Persian court. These submitted to his authority, and were favourably received, not excepting Nabarzanes, who had committed violence upon his former sovereign. After this, Alexander penetrated, unopposed, to Zadracarta, where he was joined by the columns of Erygius and Craterus, who had brought the whole country of the Tapeirians into subjection.

Hitherto, the retreat of the Greek mercenaries was undiscovered. Soon after Alexander, however, had arrived at Zadracarta, Artabazus, who had exhibited unshaken fidelity towards his fallen sovereign, resorted to his camp, accompanied by his three sons, and Autophradates, the satrap of the Tapeirians, and a deputation from the Greek mercenaries. Alexander treated Artabazus and his sons with kindness and respect, and reinstated Autophradates in his satrapy; but to the Greek envoys he was less indulgent. He gave them the choice of submitting themselves wholly to his discretion, or to provide as well as they were able for their safety. As escape was impossible, the deputies consented to surrender; and Andronicus, son of Aggerus, and Artabazus, were appointed to lead them to the camp.

West of Tabaristan, is a chain of mountains, now called the mountains of Deilim, then inhabited by the Mardi, a predatory tribe, who hitherto had been safe in their poverty and mountain recesses. Against these Alexander now directed his arms, and coming upon them by surprise, they were compelled to resign themselves to his yoke. They were placed under the government of Autophradates, the satrap of the Tapeirians.

Upon Alexander's return to his camp, he found the Greek mercenaries, about 1500 in number, as well as some prisoners of importance, who had been deputed to Darius from Sinope, Carthage, Lacedæmon, and Athens. Alexander's conduct on this occasion was wise and humane. The deputies of Sinope and Carthage were dismissed; the Lacedæmonian and Athenian were committed to custody; while those of the Greek mercenaries who had entered into the pay of Persia before war was declared against that kingdom were sent home as blameless, and the others were called upon simply to serve Alexander upon the same terms as they had served Darius, which offer they readily accepted.

The conquest of Hyrcania being completed, Alexander led the whole of his army to Zadracarta, where he halted for fifteen days, during which time public sacrifices were offered to the gods, and gymnastic exercises exhibited.

From this period, ancient authors date the change which took place in the manners and disposition of Alexander, and which was ultimately productive of much crime, and of consequences injurious to his fame. He assumed the Persian dress, adopted the Persian customs, and gave himself up to the indulgence of luxury and of sensual passions. In his future history, indeed, the reader will perceive, that while he acquired glory as a monarch, he was losing it as a man; verifying the words of a divine, that "prosperity will kill with care, or surfeit with delight."

Alexander marched from Zadracarta, eastward, through the province of Parthia, to that of Aria, now a portion of Khorassan. He arrived at Susa, where Satibarzanes, satrap of Aria, came to submit himself to his authority, and, notwithstanding he was one of the murderers of Darius, he was confirmed in his satrapy; and Anaxippus was sent with forty horse, to serve as a safeguard to the Arian territory, that it might not receive injury from the Macedonian army!

NORTHERN EXPEDITION.

The subjection of the north-eastern provinces of the Persian empire, says Heeren, would perhaps have been attended with the greatest difficulties, had not the astonishing activity of the conqueror crushed in their birth the schemes of the treacherous Bessus, who, after the assassination of Darius, wished to erect a separate kingdom in Bactria. The Jaxartes was now, A.C. 329, the northern boundary of the Macedonian monarchy, as it had hitherto been that of the Persian. Besides, the possession of the rich trading countries, Bactria and Sogdiana, were objects of vast importance.

These were the points to which Alexander next directed his attention. While he was at Susa, intelligence was brought by some Persians, that Bessus, encouraged by the ardour of his own countrymen, and the promise of the aid of his Scythian neighbours, had assumed the upright tunic and striped robe, ensigns of royalty, and had declared himself king of Asia, with the ancient title of Artaxerxes. Provoked at this, Alexander put his army in motion towards Bactria. While he was hastening onward, however, Satibarzanes, the satrap of Aria, adding

cruelty to treachery, slew Anaxippus and the forty Macedonian horsemen placed as a safeguard to the Arian territory, and summoned the Arians to join him at Artacoana, now Herat. As it would have been imprudent to penetrate into Bactria while Aria was in arms against him, Alexander made a forced march with a portion of his army, and reached Artacoana on the second day. Satibarzanes had not calculated upon an encounter thus suddenly, and being unprepared, he fled, and succeeded in escaping with a remnant of his troops. Alexander took a severe revenge on many of those who obeyed the summons of Satibarzanes, putting numbers to death, and condemning others to slavery.

The conqueror's plans being thus deranged, and probably fearing disaffection in the centre of Persia, he bent his course towards the south-eastward. Zaranga, which is watered by the Etymander, or Heermund, and is now included in the territory called Seistan, was the first province he entered. This country was governed by Barzantes, one of the murderers of Darius. Barzantes fled at the approach of Alexander, and took refuge in a neighbouring part of India; but he was sent back by the Indian prince, and put to death by the conqueror. The Zarangians submitted without resistance, and Alexander made a brief stay in this province.

While at Zaranga, a dark stain was fixed on the character of Alexander. Dymnus, a Macedonian officer of no repute, entered into a conspiracy against the life of Alexander, and strove to induce his companion, Nicomachus, to join in the conspiracy. Nicomachus feigned assent, and obtained from him the names of the conspirators, with which he hastened to his brother Cebalinus, desiring him to convey it to the king, fearing his own movements would be watched. Not finding ready access, Cebalinus communicated the intelligence to Philotas, who promised to unfold it to Alexander. Philotas long neglected to perform his promise, and Cebalinus, fearing that some person might forestall him in divulging that affair, resorted to Metron, one of the royal guards, who introduced him to the king. A party of guards was forthwith sent to seize Dymnus; but he refused to surrender, and was slain. On being interrogated as to his silence, Philotas confessed that his conduct had been injudicious, and pleaded that the notorious worthlessness of both Dymnus and Nicomachus had led him to disbelieve the statement of the latter, and to imagine that he should expose himself to ridicule by divulging it to Alexander. The monarch appeared satisfied, and sealed his pardon by giving his hand to the offender; but he afterwards convened a council of the enemies of Philotas, among whom was Craterus, whose deliberation was fatal to him. He was doomed to die, and yet he was invited to supper by the monarch after the council had broken up, and was treated by him as a friend. In the dead of the night, however, when sleep had fallen upon him, the son of Parmenio was dragged from his bed, and led to the palace in chains. There Alexander exhibited the feelings of revenge, which had been hidden under the guise of friendship. He inveighed with extreme bitterness both against Philotas and his father, Parmenio, and charged

them with treason, adducing neither argument nor proof sufficient to substantiate the charge. In lieu of proof of guilt, indeed, a confession was wrung from him by the most horrible tortures which baseness and malice could suggest, and against which no strength or courage could prevail; and his immediate death was the consequence.

One crime is ever the precursor of another. Parmenio, who had been one of the chief instruments in raising both Philip and Alexander to the exalted pitch of power they had attained, was the next victim. His long and splendid services, and his advanced age, were forgotten in this outrageous desire of revenge. His death was thus compassed. Polydamas, one of the Companions, was despatched with letters to Cleander, Sitalces, and Menides, officers under Parmenio in Media, with orders to put him to death. Polydamas, eager to fulfil his deadly commission, travelled over the space of at least 700 miles, which intervened between Zaranga and the Median capital, in eleven days, when he entered Ecbatana, and privately delivered to Cleander the orders of the regal assassin. The manner of effecting the murder was concerted between them, and the next day was appointed for the commission of the tragical act. Eager to see Polydamas, whom he had long considered one of his bosom friends, Parmenio sent to hasten his coming. The murderers were walking in the palace garden with their victim when Polydamas entered. The traitor hurried forward to embrace Parmenio, and then presented to him a letter from the king, and another fictitious one in the name of Philotas. The aged warrior read the letter from Alexander, and expressed a wish that he would be more careful of his person. He then proceeded to read the supposed communication from his son, and while in the act of doing so, the conspirators treacherously took away his life.

There was yet another act performed in this tragedy. On the ground of their close intimacy with Philotas, his friends Amyntas, Polemon, Attalus, and Simmas, sons of Andremon, were accused of being accomplices of the deceased general. Influenced by fear, Polemon fled; but Amyntas and his remaining brothers defended themselves so well, that they were declared innocent. Polemon, also, was brought back to the camp, and restored to favour; but the Lyncestian Alexander, after an imprisonment of three years, was now brought to trial, and condemned to die.

Such was the nature of the stain which Alexander brought upon his character at Zaranga. His crime was complicated, fearful, and bloody, and no facts in history are recorded whereby it might be extenuated. It is true, that Philotas stands charged with being ostentatious, vain, and arrogant; but he was also brave, generous, and of unshaken fidelity, qualities far outweighing his errors. Such did not justify his death. And then the aged Parmenio—what a fearful and base requital did he receive for his long and faithful services! He was put to death either because Alexander could not believe him to be ignorant of the crime of his son, or, what is more probable, because Alexander deemed it

dangerous, after the death of Philotas, to let the father exist, he possessing much influence over the Macedonians, whom he had commanded during a long life with high applause. If it be urged that Philotas pronounced himself guilty before his death, what evidence, it may be asked, is confession of guilt, under the tortures of malice? The history of modern ages proves, that confessions made on the rack are frequently extorted, to escape the tortures inflicted thereby, death being a welcome relief to the sufferer.

Reader, this part of the history of Alexander bids you beware of all sin; for if you would avoid great sins, you must take care not to commit those which are called by the world little sins. Vice is a gradual and easy descent, and the declivity at every pace becomes more steep; and those who descend, consequently, go down every moment with greater rapidity. The poet has well said, that

Sin is a monster of such frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen.
Yet seen too oft, familiar grows its face,
We first despise, then pity, then embrace.—POPE.

Pagan as he was, had Alexander been told that he would one day be guilty of the murder of these his two intimate friends, it is probable he would have asked, like Hamael of old, "Am I a dog, that I should commit such crimes?" but, giving himself up to the lust of power, he cared but little now by what means he secured the fancied good.

Alexander, however, exposed himself to danger by these violent measures. The brave and generous Philotas, and the aged warrior Parmenio, who had so nobly assisted in raising Macedonia from a very low state, were dear to the veterans of Alexander's army, and a commotion was raised among them at their death. Alexander was so apprehensive of danger, that he thought it necessary to remove the malcontents from the divisions to which they belonged, and to form them into a separate body, to which he gave the name of the "turbulent battalion." The monarch's fear was so great on this occasion, that all letters were opened, to prevent the spread of rebellion, and to learn the sentiments of the writers. The command of the Companion cavalry was also divided, it being deemed prudent not to confide it any longer to one person; and, finally, one of the generals of the body-guard was deprived of his station, and imprisoned on suspicion. All these measures emanated from the guilt of Alexander; for where guilt is, there fear waits upon it as a terrible companion.

After the different scenes in this tragedy had been acted, Alexander proceeded to the eastward, and entered the territory of a people whose original appellation was the Agrianæ, but to whom the great Cyrus is said to have given the title of Euergetæ, or Benefactors, because, when his army was furnishing for want, they voluntarily brought an abundant supply.* Alexander

* When this occurred is not definitely known, the Greeks being ignorant of Cyrus and his wars with the Medians. Herodotus, however, relates, that Cyrus undertook the war against Megistis in person, particularly that against the Bactrians and Saces; and was completely successful. It is probable, therefore, that it was at this period that he received the supply mentioned from the Agrianæ. The term Euergetæ, it may be mentioned,

halted in this country, and sacrificed to Apollo. While he remained, he offered the Agriaspæ a considerable enlargement of their territories; but they showed their moderation, by contenting themselves with only a trifling addition.

Leaving Amestres, who had been the secretary of Darius, as satrap over the Agriaspæ, Alexander pursued his march towards the eastern frontier of the Persian empire, where he received the willing homage of the Drangians, Drangogians, and Arachosians, and conquered some of the Indian tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Arachosia.* Memnon was appointed satrap in these provinces.

While Alexander was thus engaged, he received intelligence that the Arians were again excited to revolt by Satibarzanes, who was now assisted by Hecæus with 2000 Bactrian horse, to enable him to maintain the assumed sovereignty. Alexander entrusted the task of putting this revolt down, to Erygius and Caranus, who were to operate in concert with Artabazus, and Phradaphernes, the satrap of Parthia, who was to lead his forces to the attack from the Parthian frontier. Satibarzanes had now forces adequate to meet the enemy in the field, and he boldly met them, but encountering Erygius in single combat, he was pierced by the lance of his opponent, and the Arians fled.

Before the winter, Alexander once more turned his arms northward. He directed his course through the central part of the country which forms the present kingdom of Cabul, to the mountainous province bordering on Bactria, and intersected by the lofty Paropamisian chain. Here, having found an eligible situation, Alexander halted, and founded a city, to which he gave his own name.† He put his troops into winter quarters here, during which time he made preparations for invading Bactria on the return of spring. The civil government of this district was committed to the Persian, Prioxes, and the military to Niloxenus, a Greek.

The snow, which falls in great abundance in the mountainous districts where Alexander wintered, had not disappeared when he moved forward to conquest. The Paropamisian mountains are not so properly a regular range as a confused mass of mountains, about 200 miles across, very difficult of access, and little frequented: they are cold, rugged, and barren towards the Hindoo Kho, or Indian mountain, and have a very sudden descent into the plains of Bactria on the north. It was at the southern foot of the Hindoo Kho, or, as the Greeks have named it, the Indian Caucasus,‡ that Alexander wintered, and

was a translation of the original, for it is impossible that an eastern nation, who spoke Zendic, or Pehlivi, should have been called by a Greek appellation.

* It is not exactly known where Arachosia lay, whence, as Rennel observes, it is not possible to follow the line of Alexander's routes on the west of the Indus. The only fact known, however, is, that it lay somewhere to the south-east of Drangiana, and south of Candahar. See page 3 of the History of the Persians.

† It is supposed by some, that Candahar is the site of this city, while Hecæus and others think that Cabul, or its vicinity, was probably the spot.

‡ Elphinstone thus describes this mountain: "On entering the plain of Peshawar, four ranges of mountains were seen on the north. The lowest had no snow; the tops of the second were covered with it; as was the third, half way down. The fourth was the principal range of the

whence he set out on his conquests. There are seven passes through it, and by one of these it is supposed that Alexander, difficult as the task was, marched with his army, and all their attendant encumbrances, into Bactria.

In a brief period, this obstacle was surmounted, as well as that which was opposed to him by the ravaged territory at the foot of the hills. Alexander first reached the town of Drapæsa, where he refreshed his troops with rest. After this, he commenced operations. Bactra and Aorana, the chief cities of Bactria, surrendered without resistance, and a garrison was placed in the citadel of the latter, under Archelæus, son of Androcles. The rest of Bactria also submitted, and Artabazus was intrusted with the satrapy.

In the mean time, Hecæus retired before the impending storm, and had taken refuge behind the Oxus, in Sogdiana. To preclude pursuit, he burned the vessels in which he passed over the river, and took post at Nautaca, with the Sogdian and Dahian cavalry, led by Spitamenes and Oxyartes. His own power had vanished; for his troops, finding him resolved to quit their province, deserted him, and returned each man to his home.

The passage of the Oxus, had it been defended with common courage and skill, would have been impracticable. In itself it was a difficult affair, from the great depth and rapidity of the stream. Where Alexander resolved to cross it, it was three-fourths of a mile broad; its depth more than common; its bottom sandy; and its stream so rapid, as to render it almost unnavigable. Added to this, neither boat nor tree could be found. From these combined circumstances, its passage was deemed so arduous an undertaking by his ablest commanders, that they advised him to return. But Alexander was not so easily daunted. His genius rose superior to these apparent difficulties. He ordered the skins which formed the beds of the soldiers to be stuffed with straw and other light substances, and sewed up to exclude the water. Of these, rafts were made, by which his army passed over the Oxus in five days.

Having crossed the Oxus, Alexander marched

Indian Caucasus, which is always covered with snow; is conspicuous from Bactria and the borders of India; and is seen from places far off in Tartary. We first saw these mountains at the distance of 100 miles; but they would have been visible long before, if the view had not been shut out by the hills through which we travelled. In appearance, however, they were very near. The ridges and hollows of their sides were clearly discernible; and this distinctness, joined to the softness and transparency which their distance gave them, produced a singular and very pleasing effect. The snowy range is by no means of equal altitude, being in some places surmounted by peaks of great height and magnitude, which do not taper to a point, but rise at once from their bases with amazing boldness and grandeur. The stupendous height of these mountains, the magnificence and variety of their lofty summits, the various nations by whom they are seen, and who seem to be brought together by this common object, and the awful and undisturbed solitude which reigns amidst their eternal snows, fill the mind with admiration and astonishment, that no language can express. Several of the most remarkable were measured geometrically from the plain of Peshawar by Lieutenant Moutrey, who found their altitude 28,458 feet above that level. As that plain cannot be less than 1500 feet above the level of the sea, they must consequently be 32,958 feet of absolute height, and therefore higher than the loftiest of the Andes, hitherto esteemed the highest in the world."

immediately towards the camp of Bessus, which he found abandoned. Soon after, he was met by envoys from Spitamenes, satrap of the province of Sogdiana, and Dataphernes, another eminent Persian, who promised, that if he would send an officer with a small party, they would surrender up the usurper. Alexander sent Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, and Bessus was placed at his disposal; and, as will be seen, he was finally put to death with a cruelty unworthy of the Grecian character, though he richly deserved punishment for his treachery towards Darius.

The country which Alexander had now reached was, and is, also, to the present day, famous for its breed of horses. As his cavalry had sustained heavy losses in his toilsome march across the Paropamisus, and in the passage of the Oxus, he availed himself of the opportunity to repair these losses. Having done so he proceeded to Maracanda, the Sogdian capital.

Alexander did not long remain inactive. Insatiable of victory and conquests, he marched forward in search of new nations whom he might subdue. He proceeded to the Jaxartes, a river which formed the northern boundary of the Persian empire, in order to punish the hill tribes, who had cut off a body of Macedonian horse which had been sent out to forage. As he approached, these tribes retired to a mountain, which, from its steepness and ruggedness on all sides, was almost inaccessible. Alexander made several ineffectual attempts to storm this post, and he at length received a severe wound from an arrow, which rendered it necessary for him to be borne in a litter some time after the accident. But notwithstanding this wound, by dint of perseverance, the assailants carried the position, and a fearful slaughter was made among the enemy: 8,000 only, out of 30,000, it is said, escaped.

In order to subject the natives of the neighbouring territory to his rule, Alexander founded a city on the left bank of the upper Jaxartes, to which he gave his own name, but which the Greeks denominated *Euxata*, or "the farthest." Its site is supposed to have been near the modern Khajund, in the district of Ferghana, which forms a part of the kharrat of Khokand. The place was peopled by a part of the Greek mercenaries, some invalid Macedonians, and those Sogdians who wished to settle there.

While thus employed, Alexander received a deputation from a prince of some of the tribes of European Scythians, who inhabited the country between the Ister and Tanais, now the Danube and the Don, and another from the Abians, Asiatic Scythians, who probably dwelt at the southern foot of the Altaic mountains. These were kindred races, and though they sent to desire peace, their chief object seems to have been, to penetrate the designs, and estimate the strength of the conqueror. Under this impression, Alexander retaliated. He feigned a wish to negotiate an alliance with their rulers; and under this pretence, he sent envoys home with them, to ascertain the situation of their country and their resources.

Alexander flattered himself that his victories in the northern provinces had ensured peace. This was an illusion. A spirit of discontent

prevailed on every hand, and one of his own measures brought it into action. He issued an order for the chief men of Bactria and Sogdiana to meet at the Bactrian capital, for the purpose of deliberating upon public affairs. Spitamenes represented this as a stratagem to ensnare the persons thus summoned, and the Sogdians, the Scythians on the left bank of the upper Jaxartes, and the Bactrians, flew to arms. The Scythians, who took the lead in this revolt, rising suddenly upon the Macedonian garrisons, put them to death, and then shut themselves up in the seven Scythian towns which they had occupied.

Measures were instantly taken by Alexander to avert the consequences of this revolt. He despatched Craterus to invest Cyropolis, while he himself marched to Gaze, the nearest town. Gaze was taken by assault, and its inhabitants slaughtered. A second town shared the same fate on the next day; upon which the inhabitants of the other towns, except Cyropolis, fled from their homes, and were nearly all destroyed by the Macedonian cavalry. Alexander concentrated his forces now against Cyropolis, which was defended by 18,000 resolute men, and was well calculated to serve as a place of defence, it having been built by Cyrus to serve as a barrier fortress. The reduction of Cyropolis, indeed, by blockade, would have been a work of much labour and time. Alexander, therefore, was pleased to find, that the channel of a narrow stream, which ran through the city, was dry, and that it was possible to effect an entrance there. Through this he entered, at the head of a chosen band, and succeeded in throwing open a gate for the admission of his whole force. A fearful struggle ensued; but the Scythians were finally overpowered. Eight thousand men were slain, and the rest, after having in vain sought refuge in the citadel, surrendered. The prisoners were kept in chains till they could be removed from the province. Alexander having determined that not one who had taken part in the revolt should remain in Sogdiana.

While Alexander was thus engaged, enemies were starting up against him on every hand. The hitherto unconquered Massagetes* came down from the north of the Jaxartes, and posted themselves on the right bank of the river, whence they constantly annoyed the Greeks by gibes and demonstrations of hostility. At the same time, news arrived from Maracanda that Spitamenes was in arms, had seized upon the capital, and was besieging the citadel. Alexander, how-

* It is not possible to fix precisely the geographical site of the Massagetes, but only that it lay somewhere in the vicinity of the Jaxartes. The appellation is Scythian, and signifies, according to Strablenberg, those Scythians who dwell on the western side of Imaus; whereas those who dwell beyond, or to the east of that celebrated range, were called Geth, Getae, or Getae. According to this, therefore, the Getae and Massagetes of the Greeks and Romans, the Gog and Magog of the Hebrews, the Jajuge and Majuge of the Arabians, the Gued-Tschud and Mud-Tschud of the Tartars, are synonymous terms and appellatives taken from their relative situation, and are therefore applicable to all the pastoral tribes east and west of the vast Imaus. The truth of this cannot be verified; but it is certain that the Tartars who live eastward of the Helor Taugh, in eastern Turkistan, are denominated Getae, and their country Getah.

ever, would not forego the designs he had formed: he despatched relief to the city mentioned, and prepared for operations against the Scythians. Resolving to take vengeance upon them, he ordered rafts of stuffed skins to be constructed for the passage of the Jaxartes. But wrath had made him blind to danger which his officers foresaw. They were reluctant to commit the honour and safety of the Grecian army to a doubtful contest, and they gained over Aristander, his favourite diviner, to divert him from his purpose. Again and again he offered sacrifices, and as often assured the king that the omens were inauspicious to the project. But Alexander's wrath could not be restrained. Setting aside the supposed will of the gods, he angrily declared, that it were better to brave the worst of evils, than, after having nearly subdued Asia, to become, like the elder Darius, the sport of the Scythians. On these grounds, he determined to force the passage of the river. Accordingly, he stationed the military engines on the margin of the river, to cover the passage of the troops, and to drive the Scythians to a distance from the right bank. These engines produced the desired effect. Alarmed at the effects of the stones thrown from them, the Scythians retreated into the country, and Alexander and his whole army passed over in rafts to the opposite shore. The first onset of the Macedonians was unfortunate. The Scythians repelled a charge of the auxiliary cavalry and four squadrons of lancers, and encompassing them around, galled them severely with darts. Alexander, however, brought his light troops and three squadrons of the Companion horse to their aid; and he so disposed them, that the Massagetes were prevented from resorting to their favourite manoeuvre of enveloping their opponents. This movement succeeded. The Scythians, assailed in front and flank, were overthrown, leaving 1000 dead on the field of battle, and 150 prisoners in the hands of the victor. Curtius states, that sixty Macedonian horse and 100 foot were killed, and 1000 wounded, which proves the bravery of the Massagetes.

In pursuing the vanquished, the conquerors suffered greatly from heat and thirst. Alexander himself, having drunk some water of noxious qualities, was seized with a disorder that endangered his life, which apparently justified the prediction of Aristander, and saved his credit as a diviner.

Soon after this battle, envoys arrived from the Scythian ruler, to explain and apologize for the recent hostilities, which they attributed to some roving and lawless bands that lived by rapine and plunder. Alexander accepted this apology, being well pleased to have such a pretext for avoiding a contest which would have been fraught with danger to his interests.

At this moment, Spitamenes was fast gaining ground. The division of forces which Alexander had sent under the command of Audromachus, Menedemus, Caranus, and Pharnuches, had been defeated by him, and cut off almost to a man. Alexander now resolved to go in person to chastise him. Taking the most active part of his army, in three days he passed over a distance of ninety miles, and reached Maracanda on the

fourth morning. Spitamenes saw his danger, and endeavoured to avoid it. On hearing of Alexander's approach, he retired, to avoid a decisive battle, and pursuit was vain. When the conqueror arrived at the spot where the recent battle was fought, he performed the funeral rites of those who had perished. Afterwards, he wreaked his vengeance on the Sogdians, and desolated the fertile plains on the banks of the Polytemus, and put numbers of the inhabitants to the sword, to punish them for the assistance they had given to Spitamenes.

These were the last operations of this campaign. Baffled by his antagonist, Alexander put his army into cantonments in Bactria, while he himself established his winter quarters in the Bactrian capital.

While at Bactria, Alexander was joined by reinforcements from Greece and the provinces bordering upon the Mediterranean, to the number of 18,000 men, and native levies swelled the number. He was also joined by Phrataphernes, satrap of Parthia, and Stasanor, who had been sent to suppress the revolt of the Arians, which, after encountering many difficulties, they had accomplished; capturing Arsames, who was at the head of the Arians, Barzanes, whom Bessus had appointed to the satrapy of Parthia, and others of note, whom they brought in chains to Alexander.

During his stay at Bactria, Alexander received an embassy from the new king of the European Scythians, (the sovereign who sent before having died,) bearing valuable presents, and with them came the deputies formerly commissioned by Alexander. These deputies declared the readiness of the Scythian king to obey the commands of Alexander, and offered him his daughter in marriage; or, if that were refused, he proposed to unite the daughters of his principal subjects to the friends and officers of the conqueror. Alexander declined the last offer; but he accepted the Scythian monarch's alliance, and dismissed the ambassadors with due honours.

At the same time, Alexander received an offer of service from Pharasmenes, king of the Chorasmiens, who ruled over the territory between the Caspian, the Aral, and Sogdiana, now called Kharasm and Khariam. Arrian says, that this service was offered in case Alexander should think proper to turn his arms in the direction of the Euxine, against the Colchians and Amazons, who were the neighbours of Pharasmenes. But this does not appear probable, for Alexander was then about to take a different route; his thoughts being wholly bent upon the conquest of India, which would place all Asia under his dominion. Besides, the dominions of Pharasmenes, however far their limits may be stretched in a northerly direction, could not have reached the Euxine. Notwithstanding, it seems to be correct that Pharasmenes was received into the alliance of Alexander of this period.

While the Macedonian army was in winter quarters at Bactria, the fate of Bessus was decided. In a general assembly of officers, Alexander, after reproaching him with treachery to Darius, ordered that his nose and ears should be cut off, and that he should be sent to Echabata, to receive his final judgment from a council

composed of Medes and Persians; by which council he was ordered to be slain in a barbarous manner.* The conduct of Alexander towards Bezus, doubtless, arose from his rebellion after the death of Darius, and not from his treachery towards that monarch; for other traitors had been received into favour, on laying down their arms. The reference to his treachery may, indeed, be considered as a cloak whereby to hide the animosity of Alexander; and the previous mutilation of him an act of gratuitous cruelty, since he must have been well assured that Bezus would not be spared by the Persians. The truth is, Alexander was now fast descending into a vortex of crime, and his conduct on this occasion was an indication of the state of his mind. His next act, however, was more openly flagrant, and afforded a more certain criterion of his downward progress in the paths of vice and crime.

It had been the custom of the Macedonians to observe an annual festival in honour of Bacchus or Dionysius, on which occasion Alexander had always joined in sacrifice. From some unknown cause, he this year ceased to pay reverence to the son of Semele, and transferred the honour of this festival to the *Diocuri*, Castor and Pollux,† to whom he ordered that the rites should in future be dedicated. The wine flowed profusely at the feast; and, while maddened by its effects, the conversation of the guests turned on the *Diocuri*, and wonder was expressed why they were denominated *Diocuri*, or sons of Jupiter, it being notorious that Tyndarus, a mortal, was their father. These sentiments were introduced by some one skilled in the art of flattery; for it manifestly bore reference to the king, and led to his exaltation by the company. Some of them maintained that the exploits of Castor and Pollux were not worthy to be compared with those of Alexander; while others raised him above Hercules, and lamented, that while mankind adored the memories of the dead, envy should prevent them from offering due honours to the living.

Clitus, who had saved the life of Alexander at the battle of the Granicus, and who held the confidential command of half the Companion cavalry, was among the number of this convivial company. For some time, he had beheld with regret the change which had taken place in the manners and conduct of Alexander, and his indignation was raised to the utmost by this flattery of the courtiers. He reprobated the indignities offered to the gods, and the detraction of ancient heroes to swell the pride of a prince, who was principally indebted to the Macedonians for his conquests and fame. The monarch was

irritated by these reflections; and the courtiers, to soothe his anger, resumed his praises in a strain still more offensive to Clitus. They magnified his actions beyond those of his father Philip; and Clitus, who had fought under the slighted monarch, and revered his memory, retaliated by eulogizing Philip, and depreciating Alexander. The monarch's wrath waxed still more warm; and when at length Clitus reminded him that he had saved his life at the battle of the Granicus, his rage knew no bounds, and he rushed upon the offender with intent to kill him. The guests interposed, to prevent the deadly deed; but maddened still further by restraint, he summoned his guards to aid him; and finding that they did not appear, he complained that he was reduced to the same condition with Darius, when in the hands of Bezus—that he was the shadow of a king. In the meanwhile, Clitus was hurried away from the banquet by his friends, and placed under the care of Ptolemy, the son of Lagus. The veteran, however, losing himself from restraint, returned, when Alexander, snatching a pike from an attending soldier, laid him dead at his feet.*

Plutarch and other writers relate, that the sight of Clitus, stretched bleeding and lifeless before him, produced such an effect on the mind of Alexander, that he would have sought to atone for his crime by a voluntary death, had he not been prevented by his attendants. This, however, admits of a doubt. When a man has indulged in an excess of wine, the blood boils over, and his passions are so violent, that they are not thus readily calmed. But if Alexander did not see his crime at the moment, when the delirium of intoxication had passed away, his mental anguish was extreme. Extended on his couch, weeping bitterly, and sobbing forth the names of Clitus and Laonicæ,‡ he reproached himself for the murder of his friend, and for this ill requital of the maternal tenderness of his nurse, and the loss of her two sons, who had died fighting for him in the field of battle. For three days, he confined himself to his chamber,

* This is Arrian's version of the story. Plutarch gives the following: "When the guests were warmed with drinking, some of the company began to sing the verses of one Prætorius, or, as others say, of Prieto, written in ridicule of the Macedonian officers who had lately been defeated by the barbarians. The veterans in the company were greatly offended at it, and condemned both the poet and those who sang his strains, but Alexander and his courtiers listened with pleasure, and bade them proceed. Clitus, who was naturally rough and forward, and made still more so by wine, resented this behaviour. He remarked, 'It was not well to make a jest, among barbarians and enemies, of Macedonians, they being better men, though they had met with a misfortune, than those who thus sported with them.' Alexander replied, 'That Clitus was pleading his own cause when he gave cowardice the tender name of misfortune.' Clitus was enraged at this, and rejoined, 'Yet it was this cowardice which saved you, son of Jupiter, though you be, when you were turning your back to the sword of Epithridates. It is by the blood of the Macedonians, and these wounds, that you are grown so great as to disown your father Philip, and to pass yourself off for the son of Jupiter Ammon.' Then followed the catastrophe.

It may be mentioned, that the relation of Curtius nearly agrees with that of Plutarch, and that Justin relates, in a few words, that Alexander killed his friend Clitus for extolling the deeds of his father Philip.

† Laonicæ was the sister of Clitus, and had been the nurse of Alexander in his infancy.

* The manner of his death is variously related, but all writers agree that it was cruel.

† There were three gods of this name. This was the son of Jupiter and Semele, called the Bacchus of Thebes. The rites of the whole appear to have been the same. They were composed of one continued scene of licentiousness: even the civilized Greeks gave themselves up, on these occasions, to lewdnesses, extravagances, and debaucheries of the most fearful nature.

‡ In heathen mythology, these were twin brothers, sons of Jupiter, by Leda, wife of Tyndarus, king of Sparta. They were generally called *Dæmonii*, sons of Jupiter. While lambs were offered on their altars, and the ancients were fond of swearing by the divinity of the *Diocuri*. Like the rites of Bacchus, the rites of the *Diocuri* were grossly profane.

refusing to listen to comfort, or to take food. While thus affected, had honest counsel and consolation been administered to him, his after conduct might have been improved. Such, however, was not the case. The soldiers, to soothe him, condemned Clitus, and prohibited his interment, thereby justifying the act. The priests of Bacchus attributed the event to the wrath of Dionysius, exalted by the discontinuance of his sacrifices, which soothing doctrine was willingly listened to by the king. Transformed in his own sight from a criminal into a victim and instrument of the deity, he suffered himself to be prevailed on to take nourishment, and then sacrificed to Bacchus. The removal of his sorrow, however, is attributed to Anaxarchus, a philosopher of Abdera. Seeing Alexander still under the influence of grief, "Is this," said he, "the same Alexander whom the world so much admires? Behold him weeping, like an abject slave, for fear of the law and the reproof of men, to whom he himself ought to be a law and the measure of equity, since he conquered for no other end but to make himself lord of all, and not to be a slave to the world's opinion. Do not you know that Jupiter is represented sitting on his throne, with law assisting on one side and justice on the other? So let a prince do what he will, his actions are just and lawful." These slavish maxims, which prove Anaxarchus to have been fit for serving a despot, had their effect: Alexander dried up his tears, and pursued his unallured career.

The conduct of Alexander, on this occasion, reads a lesson on the evils of drunkenness. What misbehaviour, what outrage, and how many murders, may we not lay to the charge of this vice! Reader, when you sit down to a feast, remember that Alexander killed his friend Clitus, and burned the finest city in the world, in a fit of drunkenness. A man, intoxicated, is placed at the mercy of almost every accident. Reason flies before the fumes of wine, and to part with one's reason when we have need of an enlargement of that faculty, is like breaking the compass, and throwing the pilot overboard in the storm. And then, what remorse follows in the train! Look at Alexander for a confirmation of this fact. He who had overthrown the mightiest empire that had existed, overthrown himself by the power of wine, wept and groaned as a culprit for evil deeds, and sought comfort at the hands of his subjects. And miserable comforters were they all! His priests and philosophers found him deep in the vortex of crime, and they plunged him lower down. Like too many, even in our own day, they cried, Peace, Peace, when there was no peace, and thus paved the way for future crimes. By the gross flattery of his comforters, indeed, he was shortly after, as will be seen, led to think himself a god, and to require the adoration of his followers.

The return of spring, a. c. 338, found Alexander resuming his unfinished conquests. The Sogdians, who had been hardly pressed in the preceding campaign, and had yielded a feigned submission, by this time had joined those whom he had failed in reducing, and the entire province was again in a state of revolt. The flame, also, had spread to Bactria. Dividing his forces,

therefore, Alexander left four divisions under Polyperchon, Attalus, Gordias, and Malanor, to keep down Bactria, while he marched with the rest to Sogdiana. The wide-spread insurrection, however, required a still further division of his army. Accordingly, after he crossed the Oxus, Alexander divided it into five other parts, four of which were placed under the command of Hephæstion, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, Perdicas, and Cœnus, with whom was Artabazus, who were ordered to penetrate and overrun the country in different directions; while he himself, with the fifth portion, penetrated to Maracanda.

Although Alexander was detained in Sogdiana for a whole year, little is recorded of the occurrences of that year. The first movements of these five columns appear to have been successful; for after having traversed the country, and reduced many forts, they formed a junction at Maracanda. Still, Spitamenes was not discovered, and nothing decisive, therefore, occurred. It was believed, that he had taken refuge among the Scythians, and a division under Corus and Artabazus was despatched to provide against danger in that quarter, while Hephæstion was commissioned to establish colonies in those cities from whence the natives had been expelled, in order to be ready for the suppression of any revolt.

The supposition concerning Spitamenes was erroneous. While he was believed to be skirmishing beyond the Jaxartes, he suddenly appeared at the head of the Sogdians and 600 Massagetes, in Bactria, where he surprised a fortress, and put the governor and garrison to the sword, and then advanced to the vicinity of Bactra, or Zariaspa, the capital. The only Macedonians in the capital able to assume the command were Pithon, the chief of the king's household, and Aristoniceus, a minstrel. These, seeing the enemy's troops were divided, fell upon the Massagetes, and recovered the booty; but as they were returning to the city, Spitamenes sallied forth from an ambush, and destroyed them all.

This defeat was revenged by Craterus. Immediately he received the intelligence, he pursued the Massagetes, who had been joined by 1000 of their companions, and were retiring towards the desert, and destroyed 150 of their number. The victory, however, was barren of advantage; for the rest of the Massagetes sought and found a safe asylum in their native country.

The career of Spitamenes was now fast drawing to a close. Venturing, at the head of his Persian followers and 3000 Scythian cavalry, to invade Sogdiana again, Cœnus, who had been entrusted with the defence of the eastern frontier of that province, attacked him, and, after a severe conflict, routed his army and destroyed 800 of his cavalry. Discouraged by this defeat, most of the Sogdian and Bactrian troops submitted to Cœnus; and the Scythians, hearing that the Macedonian monarch was marching against them, cut off the head of Spitamenes, and sent it to Alexander, as a pledge of their future peaceful intentions.

The spirit of resistance was not yet wholly suppressed; but the inclemency of the season compelled both parties to sheath the sword. Alexander established his head quarters at Nacta, in the vicinity of Maracanda.

About this time, Artabazus, who was of a great age, solicited to be relieved from the burden of a disturbed satrapy. Like that of Bactria, and Amyatas was accordingly appointed in his stead. The Taperian and Median satraps, also, who had exhibited signs of revolt, were superseded. Stanesar, likewise, was placed over the Drangians; and the satrapy of Babylon becoming vacant by the death of Massava, it was intrusted to Stanesar.

Among the principal leaders of the opposition to Alexander may be reckoned Oxyartes, a Bactrian chief, who had originally submitted to the Macedonian sway, but who had again espoused the cause of his countrymen. Keeping the field himself, he secured his wife and daughters in a Sogdian hill fort, supposed to be impregnable.* At the opening of the spring, B.C. 327, Alexander led his army against this rock, which he found to be almost precipitous on every side, and covered with snow. Oxyartes had furnished it with an abundance of provisions, and the garrison was numerous, great numbers of the Sogdians having fled thither for safety. Despairing of taking it by force, Alexander summoned the defenders to surrender, promising that they should be suffered to return to their houses. Confident in the strength of their position, they asked deridingly if he was provided with winged soldiers; for they feared no others. Irritated by this reply, he resolved, at all hazards, to reduce the garrison to submission. Proclamation was therefore made, that liberal rewards would be given to the first twelve soldiers who could ascend the rock. The first man was to have a reward of twelve talents, (2712*l.*) and so on, in proportion, to the last, who was promised three hundred darics, (375*l.*) These prizes attracted numerous volunteers; and from the crowds who pressed forward, three hundred were chosen for the service. At the approach of night, these adventurers marched secretly to the steepest side of the hill, which, being the least guarded, was chosen as the scene of their enterprise. To enable them to ascend, they carried ropes and iron pins, used to fasten the cords of the tents to the ground. By driving these pins into the crevices, or frozen snow, and tying the ropes to them, a kind of ladder was formed. Thirty of the band perished in the attempt; but, before daybreak, the remainder reached the summit, and as soon as it was light, they gave the signal which announced their success. Alexander now sent a herald to summon the besieged to surrender, without delay, to the "winged soldiers" on the top of the rock; and the enemy, astonished at the sight, and thinking the party more numerous than they really were, surrendered at discretion.

It was the wish of Alexander to put an end to the war in the northern provinces as speedily as possible. To facilitate the consummation of this wish, he married Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, who was among the captives, and the most beautiful woman in Asia, next to the wife of Darius. This was sound policy; for Oxyartes, as soon as he was informed of the honour conferred upon

his daughter, laid down his arms, and hastened to the Macedonian camp; and Bactria appears from that time to have been faithful to its new monarch.

One more noted leader only remained to be subjugated, and Alexander's victories would be complete in this quarter. This leader's name was Chorieneas, and he occupied a post of similar configuration and strength to that just described in the province of Paristacene, supposed by some geographers to have been in the north-west, and by others in the north-east of Sogdiana. To this country Alexander now led his army, and he commenced operations by investing this stronghold. Arrian says, that this rock was steep and rugged on all sides, and four miles in circumference at the basis, whence the summit could be reached only by a single path, a mile in length, and so narrow, that only one person could pass at a time up the passage. The difficulty of access was increased by a broad and deep ditch, or gulf, which surrounded the rock. Over this, however, with great labour and difficulty, Alexander's army made a bridge of piles, on which a platform was constructed, to support covered galleries, serving as fascines and bridges. The besieged ridiculed the attempt; but the structure was at length brought to such an altitude, and so well sheltered, that the Macedonians were enabled to annoy their enemies with missiles, without being exposed to theirs in return. Still, had Chorieneas been resolved to hold out to the last, the Macedonians would have had much to do and much to suffer. Chorieneas, however, foreseeing the final result, sent a messenger to the hostile camp, desiring a conference with Oxyartes; and upon his advice, he surrendered the place, in the government of which Alexander reinstated him, and also of the surrounding territory.

Before Alexander returned, Chorieneas had an opportunity of ingratiating himself still more in his favour. Winter still reigned around his rocky fortress, and a heavy fall of snow covered the ground, whence the Macedonian army began to be straitened for provisions. The scarcity was removed by Chorieneas, who opened his magazines, and supplied them with provisions for two months, at the end of which time he declared that not one-tenth of the stores were exhausted which he had provided for the maintenance of his garrison in case of a blockade. This assertion increased the confidence placed in him by Alexander, as it showed that inclination, rather than present fear, led him to surrender to the conqueror.

There was still a remnant of insurgents in Paristacene; but Alexander left Craterus to quench these last embers of resistance, which he did effectually, and as soon as the weather permitted, he returned to Bactria.

The poet Cowper has remarked—

An earthquake may be bid to spare
The man that's strangled with a hair;

signifying that danger lurks unseen, and that death approaches, sometimes when least expected.

It was not in the battle field alone that Alexander was exposed to dangers. Doubled as these

* The situation of this fort is unknown, but one of this description still exists on the Kara Teese mountains, eastward of Samarand.

were by his own intemperance of valour, his recent conduct in sacrificing Parmenio and Philotas, and his adoption of the Persian manners, had created for him more dangerous foes within the heart of his own camp than he met with in the field of battle. On his return to Bactria, when not an enemy remained to dispute his right to the Persian diadem, he who had so long braved the weapons of the valiant, was on the point of falling beneath the daggers of six youths, who were confidential attendants upon his person.

Alexander had fifty of these youths in waiting upon his person, and their duties were, to attend him in the field, at his exercises, when at table, and when he retired to rest. One day, while Alexander was hunting the wild boar in Bactria, one of these pages, Hermolus, son of Hopolis, killed the beast which the monarch was about to strike. Provoked with the act, Alexander ordered the boy to be scourged with rods, and the horse taken from him. This disgraced sank deep into the heart of Hermolus, and he resolved to revenge himself on the monarch. He communicated his purpose to his intimate friend Stratus, son of Amyntas, who entered into his designs, and, working in the dark together, they gained over four more of their companions, namely, Antipater, son of Asclepiodorus, Epimenus, son of Arces, Anticles, son of Theocritus, and Philotas, the son of Curus, a Thracian. The result of the consultations of these youths was, that, on the night when Antipater would be on guard, Alexander should be assassinated while he slept.

It does not appear that the conspirators relented when the time arrived for the execution of their dark deed, nor is it probable that Alexander could have escaped, but the king continuing his carousal till break of day, the design was frustrated. Still he continued ignorant of the existence of the conspirators' project, and they might yet have carried it into execution, had they not destroyed it by an attempt to obtain the co-operation of others. On the morning after their disappointment, Epimenus disclosed their design to Chameles, son of Menander, who communicated particulars to Eurylochus, the brother of Epimenus, and he conveyed the intelligence to Ptolemy, son of Lagus, by whom it was laid before Alexander. The conspirators were seized, and put to the torture, under the pressure of which they confessed their guilt, after which, they were taken before the assembled Macedonians, by whose sentence they were adjudged to be stoned to death.

Previous to this transaction, Alexander revealed the design he had long meditated, namely, to have divine honours paid to him. He was

anxious not only to be called the son of Jupiter, as he had long been by his flatterers, but to be worshipped as such. How strong his desire was to be thus exalted in the sight of man, may be gathered from the means to which he descended for the attainment of his object. He appointed a festival, to which he invited the greatest lords of the court, Macedonians, Greeks, and Persians. It had been agreed upon before by the sophists, and the principal Medes and Persians, in conjunction with Alexander, that while the wine was freely flowing at this feast, the subject of adoration should be introduced, and thus claim vindicated. Anaxarchus, a man well fitted for the task, was to use his power of eloquence on this occasion, and, to increase the chance of success, some officers were gained over to perform the prostration at the close of his speech, in hopes that the force of example, and the fumes of the wine, would induce the remainder of the guests to imitate their conduct.

The wine had been freely circulated when Anaxarchus began his speech. He told his hearers that Alexander was more worthy of divine honours than Bacchus and Hercules, inasmuch as his actions and conquests far surpassed theirs. He said, also, that Bacchus was a Theban, and though he admitted that Hercules was a Greek, and without reproach, yet he affirmed that he was equally unconnected with the Macedonians, except as being an ancestor of Alexander. Hence he argued, that it was more just to pay divine honours to Alexander than to them, especially as he would at his death be numbered among their deities. Was it not, then, he asked, more in unison with reason to perform adoration to him while living, rather than reserve it to a period when he could neither derive from it advantage nor pleasure?

The speech of Anaxarchus was followed by the plaudits of those who were in the secret, who readily acquiesced in its demands. But it was not so with the majority of the Macedonians. They listened to the proposal with disapprobation, and Callisthenes, the Olynthian philosopher, in a speech fraught with sense, eloquence, and spirit, boldly controverted the slavish doctrines taught by Anaxarchus. In concluding his speech, Callisthenes thus apostrophised Alexander: "If being few in number, it is supposed that we ought to adopt the manners of the barbarians, bethink thee, Alexander, of Greece, for whose sake this enterprise was undertaken; the purport of it being to subject Asia to Greece, not Greece to Asia. Canst thou hope for adoration from the Greeks? Or wilt thou exempt the Greeks, and inflict this insult only on the Macedonians? Or wilt thou be honoured as a mortal by the Greeks and Macedonians, and as a god by the barbarians? Cyrus, the son of Cambyses, was the first who was thus worshipped, and the same tribute has been paid to succeeding Persian monarchs, but forget not that the Scythians chastised Cyrus, that others chastised Darius Hystaspes, that Xerxes was humiliated by the Greeks, and Artaxerxes by ten thousand men under Clearchus and Xenophon; and, finally, that Darius was overthrown by thyself as a man."

The speech of Callisthenes was heard by the

* There was nothing wonderful in the protracted revelry of Alexander, but, kind of the marvellous, the Greeks have invented a miracle for his escape. Aristobulus says, that a Syrian woman, who pretended to the gift of prophecy, attended the camp of Alexander, and being high in favour, was admitted at all hours into his tent. On the night destined for his murder, this woman met him as he was retiring from the banquet, and conjured him to return, and remain at the festal board till the morning. Believing from her frantic gestures, that she was prompted by a superior power, Alexander followed the advice, and his life was thereby preserved.

Macedonians with delight, but by Alexander with displeasure. For the moment, however, he restrained his resentment, and the ceremony of adoration was proceeded with. The signal being given, each Persian of rank rose in succession, and saluted their sovereign in their usual manner. One of them, having exceeded his fellows in his prostration, was ridiculed by Leonnatus, a Macedonian of eminence, which excited the displeasure of Alexander, and he was thrown into prison. After the Persians had paid their adorations, it came to the turn of the Greeks. It was the practice among them at festivals to pass round the cup, for the whole of the guests to drink therefrom. On this occasion, Alexander filled a golden cup, drank, and then sent it to one of the Macedonians who had agreed to adopt the Persian mode of doing reverence. The convert drank, prostrated himself, and then interchanged kisses in the Grecian manner, which was done by the rest of those who had pledged themselves to the act. The cup was presented to Callisthenes, who drank, and advanced to kiss the king Alexander, who at that moment was conversing with Hephæstion, had not remarked the omission of the Persian ceremony, and being informed of it, he refused the salutation of the philosopher, upon which Callisthenes withdrew, calmly remarking, "I only love a kiss."

That was his momentary loss, but Alexander noted in his memory the opposition of Callisthenes to his exaltation as a god, and secretly resolved to revenge himself upon him as a man. An opportunity occurred for the display of his vengeance, when the youthful conspirators before described were put to death. Callisthenes had been tutor to Hermolaus, and he was charged with being a participator in the conspiracy. Whether he was really connected with it, or whether it was a pretext for sacrificing him, is not certain. Some authors assert that he prompted Hermolaus to the deed; while Arrian and Plutarch infer that he was the victim of Alexander's hatred. His death, also, is a mystery, for while Aristobolus represents him as having been carried about in chains with the army till he died a natural death, Ptolemy affirms that he was first put to the rack, and then hanged.

Seneca, moralizing upon the conduct of Alexander in putting Callisthenes to death, says: "This is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and so dreadful a crime, that no virtue, no military exploit, can ever efface its infamy. If it is said, in favour of Alexander, that he was victorious over a number of Persians; that he slew the most powerful king of the earth; conquered many provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the remotest part of Thrace to the extremities of the east;—I answer, 'Yes; but he murdered Callisthenes'; a crime of such magnitude, that it obliterates the glory of all his other actions." The death of Callisthenes truly reflects disgrace upon the character of Alexander. He alone, unshaken, unseduced, unterrified, had courage enough to give that prince wholesome counsels. His whole life was a tacit reproof to the base flatterers that swarmed in the court of Alexander; and his high moral conduct, with the solidity of his understanding and extent of his

knowledge, was worthy a philosopher. Happy had it been for Alexander had he listened to this stern moralist; for he would have afforded him at least light sufficient to guide him in the paths of moral rectitude. But truth rarely pierces those clouds raised by the authority of the great and the flattery of courtiers, and Alexander was at this period surrounded by such clouds. He smote his best friend; for those who dare to tell the truth to, and point out the errors of the great, are their best friends. This was a great error, as well as a great crime. By it Alexander deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of pointing out his true interests. From that instant, indeed, no one spoke with freedom in the council. Even those who had the love of the public welfare at heart, and a personal affection for Alexander, held their peace for fear, and nothing was listened to but gross adulation, which was eventually his ruin.

As Christians, we must look upon these transactions in a different light. Alexander's unhallowed wish to be deemed a god, and his revenge upon Callisthenes for reminding him that he was but man, afford two of the most notable illustrations of the corruption of the human heart in the wide range of history. It is a Scripture truth, "God hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions." Levites vi. 29. One of the most flagrant of these inventions is the deification of those whom the world calls heroes. Men who have been a scourge to the human race, who have slaughtered their species by tens of thousands, and destroyed the fair face of God's creation, and the beautiful works of genius and art—men who, because they possessed brute force and animal courage above the rest of mankind, are nevertheless exalted to the skies as gods! The Creator forgotten; the creature exalted! That God from whom all the nations of the earth derive life and being undored; and those who have slaughtered those nations, and trampled upon the breath of life which he breathed upon them, worshipped! This is an unnatural anomaly in the pages of history.

And yet it is true. It is indelibly stamped upon those pages, and can never be effaced from them. Read it, ye who exalt your species as approaching the Divine, and be ashamed for human nature! Read it, Christians, and while ye weep over the perversity of the human heart, and the human intellect, pray for that day when all shall know and revere, love and obey the Most High God.

INDIAN EXPLDITION.

The empire of Persia being subdued to his yoke, and the wrongs of Greece thereby avenged tenfold, it might have been expected that Alexander would have crowned his glory by a wise and just administration of the dominions he had secured. Such was not the issue of his conquests. The poet says:

Great princes have great playthings. Some have played
At hewing mountains into men, and some
At building human wonders mountain high
Some have amused the dull sad years of life
(Life spent in indolence, and therefore sad)
With schemes of monumental fame, and sought,
By pyramids and mausoleum pomp,
Short lived themselves, to immortalise their bones.
Some seek diversion in the tented field,
And make the sorrows of mankind their sport.

COWLEY

To this latter class of princes Alexander belonged. War had become to him a species of gaming, and his existence appears to have been a burden to him, when unsupported by this soul and body destroying stimulus. Long before he had subdued the northern provinces, Alexander projected the invasion of India, and as soon as he was at liberty, he commenced his preparations for this enterprise.

Notwithstanding, it must not be supposed that Alexander was void of motive in his project upon India, otherwise than conquest over his species. Heeren says "Alexander's expedition against India had, no doubt, its origin in that propensity to romantic enterprise which constituted a main feature in his character. Yet what could be more natural than that a close view of Persian splendour, the conquest of such wealthy countries, and the desire of prosecuting his vast commercial designs, should generally mature in the mind of the Macedonian king the plan of subjecting a country which was represented as the golden land of Asia. To this, likewise the scantiness of geographic information must have greatly contributed if he pressed forward to the eastern seas, the extent of his dominion would it was supposed, be complete. It appears very certain that Alexander was destitute of a sufficient knowledge of the country when he entered upon this expedition."

Before Alexander proceeded to the scene of his future exploits he received an embassy from Taxiles,* who roled over the tract between the Indus and the Hydaspes, which now forms the northern part of the province of Lahore, inhabited by the Gujars. The declared purport of this embassy was, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Macedonian monarch, and to tender his co-operation in reducing the Indians who were hostile to him, his real motive, however was, doubtless, to obtain protection from his enemies particularly Astes, on his western, and Ptoles, on his eastern frontier. Alexander gladly availed himself of the friendship of Taxiles, for by it he secured an unobstructed passage over the Indus, and a firm basis for his operations in India, while the necessity of reducing the country between the Indus and Hydaspes was obviated.

Alexander commenced his march from Bactria in the summer of B.C. 327. His army is said to have consisted of 120,000 men. He passed the Paropamisan dikes in ten days and came to his colony of Alexandria and displaced the governor for negligence appointing Nicanor in his stead. From Alexandria he advanced to a city denominated Nienra† by the Greeks where he sacrificed to Minerva. From Nienra, Alexander dispatched a herald with a summons to Taxiles and the chiefs westward of the Indus, to meet him wherever he might be encompassed which summons was obeyed by Taxiles, and by almost all

the chiefs on the right bank of the Choos, or Cabul river. They came and offered their submission, bringing costly presents in tokens of respect. They also promised to furnish him with twenty-five elephants.

After he had received the submission of these chiefs, Alexander divided his army, in order to take possession of the country on both sides of the Cabul as far as the Indus. That portion which was intended to traverse the territory on the right bank was assigned to Hephæstion and Perdicas who were accompanied by Taxiles and the other chiefs, and who, on reaching the Indus* were to make preparations for the passage of the whole army. The only opposition to their progress was made by Astes, chief of the Panchalatis, a territory in the vicinity of Indus, who threw himself into one of his strong-

* The Indus was esteemed by the ancients the largest river in the world next to the Ganges, the Nile and the Danube, inferior to it. It is formed by the junction of two mountain streams called the Bakung Tchu and the Sing Tchu in the Tibetan language, corresponding to the La Tchu of the Hindus. It is impossible to fix the source of the Bakung Tchu, but the river of shortness, called the Sing Tchu originates at the northern foot of the Caillies, a mountain range north of the Himalaya or Sikkim mountains, in 31° 2' north latitude and 86° 37' east longitude, twenty-five miles distant south of the source in the map of Moore's.

To the magnificence of the Indus the poet Thomson alludes

Scarcely the Muse

Dares stretch her wings o'er the enormous mass
Of rushing water to whose dread expanse
Continuum depth and wondrous length of courses,
Our floods are rills.

The basin of the Indus is estimated at 400,000 square miles being to that of the Thames as 724 to one. Its length at 2070 miles or 114 to that of the Thames, its annual discharge 134,400,000,000 and its average discharge per second of time 233,600 cubic feet. The annexed table of the breadth and depth of the Indus may be interesting to the reader. It is taken from Pottinger's Journal published in 1811.

Table of the Depth and Breadth of the Indus

Lat	Place	Depth		Breadth
		Dry Season	Wet Season	Dry Season
35	Attock			270 yards
33 7	Kallatagh			350 yards
31 52	Iwan Istmal Khan	2 fath		1600 yards
31 28	Kaharee	2 fath		1200 yards
31 54	Darai am Khan	3 fath	7 fath	1600 yards
29 23	Burghp	1 fath	7 fath	1500 yards
28 2*	Cent of the Indus rivers	4 fath	16 fath	3200 yards
27 17	Bluket	5 fath	10 fath	1600 yards
26 4	Schwar	3 fath	1 fath	200 yards
25 23	Hyderabad	5 fath	8 fath	200 yards
25 0	Hydrabad river	5 fath	10 fath	2250 yards
24 44	Tatta	4 fath	6 fath	1600 yards
24 40	Peetulla	4 fath	18 fath	700 yards
24 32	1st riv. Runer	11 fath	16 fath	4 miles
24 29	Dharajee Bunder	13 fath	16 fath	9 miles
24 8	Extreme mouth	13 fath	16 fath	12 miles

* This is the name by which this prince is historically known, but he is called Nephis by Diodorus and Omphis by Curtius, names differing only by the transposition of the first two letters.

† Hessel places the Nienra of the Greeks on the river Bangash, and identifies it with Nughra, or Nagra, while Wilford places it on the river of Cabul, and maintains that the capital of the Nughra district is Bugha, or Bugham, and the name of the district itself Iryab.

The Indus, it may be mentioned, enters the ocean seventy-nine miles below Tatta, in one vast body, for though the Goonee and three or four other small rivers separate from the main trunk, and fall into the sea by different channels yet they are, properly speaking, mere creeks varying according to the state of the tide or ebb, and overgrown with thick jungles of mangrove.

holds, and made them defiance. After a siege of thirty days, however, the town was taken by assault, and Astes was slain in the conflict.

Alexander, who traversed the left bank of the Caubul, had more formidable foes, and greater difficulties to contend with. Between the river and the Hindkoo Kho, on the northern frontier, the country, which consists of rugged valleys penetrating into the recesses of the mountains, was inhabited by various tribes who mocked at danger, and abhorred subjection. Like the Afghans who now possess the country, they were content with alarms, discord, and blood, but could not endure a master. It was with such men as these that Alexander had to contend. Passing a river probably the modern Ghorband, or Panjshier, he entered the territory of the Asprians, Thyrians, and the Arassaces, nations whose modern names and sites are unknown. Receiving intelligence that the natives were retiring into their strongholds and mountain recesses, he hastened with his cavalry to prevent them. He found the enemy drawn up beneath the walls of the first town to oppose him. But resistance was vain. By a vigorous charge, they were first driven into the place, and then by assault they were driven from thence to the mountains with great slaughter.

Leaving Craterus to reduce this district, Alexander proceeded with the main portion of his army towards the Luaspia, which waters the valley of Oosbeen, where the prince of the Asprians was encamped. On approaching their principal city, the Asprians set fire to it and withdrew to the mountains. They were pursued thither by the Macedonians, and the Aspiu chief rallying his troops on an eminence offered them battle. Much valour was displayed by him but he was slain by Ptolemy, and after a sanguinary struggle to obtain his corpse, his followers retired over the mountains, burning in their retreat, the town of Arictum, the inhabitants of which joined them for the purpose of making a valiant stand in defence of their country. For this purpose they concentrated the whole of their forces on a high and extensive mountain. Ptolemy was sent to reconnoitre them, and he reported that their camp fires were more numerous than those of the Greeks, whence he inferred that their forces were numerically superior. Still Alexander pressed forward. Leaving a portion of his army to guard the camp, he formed the remainder into three divisions two of which were commanded by Ptolemy and Leonnatus, and the third by himself. The assault was made on three sides of the mountain at the same time, and notwithstanding the Indians fought bravely, some of them boldly descending into the plain to meet their foes, they were defeated. Arrian says, that 40,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the Greeks, and that among the spoil were 300,000 neat cattle of a fine species, the best of which Alexander sent to Macedonia, to improve the Macedonian breed.

After this victory, Alexander pursued his march to the Gureens, signifying a mountain river, beyond which was the territory of the Assakenes. This river, which is the modern Kaskhar, is much larger than the streams he had recently crossed. Its ancient name is supposed to be an appellative, from the Pooshkoo

word Ghur, a mountain; and it has all the characteristics of a mountain stream, being rapid, rocky, and full of stones, and pursuing its whole course through mountains, from the snowy hill of Pooshkhar, in north latitude 36 and east longitude 73, to the valley of the Caubul river, eighty-five miles above its junction with the Indus. The Assakenes, who seem to have dwelt to the east of the river, and whose territory corresponds to the modern district of Ashenagur, made a show of resistance on the left bank of the river, but fearing the issue of a battle, they retired to their strongholds. Alexander, therefore, proceeded, unopposed, till he reached Massaga, now Mashanagur, two marches south-east of Bajour, the capital. When he arrived there, the garrison, which had been reinforced by 7000 hired auxiliaries from a distant part of India, sallied forth to offer battle. A brief conflict ensued, in which Alexander was wounded in one of his feet by an arrow, but the Indians were put to flight, with the loss of 200 slain.

The day after his arrival, Alexander brought up his battering machines, and commenced the siege of Massaga. As the walls were only of earth, a breach was soon effected, and the Greeks advanced to the assault. They were, however, driven back by the determined spirit of the garrison, and a second, third, and fourth assault ended in the same result. At last, their chief being slain, the auxiliaries sent out a herald, offering to capitulate, and it was agreed that they should enter into the service of Alexander. For this purpose, they marched out of the city, and halted on a small hill opposite to the Macedonian camp.

A dark deed which reflects deep disgrace on the character of Alexander, ensued. In utter defiance of the faith of this treaty, he surrounded these brave Indians with his army, and put them all to the sword. After this massacre, which exhibits both perfidy and cruelty in their darkest colours, Alexander took possession of Massaga. Arrian says, that only twenty-five of the Macedonians were slain during the whole of this contest, but the stern resistance they had met with rendered this impossible.

Alexander next marched towards Baziri, a city north-west of Massaga, corresponding to the Bignor of Rennel, and the Bajour of Elphinstone. On his way thither, he learned that Ora was determined to resist, and that it had been reinforced by a body of Indians, and he turned aside to reduce it. The town of Ora was carried at the first assault, and its capture so discouraged the Bazirians, that they abandoned their town in the night, and sought safety in the rock of Aornus, which they deemed capable of bidding defiance to the invader, and where they were joined by the population of the surrounding country.

This famed rock Aornus probably belonged to some of the ranges which environ the delightful plain Alexander was now ravaging. The appellation Aornus is Greek, denoting its elevation to be so great, as to be above the flight of birds, the word being *ornos*, a bird, with the privative *alpha* prefixed. Arrian describes it as being more than a mile in altitude, having a base of twenty miles in circumference, and accessible only by one narrow pathway cut out in the rock. It appears to have

been a cable rock, having a wide extent of arable and pasture land on its summit, with springs of water, so that 1000 men could subsist thereon without any foreign support. So well calculated was it for defence, that fable has affirmed, that Hercules himself had been foiled by an earthquake in his attempt to become master of this fastness.

Having stationed garrisons in Ora and Massaga, and another deserted town named Orobatis, and having reappropriated Basira, Alexander proceeded to Aorana, with intent to besiege it. In his way thither, he received the submission of Peuceia, in which city also he placed a garrison, under the command of Philip, son of Machatas, while he appointed Nicanor satrap of the province. After reducing several minor places in his progress, he at length reached Ecbolimus, or Embolima, which stood in the vicinity of Aornus, which city he also captured.

Alexander now advanced to the rock, in order to besiege it. It was a difficult task; and had not treason appeared in aid of his arms, it is probable he would have been compelled to resort to a blockade. Soon after he had encamped at the foot of the mountain, some treacherous natives, dwelling in the neighbourhood, offered to guide his troops, by an unknown path, to a spot from whence the defenders of the post might be assailed with advantage. This ensured ultimate success. Ptolemy was despatched to seize and fortify this commanding point, which, after a toilsome march, he accomplished. Alexander then attempted to ascend the rock by the passage in the opposite quarter; but he met with insuperable difficulties, and was driven back. Ptolemy also sustained a severe conflict with the Indians, which he with difficulty surmounted. Still the operations went forward. Alexander next formed a junction with Ptolemy, and made an assault in concert against the Indians; but the defenders of the rock displayed such courage, that they were foiled in this attempt also. The Indians repelled the Macedonians with great slaughter, much to the conqueror's chagrin. But the ardour of Alexander was irrepressible. Seeing that the declivity of the way by which the Indians were attacked was their great advantage, he caused a quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled the cavities between the plain where the enemy was encamped, and the highest of his advanced posts. The position which the Indians held was now open to the missiles of their enemies, and their confidence in the impregnability of the rock was shaken. They sent deputies to treat for a capitulation, and Alexander feigned to listen to their proposal. Suspecting, however, that their intention was to lull his vigilance to sleep, and thereby to make their escape, he secretly made arrangements for attacking the garrison whenever it should retreat. His suspicions were well founded, and his plan successful. The Indians commenced a retreat, and the Macedonians pursued them, and slew many of them, while many more perished by losing the track, and falling from the precipitous heights. The command of this stronghold was given to Sisicottus, an Indian, who had served under Bessus, and afterwards under Alexander in Bactria.

While Alexander was thus employed, the brother of the late prince of the Assakenes shook off his yoke. On hearing of this revolt, Alexander retraced his course to the territory of the Assakenes. Arriving at Dyrra, however, he found that city abandoned, and on proceeding further, he learned that the Assakenes had retired beyond the frontier, leaving their elephants to pasture on the banks of the Indus. Accordingly, leaving Nearchus and Antiochus to suppress the insurrection, Alexander continued his march towards the Indus, whither he arrived in sixteen days, and where Hephestion and Perdicas had provided a bridge of boats for the passage of the army.

The exact spot of this celebrated passage cannot be definitely fixed; but it is supposed, with great probability, by Rennel, to have been the ferry of Painshawar, opposite the fortress of Attock,* erected by the emperor Akbar, to command the passage of that river, five miles below its junction with the Cophenes, and ten miles above the site of Neelamb, the Naubibis of Ptolemy. Before he crossed the stream, Alexander halted for a while to refresh his troops and offer sacrifices. While thus situated, he received a magnificent present from Taxiles, consisting of 200 talents of silver, (400,000*l.*) 3,000 oxen, 10,000 sheep, and thirty elephants. Taxiles also sent the keys of his capital, and a contingent of 700 cavalry. Having refreshed his troops, and consulted the diviners as to the success of the expedition, who pronounced that the omens were propitious, Alexander led his army to the left bank of the Indus. On reaching the shore, he again sacrificed to the gods. After this, he pursued his march to the capital of Taxiles, which is believed to have been situated between the Indus and Hydaspes, on the site now occupied by the town of Serai Roobant. Taxiles received him with warm demonstrations of friendship, which was rewarded by Alexander by adding to his dominion some adjacent territory coveted by the Indian prince. The rumour of this gift, and the dread of his arms, incited Doxares, called by Arrian "Chief of the land," and Abissares, who ruled over the mountainous district between Cashmere and the kingdom of Taxiles, to take measures for conciliating Alexander. They sent presents to him by envoys, desiring his friendship, which they obtained. Abissares, moreover, whose mountain warriors, like their successors, the Ghickers, were always ready to aid any invader, in order to reap the spoil, or share it with the conqueror, like Taxiles, joined his forces to those of Alexander.

* At this point, the Indus is 260 yards across. Its depth is unknown, the stream being too deep and rapid to be accurately sounded. At the point of junction with the Cophenes, the scene is terrific: their confluence and their course through the rocks, before they are lost in the mountains, is full of waves and eddies, producing a sound like that of the sea in a storm. Ten miles south of Attock, its breadth is so contracted between the hills, that as Neelamb it is said to be no more than a stone's throw across. Anciently, the river was called at this point, and as far up as Balistann, or Little Tibet, Nihah, whence it is supposed the mistake in history has arisen, which makes Alexander write to his mother, Olympias, that he had found out the sources of the Nile. Though deficient in geographical information, he could not have looked for the "river of Egypt" in India.

The potentate whom Alexander resolved next to attack, was Porus, who was hostile to Taxiles, and who ruled over the country beyond the Hydaspes. Accordingly, about the summer solstice, having placed a garrison in Taxila, and appointed Philip, son of Machatas, governor of that province, Alexander, accompanied by Taxiles, at the head of 5000 Indians, proceeded with his army to the Hydaspes.*

In the mean while, Porus, who had been summoned, as a preliminary step to war, to pay the Macedonian monarch tribute, prepared to meet him in the field. It was at the pass of Jellalipore, which is 114 miles in direct distance south-east of Attock, where Alexander had prepared to cross the stream, and Porus, availing himself of the natural barrier formed at this season of the year by the swelling of the river, encamped on the opposite side, with a determination to hold him at bay. The position which he occupied appears to have been between Jailum and Jellalipore. He had a large army under his command, amounting, according to both Arrian and Diodorus, to between 50,000 and 60,000 troops, besides chariots and elephants. The main body of these forces he kept together in a central post, to oppose Alexander in person, while with the remainder he guarded all the points by which there was a chance that the invaders might attempt the passage of the river. For a long time, this system of Porus produced its intended effect. Alexander made attempts, and spread reports, all to no purpose. The watchful Indian, ever on his guard, defied his attempts to pass the river, and took no heed of his reports. At length Alexander, wearied out with attempting to pass the river in the face of the enemy, sought to gain a footing by stealth in some remote quarter. A convenient place was at length found, a few miles from the Grecian camp, where the river, sweeping round a wooded promontory, was divided by an uninhabited island, also covered with wood. It was thought that the needful preparations might be made here, unobserved by the enemy, and in order to throw Porus off his guard, Alexander despatched detachments of cavalry every night to different parts of the right bank, to sound trumpets, and to make a show of passing over the river. Porus prepared at first to repel these menaced attacks, but finding, at length, that nothing proceeded from them, and supposing that they were meant to wear out his troops by fatigue, he ceased to notice them. This was what Alexander wished, and he resolved to fall upon him without delay. Accordingly, taking with him 6000 infantry, and 5000 cavalry, he led them to the appointed place of the passage, while Craterus was left in the camp with a large force, with orders to cross the river on perceiv-

ing that the bulk of the enemy's forces was marching to the scene of action. Between the camp, also, and the point at which he was to embark, the mercenary horse and foot were stationed, under Meleager, Attalus, and Gorgias, who had orders to pass the river in various places, in the midst of the scene of action.

The project of Alexander was facilitated by one of those monsoon thunderstorms so common in the south of India. The rain, which fell in torrents, rendered it impossible for the Indian outposts to keep efficient watch; while the heart-appalling thunder, which in these storms never ceases to roll, overpowered the sounds which arose from the movements of the thousands about to commit themselves to the waves. Pharch relates, that several Greek soldiers fell victims to the lightning of that awful night. Towards morning, however, the storm died away, and every thing being ready, the troops embarked. Alexander led the van, in a thirty-oared galley, and the opposite shore was at length gained, unopposed.

When Porus heard of this untoward event, he was at a loss to know how to act. He saw the mass of the Macedonian army before him, and he therefore fancied that the distant attack was a feint, to draw him from the point of danger. In this dilemma, he sent his son, with 2000 horse and 150 chariots, to take such measures as might be needful. The truth was soon discovered. These were encountered by Alexander, at the head of the whole of his cavalry, and 400 of the Indians, among whom was the youthful prince, were slain: the rest fled to tell the news to Porus.

Leaving a body of troops, with some elephants, to oppose Craterus, who, at this critical moment, gave signs of an intention to pass over, Porus marched with the rest of the army to meet Alexander. He led his host, consisting of 30,000 infantry, 4000 cavalry, 300 chariots, and 200 elephants, to a sandy plain, where his chariots, cavalry, and elephants could act freely, and then prepared for the conflict. His first line consisted of the elephants, each about 100 feet apart. Behind them, facing the intervals, the infantry was stationed, in divisions, while on each wing, a part of the cavalry was posted, the chariots being ranged in its front. Alexander soon made his appearance, and when he saw the formidable array, he halted, to reconnoitre its position. Accustomed to the dreadful arts of slaughter, his keen eye saw that there was no chance of success in the centre, as the elephants would terrify his cavalry, and trample down his infantry. Accordingly, he determined to leave the centre untouched, and to turn the flank. For this purpose, he divided his cavalry into two unequal portions, the largest of which he led himself, and placed the other under the command of Craterus. Thus prepared, the fearful scene commenced by Alexander's falling upon the left wing of Porus. The dispute, though brief, was very bloody. The horse of Porus was quickly broken, and the foot being thus uncovered, the Macedonians charged them. The Indian horse rallied, and came to their relief, but they were again defeated. In the mean time, the archers had wounded many of

* This stream originates near the great Himalaya in the south east border of Cashmere in north latitude 34° 30' and in east longitude 77°, at the western foot of Mount Kailash which separates Cashmere from Ladak, eighty miles south-east of Cashmere city. It is a magnificent river, running a direct course of 450 miles till it joins the Acacine, seventy miles above Mooltown. Its breadth varies greatly. About 15 miles east of Cashmere, it spreads out into a beautiful sheet of water, ten miles across, called the Outler Lake: while at Jellalipore, where Alexander sought to cross the stream, it is between one and two miles in width only, in the dry season.

the elephants, and slain their riders, by which they were rendered useless. They fell back, indeed, upon their own forces, causing great confusion; and Coenus, embracing this opportunity, fell in with the troops under his command, and the Indian host was put to the rout. Porus, pre-eminent in valour, as he was pre-eminent in stature, did all he could to turn the fortune of the day; but his exertions and his example of bravery were vain. He saw every corps put to the rout, and then, yielding to necessity, he fled. Twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, on the side of the Indians, are said to have fallen in this battle. "In this carnage Craterus had a share; for passing the Hydaspes at the moment of the victory, many of the fugitives were intercepted and slain by his troops. The slain included another of the sons of Porus, and nearly the whole of his principal officers. Arrian says, that the Greeks lost only 300 men.

After the victory, Alexander despatched Taxiles to persuade Porus to surrender. Enraged at the approach of his ancient foe, whom he deemed the author of his present misfortunes, Porus seized his spear, and would have slain him, had not Taxiles saved himself by flight. Alexander then sent Meleas, who was a friend of the defeated monarch, to persuade him to surrender. When Meleas approached him, Porus was nearly exhausted by fatigue, pain, and thirst. Seeing his friend, Porus stopped his elephant, alighted, and having drunk a little water, he desired Meleas to conduct him to Alexander. When he approached, the conqueror and some of his officers went forth to meet him. Alexander was struck by his lofty stature and loftier bearing, and desired Meleas to ask him how he would be treated. Porus replied, "As a monarch." Pleased at the request, Alexander rejoined, "That I will do for my own sake; but what shall I do for yours?" "In my foregoing request," answered Porus, "every thing is included." Alexander was more pleased at this second reply, and immediately gave him his liberty, reinstated him in his throne, and enlarged his dominions. This generosity was not without its reward: for Porus ever after continued a faithful ally to the Macedonian monarch, and even to his successors.

After this victory, Alexander decreed the founding of two cities, for the double purpose of commemorating the event, and securing the future passage of the Hydaspes. One of these cities, Nivæa, which has reference to victory, was raised on the field of battle. The other was established on the spot where he crossed the river, and it was denominated Bucephala, from his favourite horse Bucephalus, who died here of old age.*

If there is one thing which exhibits the hardening effects war has upon the human mind more than another, it is the triumphs which follow. Throughout the whole page of history,

* This animal would not allow any one to mount him but Alexander, and it had been the companion of all his toils. Arrian says, it was denominated Bucephalus, or "bull head," either from his head resembling that of a bull, or from having a white mark, like a bull's head, on his forehead, his general colour being black.

ancient and modern, we read of victories being celebrated by triumphs, sacrifices, feasts, and games. It was thus that Alexander celebrated this victory. While yet the groans of the dying were ringing in their ears, and the streams of their brothers' blood flowing before their eyes, the Greeks lifted up the voice of thanksgiving and joy for their victory. Would that this pagan example were not followed by professing Christian nations; that we rather wept over the dreadful effects of war, than rejoiced over the destruction of our enemies. But what is the real state of public feeling when thus called into action? Let the poet, with his humanising verse, reply:—

Boys and girls,
And women that would grow to see a child
Pull off an insect's leg, all riad of war—
The best amusement for his morning meal!
The poor wretch, who has learnt his only prayer
From curses,—who knows scarcely words enough
To ask a life saving from his heavenly Father,—
Becomes a fluent phraseman, absolute
And technical in victories and defeat,
And all our daily terms for fratricide,—
Terms which we trundle smoothly o'er our tongues
Like mere abstractions, empty sounds, to which
We join no feeling, and attach no form.

COLERIDGE

This is an awful picture of humanity; a picture which exhibits to us how much mankind stand in need of the renewing and healing influences of God's Holy Spirit.

After thus desolating and rejoicing over the forces of Porus, leaving Craterus with a portion of his army to forward the building of the two cities, not satisfied yet with slaughter, Alexander marched to invade the territory of the Glaucæ. Their country was situated between the Hydaspes, and the river Acesines, named Sandabalia by Ptolemy, and bordered on that of Porus, probably to the south or south-west. It was very fertile and populous, having, it is said, thirty-seven towns, containing from 3000 to 10,000 inhabitants each, besides numerous large villages. The Glaucæ do not appear to have been a warlike people; for they yielded to Alexander without a struggle, and they were placed under the sway of Porus.

At this time, through the intervention of Alexander, a reconciliation took place between Porus and Taxiles; after which, the latter was allowed to return to his own dominions.

While in the territories of the Glaucæ, Alexander received a second embassy from Abisares. That prince had intended, since his alliance with Alexander, to join his forces to those of Porus, but had been prevented by his defeat, and he now sent to offer his ready submission to the conqueror, seconding his advances with a present of a large sum of money and forty elephants. Aware of his double dealing, Alexander declared that if Abisares did not appear before him in person, he must prepare for an invasion. At the same time, messengers arrived from Sinocottus, with the intelligence that the Assakenes had rebelled, and put the governor to death; and Philip and Tyrraspes were sent with adequate forces to reduce them to obedience.

Between the magnificent Acesines and Hy-

derates, the modern Cheras and Rawas, there was another prince bearing the name of Porus. This prince was at variance with his namesake, and finding him opposed to Alexander, he offered his submission to the invader. When, however, he discovered that his antagonist had been defeated, and received as the ally of the conqueror, he became alarmed, and fled beyond the Hydrotas, to join the Cathayans, Oxydracians, and Malians, who were the most warlike nations in India, and who were forming a confederacy against Alexander.

Hearing of the flight of Porus, whom Arrian demonstrates the "bad Porus," Alexander has tened to pass the Acesines,* which stream is more than a mile wide, and very deep and rapid and he did so without encountering any resistance. He took possession of the territories of the fugitive, and having placed garrisons in some of the principal towns, to secure the march of Craterus and Cennus, who were employed in collecting supplies from various quarters, and having left Hephæstion with forces to complete the subjugation of the territories belonging to the "bad Porus," with every independent city he might find on the banks of the Hydrotas, all of which he was to place under the government of his friend Porus, Alexander passed onward to the Hydrotas, in pursuit of the fugitives.

The Hydrotas,† which is the Adria of Ptolemy, and the Hiarous of Strabo, is said by Ephraïmstone to be the least of all the Punjab or five Indian rivers, its breadth from bank to bank being, on the 12th of August when it should have reached its maximum height only 113 yards. Notwithstanding, it was yet capable of checking, when resolutely defended the progress of an invader. But the terror of Alexander's arms had gone before him, and he passed over the Hydrotas, as he had the Acesines before unopposed.

The capital of the Cathayans, Sangala, stood at the distance of three marches beyond the Hydrotas. Towards this city Alexander directed his march, and on his arrival there he found the Cathayans encamped on a neighbouring height which they had encompassed with a triple line of carriages. It was evident that it would be a work of no small difficulty to drive the Cathy-

ans from their position, and in the first instance Alexander failed in the attempt. Bringing up his phalanx, however, after an obstinate conflict, the exterior circle was broken through, and the Macedonians entered. The second, more closely compacted, after a desperate resistance, was also forced, and the Indians, leaving the third rampart undefended, withdrew into the city.

The city of Sangala was of such extent, that Alexander was obliged to employ both cavalry and infantry in its investment, till a line of circumvallation could be drawn around it. Behind the city, this line was interrupted by a lake, and as this was very shallow, Alexander suspected that the Cathayans would endeavour to escape. Such was their intention, for they were well aware that their fortifications, which consisted only of a brick wall, would not long answer the purpose of defence. Two successive nights they made the attempt to escape, but they were driven back by the Greeks. At length, Porus having arrived with reinforcements, and several elephants, the battering engines were brought before the walls, and a breach being soon made, the assault was ordered, and the city carried by storm. It is said that 17,000 Cathayans fell on this occasion, and that 70,000 were made prisoners, while the Macedonians lost only 100 men, and had 1,200 wounded.

The inhabitants of two adjacent cities had league with those of Sangala to resist the invader. Alexander now sent emissaries to offer them mercy, if they would receive garrisons within their walls. Impressed, however, with the fear of his arms they had fled, nor could Alexander who irritated by this proof of distrust pursued after them overtake them in their flight. With the exception of 500, aged, sick, and infirm who were pitifully slaughtered by the Greeks the rest escaped. On his return to Sangala, Alexander directed it to be levelled with the ground and he gave the territories to those Indians who had submitted to his rule.

The dominions of Alexander now extended from the Indus to the Hyphasis and from the confines of Scythia to the Erythrean Sea. But ambition hath in excess of appetite which grows from what it feeds on whence Alexander still sighed for conquest. Insatiable as the grave, he had not yet learnt to say, "It is enough, and he turned his thoughts to other feats of arms.

As the conqueror was encamped on the banks of the Hyphasis* which is the Bybæus of Ptolemy, the Hypanis of Pliny, and the Hypanis of Strabo he was informed that beyond this river, and extending to the Ganges, the country was rich and fertile, the inhabitants industrious and brave, living in peace and plenty, and under mild and equitable laws and having elephants in greater numbers and superior in size and strength to the Western India.

* The source of the Hyphasis seems to be in the Great Himalaya or Himadra. In the rajahy of Kooloo its modern name is the Boyah and the Boma Gunga. Its breadth is not accurately stated. Where the British mission crossed it, however, at Bihawal Ghat it was 748 yards broad. At this place, its right bank is very high and the current rapid from which circumstance its depth has not been taken. There are many quicksands in its bed, and in the cold season when the water is low, there are many islands and sand beds formed toward the centre.

* This river rises in the snowy mountains to the south east of the source of the Hydaspes and runs a westerly course of 370 miles to its junction with that river. By Ptolemy it is named Sandakilla, in Sanscrit (Chandral) Baga, and in the Ajeon Akberry Chandrabika. It is the largest of the five Indian rivers, but not the longest, as some assert for it is exceeded in this respect by the Hydaspes by eighty miles. The reason why it is called the longest river is because it preserves its name to its junction with the Indus whereas the Hydaspes is lost in the magnificent river. At Wazirabad Ghat when it was measured, on the 31st of July it was found to be 100 miles three furlongs and twenty perches from edge to edge of the bank. The soundings were the same as those of the Hydaspes, fourteen feet being the greatest and the current was more rapid, the Acesines running five and a half, and the Hydaspes four miles an hour.

† The Sanscrit appellation of this river is the Iyrawaddy and in the Ajeon Akberry it is Iravaddy. Although it is the least of the five Indian rivers, still it is a noble stream, having a course of 250 miles, before it enters the combined stream of the Acesines and Hydaspes thirty-two miles below the confluence of these rivers. Its depth seldom exceeds twelve feet, but its bottom is much more muddy than any of the other rivers.

This was a field which Alexander deemed worthy of his ambition, and he prepared for the passage of the Hyphasis. But an unforeseen obstacle arose, which frustrated his designs. His followers deemed that sufficient had been done for conquest and glory, and they refused to accompany him; nor could the tempting offers of wealth, dominion, and glory, which he held out to them, in the fertile plains of Hindustan, together with his remonstrances, soothing, and sullenness for three whole days, alter their determination.

At the end of that time, Alexander saw that it was in vain to oppose the wishes of his army, and that it was better for him to yield with as small a sacrifice of dignity as possible. He was aided in this dilemma by superstition. Affecting to persist in his designs, he gave direction for sacrifices to be performed, that the will of the gods might be consulted as to his march. On a former occasion, when the omens were pronounced unpropitious, Alexander took no heed, and pursued his career. Aristander now reported that the omens were wholly adverse to his undertaking, and he replied, that since the deities were opposed to his further progress, he would return. This was glad news to his army. (The universal shout of joy burst forth, accompanied with tears of joy, and numbers thronged around his tent to thank him, because he who was invincible to all others, had permitted himself to be overcome by their desire. Their whole conduct on this occasion is a striking illustration of the poet's sentiments.)

O let me know
What is the need and purport of this toil
The painful toil, which rob'd me of my youth,
Left me a heart murch'd and solitary
A spirit uninform'd, uncommunicated
For the camp's stir and crowd, and ceaseless hurum
The neighing war horse, the air-rolling trumpet
The unwar'd still returns a hour's duty
Word of command, and exertion of arms—
Then a nothing, here there's nothing in all this,
To satisfy the heart—the goodly heart!
More bustling nothingness where the soul is not!
This cannot be the sole felicity—
These cannot be man's best and only pleasures!
O day thrice lovely! when at length the soldier
Returns him into life—when he becomes
A fellow man among his fellow men!

COLERIDGE

According to Plutarch, it was the opinion of Andracottas, who afterwards reigned over the eastern Indians, and who in his youth had seen Alexander, that he might have made himself master of the whole country, the king then reigning in those parts being despised for the meanness of his birth, and hated for his cruelty.

Alexander having taken the resolution of returning homewards, commanded twelve gigantic altars, equal in height to oriental towers, and exceeding them in size, to be erected as a monument of his victories, and an offering of thanks to the gods. On these altars he sacrificed to the deities, closing the ceremony by horse races and gymnastic exercises.

Having reared these gigantic altars, and performed his devotions thereon to his false gods, Alexander commenced his retrograde march. He retraced his steps to the Hydraotis, and halted on the banks of the Acesines. The purpose for which he halted was to people the town which he

had directed Hephestion to build, and which he found completed.* While thus engaged, another embassy arrived from Abissares, by which that monarch pleaded ill health as his excuse for not personally attending to pay homage to the conqueror, and desired his acceptance of costly presents, and of thirty elephants. Alexander was satisfied with the apology, accepted the presents, and confirmed Abissares in the possession of his dominions, subject to an annual tribute. He pursued the same line of policy, also, to Arsaces, another chief living in the vicinity of Abissares, who sent an embassy to him at the same time.

Alexander passed from the Acesines to the Hydaspes, where he found the recently erected cities, Nicæa and Bucephala, much injured from the swellings of the river. He caused his soldiers to repair the damage, while he himself made arrangements for the future government of the conquered territory. All the country as far as the Hyphasis was added to the dominions of Porus, subject, however, to an annual tribute to the Macedonian monarch.

About this time, the losses which the Macedonian army had sustained during this campaign were repaired by the arrival of large reinforcements from Greece, by which Alexander was enabled to undertake the reduction of all the nations bordering on the Indus, from Taxila to the ocean, which he now meditated.

There was another object which Alexander was desirous of accomplishing, that of exploring the coast from the mouths of the Indus to the Persian Gulf, as Scylax had done before by order of Darius Hystaspes. Accordingly, during the time that Alexander had been employed in conquest towards the Hyphasis, the preparations for this projected voyage had been going forward, and on his return to the Hydaspes, the work was carried on with increased vigour, and speedily completed. According to Arrian, the timber for building the vessels was procured from the neighbouring mountains, and it is certain that it might have been obtained from the forests at the foot of the mountains that skirt the western bank of the Ibyhum. The flotilla consisted of 2000 transports, and eighty galleys, which, from their having thirty oars, bore the name of triaconters. They were manned by Phœnicians, Carians, Cyprians, and Egyptians, and the command of the whole was given to Nearchus.

Every thing being ready, propitiatory sacrifices were offered to the gods, and the presiding deity of the Hydaspes. After this, Alexander and his army embarked, with the exception of three divisions, one of which marched along the Acesines, and the other along the Hydaspes, by which the whole country may be said to have been traversed. At the sound of the trumpets, the flotilla was unmoored, and the many vessels that composed it glided proudly onward.

According to ancient historians and geographers, the Hydaspes was twenty stadia, or two

* The reader must not imagine that the cities and towns which ancient historians speak of as being built by the command of monarchs in the space of a few weeks, were places of importance at the beginning. They were doubtless but the germs of future greatness, for all human experience teaches us that the rise of such cities is gradual. The buildings, moreover, of the cities situated so were not such as we meet with in our country.

miles, broad.* Down this mighty stream the flotilla passed for five days, without meeting with any obstruction. At the end of that time, it came to the confluence of the Hydaspes and Acesines, the junction of which rivers is effected with great noise and violence, the waves dashing against one another like a troubled ocean. On approaching this scene, the mariners were struck with fear, the rowers dropped their oars, and the regulators, who directed the movements of the crews, for a moment stood aghast. Recovering their presence of mind, however, the officers directed their men to pull vigorously, in order to give the vessels sufficient impetus to clear the whirlpools by which they were surrounded, and by so doing, all the vessels, except two of the long galleys, which perished by running foul of each other, succeeded in passing without irremediable injury. Soon after this escape from danger, the channel of the river growing wider, the velocity decreased, and the fleet was steered into a bay on the right bank, where the injured vessels were put under repair.

As the flotilla passed onward, the different tribes of Indians who dwell in the vicinity of both sides of the river either submitted voluntarily to Alexander, or were reduced to obedience by detachments sent against them. The Malli and the Oxydrææ, however, whose territories lay in his future route, to the north and south of the country which now bears the name of Mooltan, resolved not to resign their liberty without a struggle. But their resolution was vain. Alexander divided his army into four divisions, three of which marched at a considerable distance from each other, in parallel columns, and swept all before them; whilst he himself, at the head of the fourth, marched inland from the river to attack the Malli on that side, and to compel the fugitives to flee to the forks of the rivers, that they might be intercepted by the other divisions. This plan was successful. The Mallians were driven before him, like beasts of the field, to the confluence of the Hydraotis and Acesines, which was the rendezvous at which the various divisions were again to re-unite.

A little above the confluence of these streams stood the capital of the Malli, denominated Mooltaun. Alexander had been informed that the inhabitants of the neighbouring cities had sought an asylum there, and he resolved to attack it. Before he could reach it, however, the congregated multitude had abandoned the city, and had drawn up their forces, in number, it is said, to 30,000, on the banks of the Hydaspes, to dispute the passage of that river. Eager for his prey, Alexander hastened forward to reconnoitre the enemy; and he no sooner saw them drawn up to oppose his progress, than he plunged into the river at the head of his cavalry. The Indians at first retreated, but seeing him unsupported by his infantry, they faced about, and commenced the contest. Alexander, however, held them at bay till the Agrians, archers, and other light armed foot, advanced, which were followed by

the phalanx, and the Mallians, terror-stricken, retreated into a neighbouring fortified city.

This city, to which history has assigned no name, was neither the capital of the Malli, nor among the Oxydræææ at Dutch, 120 miles below, but about ten geographical miles, according to Rennel, above the confluence of the Rauwee, or Hydraotis, and Chubana, or Acesines, a few miles to the north of the Rauwee and the ancient capital of the Malli. On the morning after the retreat of the Malli into this city, Alexander gave orders to storm the place. One of the galls was soon broken down, and Alexander entered by the breach, while Perdiccas entered by the deserted walls, in an opposite direction. In the mean time, the Indians had retired into the citadel. Alexander gave instant orders for scaling its walls, and in the height of his impatience, he snatched a ladder from one of his soldiers, and ascending it, raised his shield above his head, to ward off the missiles of the garrison. Behind him followed Peucestas, bearing the sacred shield from the Trojan temple of Minerva, and next was Leonnatus, an officer of the body guard. These all, with Abrens, who ascended foremost on the adjacent ladder, and whose former services had been rewarded with double pay, gained the summit of the battlement. Others were pressing after them, but the ladders broke under their weight, by which accident all immediate access was cut off against his troops. The Mallians knew their enemy, but no one ventured to meet him in close combat. From every turret and corner of the fort, however, a ceaseless shower of darts was directed against him. Alexander saw, that to remain in his present position, death was certain, and leaping into the citadel, he placed his back to the wall, and waited for his assailants. Some of them approached, but he slew several, among whom was their general, and the Mallians again resorted to the use of missiles. By this time, his three companions in this perilous enterprise had ranged themselves by his side to fight in his defence. Abrens, pierced in his head by an arrow, soon fell at the feet of his leader. A well-aimed arrow (which was discharged by a bow bent by the foot, against whose rapid flight no armour could afford protection) next broke through Alexander's cuirass, and penetrated into the upper part of his breast. His spirit sustained him for a brief period, but overpowered by pain, loss of blood, and difficulty of respiration, he fainted, and sank forward upon his shield. In this condition, he was protected by Peucestas on one side, who held over him the shield of Minerva, and by Leonnatus on the other, both being sorely wounded. At length succour appeared. The Macedonians, by driving spikes or pegs into the earthen walls, had climbed up to the battlement in great numbers, while others entered by a gate which had been forced open. The catastrophe was fearful. Excited by rage and revenge, the Macedonians fell upon the garrison, and put the whole, not excepting the women and their infants, to death.

The wound which Alexander had received was dangerous in its nature. He was borne away, on the verge of death, upon a shield by his disconsolate soldiers, and he continued for some time in

* This statement appears true; for Elphinstone says that the inundation overflows four or five miles of the low country on its left bank. The stream, however, varies in breadth, as may be seen in the note, page 68.

so weak a state, that his recovery was doubtful. The rumour of his death, indeed, went forth in the camp, and it filled every heart among the Macedonians with grief and consternation. Imagining themselves placed almost at the farthest verge of "this big world" without a leader, "How," exclaimed they, "are we to accomplish our return to Greece, having so many rivers to pass, and to travel through so many hostile countries, some yet unvanquished, and ready to fight to the last for their liberty, while others, whom the dread of Alexander's name, or their admiration of his character alone have subjected, will break out into new revolt, if unrestrained by his genius and valour?"

The rumour of Alexander's death was premature. Notwithstanding, the army persisted, as they were not permitted to see him, that all assertions to the contrary were only made for the purpose of deluding them. At length, having somewhat recovered, he was conveyed to the banks of the Hydraotis, and embarking on that river, he descended to the camp, and being anxious to dissipate the fears of his troops, as soon as he gained the shore he mounted his horse, on which the joyful acclamations and greetings of his soldiers rose on all sides, and were echoed by the surrounding shores and woods.

Alexander recovered. "The same Providence," says Jortin, "that raised up and conducted Cyrus, preserved the rash Macedonian from perishing, till he had overthrown the Persian empire. I call him rash, because he exposed his own person too much, for his enterprise, though very bold, was, perhaps, neither rash nor rashly conducted. Alexander was disguised and reserved for extraordinary purposes, to assist in fulfilling and justifying the prophecies of Daniel. Yes, reader, though Alexander, in all his movements, exhibited proofs that the rule of his conduct was ambition, there was a Power above that made his ambition subservient to the eternal counsels of His will. It is not by the righteous alone that his work is done on earth. Paradoxical as it may appear, the ungodly sons of ambition are sometimes made the instruments of his wrath, and therefore serve Him, unknowingly, indeed, and undesignedly, as in the case of Alexander, but faithfully. He willed the overthrow of the Persian empire for its iniquities, which had reached unto the heavens, and Alexander accomplished that task to the utmost.

Immediately after Alexander's recovery, ambassadors from the Mallians, with the chiefs of the Oxydraces to the number of 150, besides the governors of the cities, and of the provinces, arrived in the camp, to sue for peace, offering, as the price of pardon, the submission of the two nations by whom they were sent. Their proffers were accepted, but from the Oxydraces, whose strength was yet unbroken, he exacted 1000 hostages, to be selected from their principal men, who were either to be held in durance, or employed in arms, to assist in consummating the subjugation of India, according as the conqueror willed. These conditions were consented to by the Oxydraces. The hostages were sent, and they likewise added a free gift of 500 chariots, with horses and drivers; which act so pleased Alexander, that he reserved only the chariots, and

allowed the hostages to return home. Philip, who already ruled over a wide extent of territory, was appointed satrap over these provinces.

Having recovered his strength during this suspension of arms, and the additional vessels which he had ordered to be built being now ready, Alexander embarked his light troops, 10,000 infantry, and 1700 cavalry, and pursued his course down the Hydraotis and Acesines, till he arrived at the confluence of the latter river with the Indus. Here he waited for Perdicas, with the division under his command, which general, who had reduced a tribe called the Abastani to obedience during his march, soon arrived. While at this point, Alexander also received an embassy from the Osadhi, with offers of submission, and was joined by several galleys and transports which he had ordered to be constructed in the territory of the Xanthi*. At this spot, moreover, Alexander founded a town, and ordered the formation of docks and other maritime works, it being well calculated for a military and naval station. While thus occupied, he received a visit from his father-in-law, Oxyartes, to whom he gave the satrapy of Paropamisada, its recent governor, Teryestus, having become delinquent. To this province, also, he joined all the country from the falling of the Acesines into the Indus to the sea, in order to gratify Oxyartes, and he joined Python with him in commission.

Having made these arrangements, Alexander gave orders for the fleet and the army again to be put in motion. Craterus, with the main body of the army, and the elephants, were transported from the left to the right bank of the Indus, that they might eventually overrun Arachosia and Drangiana, which were not yet wholly subjected. He himself sailed down the Indus to a city of the Sogdians, supposed to have been in the vicinity of the modern Bukkur,† about 100 miles below the point where the Indus receives the Punjab, or "five rivers," which is the united waters of the Hyphasis, Hydraotis, Acesines, Hydaspes, and the Sutlej; the five streams of the country of the Punjab.

Alexander had received information that the kingdom of Musicanus, which lay midway between the territory of the Sogdians, and the point where the Indus branches off to the south-east and south-west, was one of the richest and most populous in India.‡ This was not to be overlooked. Incensed at not receiving homage from Musicanus, he resolved to chastise him for his

* It is not known where the districts inhabited by these tribes were situated.

† The territories of the Sogdians correspond to the modern district of Bhikarpour.

‡ The bullay is the most eastern of the five rivers. In the days of Alexander it was called the Hydruia, and it is the Herudrus of Ptolemy, the Yadrus of Herodotus, the Saranges of Arrian, and the Sherarder of the Ayeen Akbery. Alexander did not advance to this stream.

§ The territories of the Musicanus seem to correspond to the large island of Chandocky, below Behwan, formed by the Indus and the Larkhana. This district, for its fertility and beauty, has obtained from the ancients the epithet of *Paradise*, "the verdant isle," and its modern name signifies in the dialect of Sindh, "glorious," or, metaphorically, "that which is opulent and beautiful to the eye." Near Chandocky are two districts called Moo and Sheera, which bear some similarity to Musicanus, and which were doubtless the territories of the monarch of that name. It is usual to connect them even at the present day.

contumacy. He had already arrived on the coasts of the Indian's kingdom before Musicanus was aware of his situation. When the truth, however, flashed upon his mind, he gathered together the most costly articles for presents, and with these, and all his elephants, he hastened to meet the conqueror. Musicanus laid his gifts at the feet of Alexander, and gave up his realms to him, confessing his error; by which well-timed submission he escaped the horrors of war. Alexander reinstated him in authority; but lest any innovation should be attempted at a future date, a citadel was built in his capital, and a garrison stationed therein, to keep the Musican in awe.

Adjoining the territories of Musicanus, were those of Oxycanus,* who, like his neighbour, had omitted to submit to the conqueror's power. Alexander marched against him with the Agrianæ, archers, and the few cavalry which accompanied him, resolving not to leave him unscathed. Oxycanus ventured to meet him in the field; but it was of no avail. His resources were not proportioned to his courage, whence two of his towns were carried by assault, himself made prisoner, and his whole territory fell into the hands of the conqueror.

While thus occupied, Alexander received intelligence that Sambus, who ruled over the Sindomanni (Indian mountaineers inhabiting the north-east side of the Brahmoek range that faces the Indus and terminates at Sehwan) had revolted against his authority. On hearing this, he marched against Sindomanna, the capital, the gates of which were thrown open at his approach. He entered, and found that the fugitive rajah had removed neither his elephants nor his treasures, which would confirm the truth of his minister's assurances, that the flight of Sambus was not caused by any hostility to Alexander's own person, but by the favour which had been shown to Musicanus, who was his avowed enemy.

It would appear that Sambus had been induced to act thus by the brahmins, who were, on all occasions, openly or covertly hostile to Alexander, and who were treated by him with almost unvarying severity. That they were now in arms is certain; for after having taken possession of Sindomanna, he marched against another city, which they had mented to revolt; and this city being reduced, all the brahmins who could be found were put to death for exciting rebellion. The brahmins had, doubtless, great influence over the minds of the various rajahs of India, as they have to this day. Another instance of this, indeed, occurred before Alexander had returned from this expedition. Musicanus, who had so recently sued to him, advised by them, broke out into rebellion, and set his power at defiance. Alexander sent Python to encounter the refractory rajah, while he himself subdued the cities. The success of both was rapid and complete. Alexander levelled some of the cities to the ground, and erected citadels in others, while Python defeated Musicanus, and led him in chains to the camp of the conqueror. Alexander's treatment of his captive reflects no honour on his character. By his orders, Musica-

nus was crucified before the eyes of his subjects, together with many brahmins, who were accused of being his advisers.

Alexander was now approaching the Sindian delta, called Pattalene, from Pattala, its capital. The rajah of this territory at first sought the favour of Alexander, which he obtained; but when the conqueror had advanced three days' sail toward the Delta, he was informed that the Indian had fled, with the greater part of his subjects, into the desert, and when he arrived in his territory he found the fields and towns alike deserted. Policy taught Alexander to send after them to induce them to return, which measure was in a great degree successful. Many relying on his assurance that they should suffer no injury, but should enjoy their possessions in security, returned to their homes. In the mean time, Hephestus was directed to build a citadel at Pattala,* to commence the works necessary for a naval establishment, and to dig wells in positions of the circumjacent districts, which were rendered uninhabitable for want of water, and which, after some opposition from bands of refractory natives, was accomplished.

The conquests that Alexander had before him now, in the south, did not require the whole of his vast force, and accordingly he placed three divisions of the phalanx, and a part of the archers, with all whom sickness, age, or wounds, rendered incapable of extreme fatigue, under the command of Craterus, who was ordered to ascend the right bank of the Indus, and then proceed by Arachosia and Drangiana, to the province of Carmania, where Alexander intended to join him by another route. At the same time, Python, with the Agrians and horse archers, was despatched up the left bank of the Indus, to collect colonists for the newly-erected cities, and to subdue all who should dare oppose him; after which he was to return to Pattala.

A favourite project of Alexander's yet remained unaccomplished; the only project, indeed, by which his renown could be increased, that of navigating the Indus to the mouth of the Euphrates. Notwithstanding, knowing the dangers that awaited adventurers upon unknown seas, Alexander was fearful of endangering his reputation by undertaking this voyage personally, and he sought for some one among his army to whom he could commit the conduct of the expedition. The dignity of leader was offered to many, but all refused, from fear; till at length, Nearchus, a Cretan, who had become a naturalized Macedonian, came forward to tender his services, and he was appointed admiral of the fleet.

The exploration of the two main branches of the Indus to the ocean, Alexander executed in person. He sailed down the western branch first, being supported by Leonnatus with 8000 foot and 1000 horse, who marched on the left bank of the river. The first day was passed in safety; but on the second, the voyagers encountered dangers incident to the proverbial inconstancy of the Indus through the Delta, and

* The Oxycani dwelt north of Sehwan, in the modern district of Serwastana, corresponding in the southern extremity of the Malacca of ancient maps.

* As there are several deltas in the Lower Indus, there called *Nekron*, a Persian appellation, it cannot be ascertained what particular delta is meant by Pattala, or Pattalene.

which were increased by a monsoon storm blowing directly up the river. The waves, agitated by the current, roared as an ocean, as they do at the present day, and the ships running foul of each other, several of them were sunk. The damaged vessels were put under repair; and during the time thus employed, parties of soldiers were sent into the country to capture some of the Pattalenian Indians who had fled on their approach, in order that they might pilot the vessels, in which they succeeded. Under the management of these native pilots, who were skilful in their art, the squadron had nearly reached the mouth of the river, when another storm compelled them to retire into a bay for shelter.

While in this bay, Arrian says that those ships which lay upon the sand were swept away by the fury of the tide, while those that stuck in the mud were set afloat again without any difficulty. This account is descriptive of the *bore*, or sudden influx of the tide, a phenomenon quite common at the mouth of the Ganges, and is known in some European rivers, as the Severn and the Dordogne. In the mouths of the Indus, the tides rise about nine feet in full moons, and they flow and ebb with great violence, particularly near the sea, where they flood and abandon the banks with equal and incredible velocity.*

Having been informed that there was an island named Killuta near the river's mouth, with good harbours and fresh water, Alexander sent two light vessels to examine it, and the report being favourable, the fleet proceeded thither. While at Killuta, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and he repeated the sacrifice on the following day to other gods, on an adjacent island, in obedience, as he affirmed, to the oracle of Ammon. Passing the mouth of the Indus, moreover, he steered a little southward, to propitiate Neptune, the fabulous god of the sea, for the success of the projected voyage of Nearchus.

Alexander now sailed back by the "eastern" branch of the Indus to Pattala; but which of the eastern branches of this river was navigated by him, and to what extent he carried his researches, is unknown: the situation of Pattala being a much disputed point.†

At length, every thing was ready for the departure of Alexander from India, deeply injured India; a country which, unprovoked by injuries or insult, he had ravaged, and covered with the bones of its slaughtered inhabitants. So dreadful was the scourge of his sword, that at the present day he is known by tradition, among the natives, as "The great robber and murderer,"

* Some authors, following Curtius, make Alexander look upon the tides in the Indus as something supernatural. This is surely an error; for although he had been accustomed to tideless seas, yet, as Rennet justly observes, he had certainly read Herodotus, who says that the tides in the Red Sea are not only strong, but flowing and ebbing every day.

† By some authors, Pattala is identified with the modern Tatta, seventy-nine English miles distant from the sea, while others suppose it was on the site of Hyderabad, 123 miles above the sea by the course of the river. In the former case, the eastern branch, which Alexander descended, was that now denominated the Bata; in the latter, that which bears the names of Goonee and Pharran, and which at its outlet expands into an estuary called Koroe, from seven to twelve miles in breadth.

a title from which humanity recoils with feelings of indignation and horror.

Many of the troops, as recorded before, had been despatched, under the command of Craterus, through Arachosia and Drangiana; of the rest, some were to embark in the fleet, others were to garrison the posts on the Lower Indus, while the remainder were to return, under the command of Alexander, by land.

The fleet under the command of Nearchus could not yet commence its voyage, the prevailing monsoons being adverse to its progress. He sailed about the middle of October, *a.c.* 323, with the north-east monsoon; and it may be mentioned, that he was the first European who with a fleet navigated the Indian seas. He sailed from the port of Crocala, the modern Coratchie, which is fifty-seven miles north-west of Tatta, and south-east of Cape Monze, and is situated in 24° 51' north latitude, and 67° 16' east longitude: this is the only seaport in the province of Sind.

The route which Alexander marked out for himself was replete with danger. With a vain desire of surpassing Semiramis and Cyrus, (who, it is said, in crossing the deserts of Gedrosia, in their retreat from India, lost all their forces with the exception of twenty men in the former instance, and eight in the latter,) he resolved to pass that way. It was early in September that he put his army in motion thitherward, and he directed his course towards the river Arabia, now denominated the Pooralee. Hephæstion was sent forward with the main body of his army, while he himself turned aside to the sea-coast, to direct the excavation of wells for the use of the fleet under Nearchus. The Arabites, who were a harmless and inoffensive people, fled at the approach of the army. Their example was followed by the Orites, who occupied the territories which now bear the name of Lus, and form one of the districts of Beloochistan, into which, having crossed the river Arabia, and a narrow strip of desert, Alexander next entered. In this territory he spread slaughter among such of the inhabitants as remained, and took many prisoners. He also took their capital city, Rambacia, in which he was resolved to establish a colony. In the mean time, the natives had formed a junction with some Gedrosian tribes, and had possessed themselves of the pass leading through the mountains into Gedrosia, in the hope of arresting the progress of the invader. Their hope was fallacious. Their courage failed them on his approach, and they bent their necks to his yoke. Their country was placed under Apollophanes, satrap of Gedrosia, while Leonnatus was stationed in their capital.

Alexander now led his army into the deserts of Gedrosia. His way lay through a part of the province where the heat of the climate favoured the growth of aromatic plants. The shrub bearing myrrh, and the herb producing nard, grew on every hand; and as the latter was trodden under foot by the host, a stream of rich perfume issued from it, delighting the senses. Notwithstanding, the road led to desolation; forcibly reminding the reader of the paths of sin, which are flowery and delightful to the bodily senses, but which nevertheless lead to destruction. As the army of Alexander moved onward, its progress became

more wearisome and slow. The scorching beams of the sun above their heads, the arid sands beneath their feet reflecting its heat, and the clouds of fine dust which floated around, exhausted the courage of the bravest among them, and created the most tormenting thirst. Water would, to them, have been the chief blessing in life, but this was only to be obtained in scanty quantities, at wide distances, and at times they were compelled to halt where none was to be found. Even when it was discovered, the greatest calamities followed. Many of the soldiers drank to such excess, that death ensued. Still the army moved forward, and as they proceeded, their difficulties and privations increased, while their diminished strength became less able to support them. The sand, drifted into hillocks and wave like ridges sunk beneath their feet like snow, and mounds of the beasts of burden, unable to surmount these obstacles, being exhausted by hunger and thirst, perished. Provisions now became scarce and numbers of horses and mules were killed, and consumed by the soldiers. The loss of the cattle was followed by that of the carriages, which were abandoned by the soldiers, to rid themselves of the task of dragging them along. By this act the fate of the sick and wounded was sealed: they were left to breathe their last sigh in the midst of the barren solitude. The same calamity awaited many whose limbs were enfeebled by hunger and thirst lingering behind: they saw their comrades no more. At one time, indeed, death seemed to hover over the whole army. The winds sweeping violently over the waste had obliterated every vestige of a track, and the guides declared that they knew not where they were. There was nothing to be seen but a boundless extent of billowy sand, like a sandy ocean in which was continually changing its appearance, as the howling blast swept over the desert. In this emergency, Alexander, supposing that the sea could not be far distant on his left, commanded his army to move in that direction. He himself, made desperate by danger with a band of cavalry, spurred onward to reconnoitre the country, and after losing all his followers except five, by the way, he succeeded in reaching the coast. Wells were immediately dug* and a copious supply of water was procured, after which the army were conducted to the shore. They proceeded along the shore for seven days, at the expiration of which period the guides informed him that they were now acquainted with the road into the interior, and, accordingly turning from the sea, Alexander moved towards the fertile part of Gedrosia, bordering on Carmania, and after sixty days wandering in the desert, he reached Pura,† the Gedrosian capital, where the troops halted for repose.

The amount of the loss among Alexander's troops in traversing this desert is unknown. Ar-

* The reader must not imagine that the wells here spoken of resemble our wells which are deep and excavated with great labour. Water might be obtained on the coast merely by digging a foot or two in the sand, as will be seen in a future paragraph.

† This city is represented by the modern Kij a place of the great note on the river Bela, in 87° 45' east longitude, and 25° 9' north latitude. Pottinger went five the river, and with the modern Kyer which runs a course of 100 British miles in a sinuous direction before it reaches the sea.

rian states, and his testimony agrees with that of other historians, that it surpassed the loss of the whole of the former campaigns, and there can be no doubt that it was enormous. A part of the calamities which his army had endured was ascribed by Alexander to the negligence of Apollonides, satrap of Gedrosia, and he was consequently deposed, and those appointed in his stead. The chief blame, however, according to most ancient historians, belonged to Alexander himself, for having had the temerity to lead his army by the way of the desert: nor have his most ardent admirers succeeded in the attempts they have made to exonerate him. No rational motive can be discovered for leading his army across this frightful desert. In itself it was a great error and the route he took in the desert heightened its flagrant. Had he kept close to the shore instead of deviating from it, an abundant supply of water might have been obtained during the whole route, by digging a foot or two deep in the sandy beach. Some authors say that this was the original design of Alexander, and that he was anxious to keep near the sea coast in order to form wells and provide subsistence for the fleet under Nearchus. This is contradicted by facts. It was only for a short time that he proceeded along the coast, and he only endeavoured once or twice during that time to furnish supplies to the naval expedition. Nearchus seems to furnish the real motives of Alexander for this fatal step. He says, that Alexander was aware of the perils of the march, but was resolved to brave them: thereby considering his undertaking as conducive to his glory, it manifested, however, only to his shame. Truly has it been said, that

His glory's erring path
He tracked with his living wife
In vain he sought its life in wrath
And thus the light of life below

That it might be handed down to posterity that Alexander crossed the deserts of Gedrosia, thousands of his army were sacrificed in its frightful wilds, and the lives of the whole were endangered.

That the statement of the miseries endured by the army of Alexander, given by ancient historians is substantially correct, is proved by the description which Pottinger, a modern traveller, gives of the Gedrosian desert. "I travelled, says he, twenty miles to-day across a desert of the same description as yesterday, and consequently the like impediments opposed me, which were trifling, however, compared with the distresses suffered not only by myself and people, but even the camels, from the floating particles of sand a phenomenon which I am still at a loss to account for. When I first observed it, the desert seemed, at the distance of half a mile or less, to have an elevated and flat surface from six to twelve inches higher than the summits of the waves. This vapour appeared to recede as we advanced, and once or twice completely encreased us, limiting the horizon to a very confined space, and conveying a most gloomy and unnatural sensation to the mind of the beholder. At the same moment we were imperceptibly covered with innumerable atoms of small sand, which falling into our eyes, mouth, and nostrils, caused excessive irritation, attended with

extreme thirst, that was increased in no small degree by the intense heat of the sun. On questioning my Brahmin guide, he said that this annoyance was supposed to originate in the solar beams causing the dust of the desert to rise and float through the air; and judging from experience, I should pronounce this idea to be perfectly correct, as I can aver that this sandy ocean was visible only during the hottest part of the day."

While Alexander was at Para, intelligence arrived that Philip, satrap of the territory to the west of the Indus, was slain in a mutiny of the Greek mercenaries, but that the mutineers were chastised by the guards of the deceased. Taxiles, and Eudemus, a Greek, were appointed by letter to hold the vacant government in conjunction till another satrap should be appointed.

After the strength of the soldiers had been recruited, and supplies procured, Alexander again put his army in motion. He was met, on the frontiers of Carmania, by the force which Craterus had led from the Indus through Arachosia and Drangiana. This general brought with him as prisoner, Ordonez, a Persian, who had excited revolt in the central provinces. He was met also by Stasanor, satrap of Aria, and Pharasmenes, son of Phradaphernes, satrap of Parthia and Hyrcania, with a large number of camels and beasts of burden, which were an acceptable present.

Vengeance now overtook the guilty. As Alexander was passing through Carmania, he was joined by some troops which had been stationed in Media, and which were led by Cleander, Bitalces, and Hecicton, the murderers of Parmenio. They had scarcely arrived, when the Medes and the Greek troops united in accusing their leaders of violating the sanctity of temples and tombs by plundering them, and also of harassing the natives by acts of extortion and cruelty. Cleander and Bitalces were found guilty, and executed. Hecicton escaped, the charge not being fully proved, but he was shortly after impeached by the Sarmatians, for despoiling one of their temples, and being convicted, was put to death.

This circumstance in ancient history enforces the proverbial remark, "that friendship must be preserved with good deeds." It was at the instigation of Alexander himself that these three men assassinated the aged Parmenio, and yet no sooner was a plausible charge brought against them than he consigned them over to death without compunction. These were complicated crimes, that show how widely the world had departed from God in this age of heathenism.

The manner in which Alexander passed through Carmania is a matter of dispute. Curtius, Diodorus, and Plutarch, represent his march as a scene of boisterous mirth, feasting, and drunkenness, mixture of the return of Dionysus, the Bacchus of mythology, from the conquest of India. Arrian, however, states that these excesses are not alluded to by Ptolemy, Aristobolus, and others; and that Alexander merely sacrificed to the gods in thankfulness for his victories in India, and the preservation of his army in the desert, and that the religious ceremonies were succeeded by gymnastic exercises and theatrical representations. Which of these statements is correct can-

not be ascertained; but it is evident from both that Alexander rejoiced over the wide desolations he had spread in India. In either case, by his conduct, he sported with the blood, and groans, and tears, and death, of millions of the human kind.

"When the song
Of dear-bought joy, with many a triumph swell'd,
Salutes the victor's ear, and soothes his pride,
How is the grateful harmony profus'd
With the sad dissonance of virgin's cries,
Who mourn their brothers slain!—of matrons how
Whose clasp their wither'd hands and fondly ask,
With iteration shrill their slaughter'd sons!
How is the laurel's verdure stain'd with blood,
And soil'd with widows' tears!"—H. MONS.

It is a fallacious and mischievous, though very common idea, to attach glory to deeds of blood and slaughter.

The conquests of Alexander in India, it may be observed, do not deserve the credit generally attached to them by historians. In the Punjab, a region unequal to England in extent, there were no less than seven independent nations, and along the lower course of the Indus many more. Among these nations, there was little or no concert, each, indeed, acted separately, except the Malli, Cathari, and Oxydracæ, who leagued together for their mutual defence. As this division of states facilitated the career of the Macedonian conquests, so it has given them celebrity. In modern times, however, the conquest of the Punjab, and all the country bordering on the Indus and its tributary streams, would not be considered very wonderful with such an army as Alexander possessed. Had the several petty states united together in common defence against the invader, it is plain, from the desperate resistance which Porus made single-handed, that he would have been retarded, if not defeated, in his project. According to Plutarch, it was the valour of the Indians which induced the Macedonians to thwart the future designs of Alexander. He says, that as soon as they heard there was a great desert to be crossed ere they could arrive at the Ganges, or Jumnah, and that all the tribes eastward of that river were confederated for their mutual defence, and that their united number, amounting to 200,000 foot, and 80,000 horse, 8000 war chariots, and 600 elephants, were waiting for their advance, they were seized with a panic, which all the eloquence of their adventurous leader could not remove; neither threats nor caresses could prevail on them to move a step further, thinking it better that their bones should lie in Greece than be left to bleach on the hot sands of India. It was the division, therefore, of the states in North-western India, that was mainly conducive to Alexander's ready conquests over those states: had they been faithful to each other, it is probable that they might have retained their liberty.

During Alexander's march through Carmania, he was joined by Nearchus, his admiral, and four of his comrades. Nearchus had performed the objects of his expedition, encountering of necessity many difficulties and dangers. So watched, indeed, was the appearance of himself and comrades, that Alexander conceived the rest had perished. Taking the admiral aside, he shed

task, and requested to know the particulars of the catastrophe. When, however, he learned that his fleet were ill founded, he was glad, and offered sacrifices to Jupiter, the preserver; Apollo, the avenger of evil; Hercules, Neptune, and, in a general manner, to all the maritime deities, for the preservation of the fleet. The procession was led by Nearchus, on whom the army scattered flowers, and the scene was closed by games and theatrical representations. After this, Nearchus was sent back to the fleet at Harmosia, to conduct it to Susa.

Nearchus, as related before, sailed on his voyage early in October, B.C. 325. He first steered for the bay on which now stands the town of Kurachee, the port of Tatta. Thence he proceeded to a haven denominated the haven of Alexander, probably near the south-east point of the bay of Soomeany. Pursuing his way along a wooded coast, and passing two narrow straits between the rocks and main land, he reached the river Arabs. Soon after, he lost two heavy ships and a store ship by the fury of the winds, which caused him to land at Ocala, on the coast of the Orontes, to refresh his men and repair his losses. It was here that the setting in of the north-east monsoon commenced, and moving from thence, Nearchus reached the mouth of the river Tomerus, a distance of thirty-one miles. Westward of this river commenced the region of the Ichthyophagi, or fish-eaters. After staying four days in the Tomerus, Nearchus resumed his voyage, and came to the island of Carnana. The next point at which he touched was Mosarna, which was situated near the cape now called Posmet, and where he met with a skilful Gedrosian pilot named Hydruet, who was a great acquisition to his fleet. Nearchus voyaged from Mosarna to Barna, about seventy-five miles distant. Thence he moved to Kyra, in doing which, he was in great danger from the enormous fishes that resorted to the Gedrosian coast at this season. The fleet now came to Bagtia, probably the western promontory of the present bay of Guttur. Thence Nearchus sailed to Radia, now called Cape Jask. At this time, the mariners were suffering so severely from death, that Nearchus was obliged to prohibit them from leaving the vessels, lest they should desert him, and endeavour to join Alexander by land at Cananda, indeed, they were under the necessity of feeding on the tender heads of palm trees. From Radia, having steered about fifty miles farther, they approached the entrance of the Persian gulf, and proceeding onwards, in two days they reached the port of Harmosia, on the river Ananias, whence Nearchus journeyed by land to meet Alexander. On his return, it would appear that Nearchus sailed up one of the branches of the Karoon (probably that denominated the Jerabee) to Susa, where he was again to join the monarch.

ALEXANDER'S LAST TRANSACTIONS.

After the abandonment of India, says Heeren, the whole circuit of Alexander's conquests was precisely that of the former Persian empire, his later projects were probably directed against Arabia alone. However easy it had been to make these conquests, it was a more difficult

task to retain them; for Macedonia, exhausted by continual losses of men, could not furnish efficient garrisons. Alexander removed this difficulty by protecting the conquered from oppression, by showing respect to their religion; by leaving the civil government in the hands of the native rulers who had hitherto possessed it; and by confiding to Macedonians the command only of the garrisons left in the chief places, and in the newly established colonies. To alter as little as possible in the internal organisation of the countries he conquered, was his fundamental principle.

Alexander having heard that great disorder had been committed in Persia during his absence, placed the principal part of the army, the elephants and the baggage, under Hephæstion, with orders to proceed westward towards Susa, while he himself, with the Companion cavalry, some light infantry, and a division of archers, directed his course northward to Pasagardæ. At this city, in the centre of the royal gardens, stood the tomb of Cyrus the Great. [See the History of the Persians.] Alexander was indignant to find that, during his absence, the tomb of this truly great monarch had been violated. Every thing had been carried away but the golden couch and coffin, and the body had been badly treated. To repair this injury, was his first care. Aristobulus was ordered to restore the tomb to its pristine state, and to close the doorway with masonry, and seal it with the royal signet. The attention of Alexander was next directed to discover and punish the guilty, and the magians who had the guardianship of the tomb were put to the torture, in order to gain information. The firmness of the magians, however, or their want of knowledge on the subject, baffled their tormentors, and they were set at liberty. It is not likely, indeed, that they, or any respectable natives of Persia, were guilty of this gross outrage upon the memory of a monarch who founded the Persian greatness, whence the statement of Strabo, that the act was committed by robbers, seems to be correct. The only blame attached to the magians, was their negligence.

While at Pasagardæ, Atropates, the Median satrap, conducted Baryaxes in chains to Alexander. This man, encouraged by Alexander's absence, had usurped the royal tiara and the title of the king of the Medes and Persians, and had been captured by Atropates, with several of his supporters, the whole of whom were ordered to be immediately executed.

Alexander next led his troops to Persepolis. On viewing the havoc which he had made there in a fit of drunkenness, as related in the History of the Persians, [see page 14,] it is said that deep feelings of compunction were excited in his breast, and that he expressed remorse for the deed. This was natural, for he had now become master of the country to which these noble works did honour, and he might have recalled to mind that the faithful Parmenio had counselled him to spare the gorgeous fabric, his arms had won, in order that he might one day repose in its magnificent chambers. He might, also, be affected with the idea that he had basely murdered the giver of that counsel, for the remain-

braves of dark deeds heats the minds of those who commit them.

On the arrival of Alexander at Persepolis, he was called upon again to inflict chastisement upon an eminent subject. While he was in India, Pharnaces, who was satrap of Persia, died, and the vacant office was assumed by Orxines, without a warrant for the act. This had not been resented by the monarch; and it is probable that if his conduct had been loyal and just, he would have been confirmed in his office. Orxines, however, was accused by his countrymen of many enormous crimes, and being unable to repel their charges, he was crucified. The satrapy of Persia was given to Peucestas, who had saved the life of Alexander in the fort of the Mallians.

Although Alexander had treated the brahmins of India, in general, in the most cruel manner, for their opposition to his ambition, he could not avoid admiring their philosophical spirit and powers of endurance. Dr Hales relates an instance of this. He says that the conqueror once took ten who were reputed the wisest and ablest of this class, and had done him great mischief, by fomenting revolts. To make trial of their skill, he proposed to them the hardest questions, declaring that the man who answered worst should be executed first, and the rest in order, and he appointed the eldest to be judge.

He asked the first, "Which were most numerous, the living or the dead?" He answered, "The living; for the dead no longer exist."

The second, "Whether the earth or the sea produced the largest animals?" He answered, "The earth, for the sea is part of it" which answer is paradoxical, for the sea animals are the largest.

The third, "Which was the craftiest of all animals?" "That," he replied, "with which man is yet unacquainted," meaning, probably, man himself. Scripture says, "The heart is deceitful above all things—who can know it?" Jer. xvi. 9

The fourth, "Why he persuaded Sabbas to revolt?" "Because," he rejoined, "I wished him either to live or die with honour."

The fifth, "Which do you think oldest, the day or the night?" He answered, "The day, by one day." Alexander appearing surprised at this solution, the philosopher told him, "abstruse questions must have abstruse answers." It is probable that this reply had reference to "a day of Brahma," the Creator, which in their emblematical philosophy contained a *kalpa*, or 1000 *maha yugas*, and a *maha yuga*, 4,320,000 years.

The sixth, "What were the best means for a man to make himself loved?" He replied, "If possessed of great power, do not make yourself feared."

The seventh, "How may a man become a god?" "By doing," he replied, "what is impossible for man to do." This reply finely exposed the impious pretensions of Alexander.

The eighth, "Which is strongest, life or death?" "Life," was the reply; "because it bears so many evils."

* According to Strabo, the Indian brahmins hold the present state of life an embryo only, but death a birth into the real life, and the happy life to those who seek wisdom.

The ninth, "How long is it good for a man to live?" "So long," replied the philosopher, "as he does not prefer death to life:" thereby intimating fortitude and resignation to their fate.

Turning to the judge, Alexander ordered him to give sentence. "In my opinion," said the sage, "they have all answered one worse than another." "If this is thy judgment," said Alexander, "thou shalt die first." "Not so," replied the sage, "unless you choose to break your word, for you declared the man that answered worst should suffer first."

Pleased with their replies, the monarch loaded these brahmins with presents, and dismissed them, seeking to conciliate them by kindness.

Nor was this the only occasion on which Alexander showed kindness to the brahmins. At Taxila, he was desirous of prevailing upon one of them to form a part of his train, but Dandamis, the senior brahmin, sternly refused to follow him himself, or to permit any of his disciples, at the same time pouring contempt upon the idea of Alexander being the son of a deity, and reprobating his senseless lust of conquest. But though Dandamis refused to follow Alexander, another brahmin, of the name of Calanus, was prevailed upon to accompany him. This it is that called forth the foregoing remarks. Calanus, who was seventy-three years of age, followed Alexander throughout his Indian campaign, and marched with him through the Gedrosian desert into Persia. While at Persepolis, or Pasargard, (it is not known which,) his health having declined, and his existence become irksome, he resolved to die. He requested Alexander to permit him to end his days after the manner of his sect, by a voluntary sacrifice of himself upon the funeral pile, and after some hesitation, his request was granted. Ptolemy, son of Lagus, was ordered to superintend the erection of the pile, and the whole of the Macedonian force was drawn out, under arms, in honour of the philosopher. Every thing being ready, Calanus was carried to the spot, and amid the sound of the trumpets, and the blast of the clarions, and the din of the multitude, he lay in the midst of the flames without a motion or a groan, till he ceased to breathe.

Diodorus informs us that the Macedonians differed in opinion respecting this action. Some condemned it, as the action of fanaticism, others imagined it proceeded from vain-glory, while others applauded the heroism which had enabled Calanus to triumph over death. Calanus was neither fanatic, vain-glorious, nor heroic. Instructed by the vain philosophy of his sect, he was sincere in his desire to escape from the ills of life, imagining that so after calamities would overtake him—that he would, indeed, by this self-sacrifice, dismiss his soul to happiness in another world. This is one of the most fatal machinations that the evil one has practised upon the sons of men. Once passed the boundaries of death, and he is then sure of his votaries.

Dew-drops may deck the turf that hides the bones,
But tears of godly grief ne'er dew within.—Cowper.

It is an awful thing to rush thus madly into the presence of our Maker and Judge. And

yet not among the brahmins of India only do mankind thus unwisely act. Daily as it told among professing Christians, that some poor sinner has gone with his life in his hand before the judgment-seat of God. Neglecting the sublime philosophy of the Bible, that alone teaches unmixed truth, and which bids us to wait all our appointed days till our change come, some little cross in life, which it is our duty to bear, and which nature itself would soon throw off, makes life a burden, and death is preferred with all its awful consequences. The cords of life are severed in twain, and the soul of the sinner launches out into a dread eternity, unprepared, and lost to hope and heaven.

Wide spread as Alexander's conquests were, his ambition was yet more boundless, nor had he learned yet to curb the unruly passion. While at Persepolis, he meditated schemes of future adventure, some of them more daring and gigantic than those he had already executed. According to ancient authors his designs as now unfolded, were the exploration of the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the short of the Persian Gulf, the circumnavigation of the Arabian and African coasts, the conquest of Africa, the reduction of Carthage, the navigation of the Euxine Sea, in order to conquer the Scythians, and the prostration of the Roman power, then in its infancy. But the designs he formed were brought to nought: a part only of his first project being carried into effect. Bounds were set to the limit of his power, and it was in vain for him to attempt to pass those bounds.

Alexander at length commenced his march to Susa. When he reached the bridge over the Karoon, the modern Pasi-Figris, he was gratified at finding Nearchus with his fleet waiting for him. The troops disembarked, and they proceeded together to Susa. On his arrival there the Susians accused Abulites, the satrap, and his son Oxathres of spoliation and tyranny, and being convicted, they were sentenced to die. Harpalus also satrap of Babylonia, who had been the friend of Alexander in his youth, having wasted the treasures of Babylonia in profligacy and riot, fled for fear, on his approach taking with him 5000 talents, about 1,000,000 sterling, and 6000 well armed and disciplined soldiers who sold their services to him. Harpalus first took refuge in the promontory of Laniarus, now cap. Matapan, after which he went to Athens, in hopes of raising a revolt there. It is said that Harpalus bribed the popular orators largely to forward his views, and that Demosthenes yielded to the influence of the traitor's gold, for which he was afterwards banished. Notwithstanding, he was disappointed in his hopes, and he returned to Tegyria, and led his troops to Crete, where he was slain by Thimbron, one of his associates. These frequent rebellions and delinquencies had the effect of making Alexander suspicious and severe: thus a worm was at the root of his enjoyments.

One distinguishing feature of Alexander's line of policy, after his return to Persia, was the amalgamation of the Persians and Grecians. In order to effect this object, he brought about the marriage of eighty of his principal officers with

Persian and Median females of rank, who were all married on one day, and to each of the brides he gave a liberal dowry. He also ordered a register to be made of all the Greek soldiers who had married Asiatic wives, and though the number was found to be more than 10,000, each of them was presented with a wedding portion according to his rank. At the same time, Alexander took to himself a plurality of wives from the Persian royal family. In addition to Roxana, daughter of Oxyartes, the Bactrian chief, he married Barsine, also called Statira, eldest daughter of Darius; and Aristobolus affirms that he likewise took to wife Parysatis, the youngest daughter of Ochus. By this step Alexander might hope to be looked upon as the lawful sovereign of Persia. These marriages were celebrated according to the Persian ceremony, and with oriental magnificence.

Plutarch, seizing the spirit of these regulations, thus apostrophizes Xerxes for the folly of uniting Asia and Europe by a bridge of boats: "O foolish barbarian, in vain didst thou labour abundantly about the Hellepontine bridge! It was thus that intelligent kings unite Europe to Asia, not by timbers, nor by cords, nor by manumate and insensible hands, but by uniting both races in lawful love, subervidlock, and intercommunities of children." It was doubtless a wise political measure, tending to the preservation of his crown, and peace in his dominions for the time being.

The munificence which Alexander displayed on the occasion of the marriage of himself and his officers, was eclipsed soon after by another act of generosity. Like most of their brethren in arms, the Macedonian soldiers were a thrifless race, and though they had plundered both Persians and Indians of a vast amount, they had spent their ill gotten treasures, and were now universally compelled to resort to the market, and to rely upon future plunder to discharge their engagements. Alexander knew this, and thinking to secure their gratitude and affection it is said that he distributed among them no less than 20,000 talents, or above 4,000,000 sterling. On such as had distinguished themselves he bestowed gifts, in proportion to their rank and services, and he awarded crowns of gold to Ptolemy, Leonnatus, Nearchus, Onesicritus, and Hephestion.

Friendship is not sincere when cemented by gold only. The mutual good understanding which the largesses of Alexander had created between himself and his soldiers was but of momentary duration. The 30,000 youths, whom, previous to his Indian expedition he had selected from the north-eastern provinces, were grown up to manhood, and he now directed them to be brought to Susa. On their arrival, they were reviewed by Alexander, and being pleased with their high state of discipline and fine appearance, he gave them the name of *I pipeni*, or successors. At the same time Alexander adopted the Median dress. This gave offence to the Macedonians. They saw that it was the design of Alexander to replace them by Persians, and recollecting, also, that the Companion Cavalry was recruited from the Bactrian, Sogdian, Parthian, and the north-east and central provinces, and that the fifth division of it was composed chiefly of

Persians, and wholly officered by Persian nobles, they broke out into long and deep murmurs, which ended in revolt.

It has been recorded, that one of the designs of Alexander was the navigation of the Persian Gulf. A part of this project he now resolved to execute, and accordingly, placing the main body of the army under Hephestion, whom he commanded to march towards Ecbatana, his northern capital, he himself marched from Susa, and embarked on the Pas-Tigris. Before he reached the mouth of that river, he divided his fleet, despatching the heavy vessels into the Shat-al-Arah, through the canal of Hafar, while he descended to the gulf with the light ships, and explored the delta of the Tigris and Euphrates, and then ascended the Shat-al-Arah to the spot where Hephestion was encamped. After the junction of his forces, Alexander proceeded up the Tigris, and after passing many dykes,* now called bunds, which retarded his progress, he came to Opis, a large and populous city on the Phycus, near its confluence with the Tigris.

It was at Opis that the smouldering discontent of the Macedonians burst forth. When the monarch arrived at Opis, it was the season for celebrating the Macedonian Olympiad, and the festival was directed to be proclaimed. The course of events seemed to run smoothly, when it was publicly announced, that all Grecian exiles, save murderers and robbers of temples, might return to their homes. At the same time, Alexander called the whole of the Greeks together, and informed them that he designed to discharge all whom age or infirmity rendered unfit for service, or who were tired of bearing arms, that they also might return home. Those who wished to remain were promised such rewards as would make their brethren at home envious, and detest of joining their ranks. This was intended to please the Macedonian army, but it had the contrary effect. Looking upon it as a wanton insult, terms of anger, reproach, and contumely, were heard on every hand. Some taunted Alexander with the adoption of the Persian dress and manners, others with arming the Persian youth in the Grecian fashion, and his admission of barbarians into the cavalry, while others, more bold than the rest, told him, that his father Ammon and himself might henceforth subjugate the world by themselves.

* Rauwolf, a German naturalist, who descended the Euphrates A. D. 1574 thus speaks of these dykes. "Our master was much troubled because the river was often stopped up at the sides with great stones that made the river swell for there was a great number of large and high water engines on wheels and these stones were laid to lead the stream to them to make them work for it often happened that two of them stood close together, which took up so much of the river that we had hardly room to pass by them in the middle of the stream wherefore he was forced to have great care to find the right way where he might pass without danger. The reason why these water wheels are so much in use is because the river doth not overflow, as the Nile, to water the grounds, neither doth it run here sufficiently to moisten the weeds and garden plants that they may not be burnt by the great heat of the sun, wherefore they must look out for such means as will supply this want. To do this, they erect water wheels, whereof three or four stand behind one another, in the river which go night and day, and dip up water out of the river, which is emptied into peculiar channels, that are prepared on purpose to water all the ground."

It would not appear that Alexander was wholly unprepared for this ill feeling among his soldiers; for in the midst of the tumult he leaped from his seat, and followed by his guards and chief officers, rushed into the crowd, and seizing thirteen of the principal mutineers, he ordered them to be immediately executed. This resolute movement and measure awed the clamorous multitude into silence, and before they had recovered their surprise, Alexander ascended the tribunal, whence he uttered the following vindication of his conduct, as related by Arrian.

"It is not to restrain your impatience to return to your native home, Macedonians, that I address you. You have my consent to go where you please. I only wish to remind you what you once were, and what you now are.

"Duty directs me to commence my speech with my father Philip. When he ascended the throne of Macedonia, he found you a vagrant people, clad in sheep skins, and feeding your scanty flocks on the mountains, to retain possession of which you contended, often in vain, with the Illyrians, Triballians, and Thracians. Philip led you from the mountains to the plains, arrayed you in coats of cloth, accustomed you to discipline, taught you to rely for safety on your own courage, rather than on your fastnesses, collected you in cities, and adorned you with laws and morals, and raised you to be masters of those barbarians, by whom yourselves and goods were oftentimes led and carried away. To Macedonia he added a large part of Thrace, and he gave facilities to commerce by subduing the maritime towns, and enabled you to work the mines in security. By his prowess, you obtained the ascendancy over the Thessalians, before whom you once fled affrighted. For you, he humbled the Phocians, and by that act opened a broad avenue into Greece, instead of a narrow and difficult pass through which you were accustomed to enter. The Thebans and Athenians, who were always plotting against Macedonia, were by our united efforts overcome at Chæronea, so that instead of being vassals to the former, and paying tribute to the latter, they derived their security from our hands. Passing into Peloponnesus, he regulated affairs there also, and was declared generalissimo of all the rest of Greece in the expedition against Persia, a glory that reflects equal honour on the Macedonians with himself. Such were the benefits conferred on you by my father: they were great, considered in themselves, but trifling compared with what I have done for you.

"When I placed the crown upon my head, all that I possessed was a few gold and silver cups, and sixty talents in the treasury; while I was burdened with a debt, contracted by my father, of 500 talents. I borrowed 800 more, and by the aid of that sum, I led you from a country that could not well maintain yourselves, accomplished the passage of the Hellespont, and that, notwithstanding the Persians were masters at sea. By my cavalry I defeated the satraps of Darius, and added to your empire all Ionia, Æolia, both Phrygia, and Lydia. I took Miletus by storm, and you reap the fruits of all the provinces which then submitted. The revenues of Egypt, and Cyrene, which I acquired without striking a blow

were yours. Cæle-Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia are yours. Yours also are Babylon, Susa, and Bactria. The opulence of Lydia, the treasures of Persia, the goods of India are yours. You have become satraps, generals, and officers of every degree. After all my toils, what have I reserved for myself except this purple robe and tiara? I possess nothing beyond. All my treasures are yours, kept for your use; for I have no motive to keep them for myself. I feed on the same fare with yourselves; I take the same sleep. My fare, indeed, is not equal to that of the luxurious among you; and I have often watched, that you might sleep securely.

"It may be said, however, that I have acquired these by your labours and toils, while I have undergone neither. Which of you laboured more for me than I did for him? Whoever has wounds, let him show them, and I will show mine. There is no part of my body in front un wounded. I have been wounded by the sword in hand, and by javelins, darts, and arrows in distant, and stones from the enemy's engines have struck me to the earth. Yet for your emolument and glory I have led you through every land, and over seas, mountains, rivers, plains, and deserts.

"I have united you in the same bands of wedlock as myself, and your children will be kinsmen to my children. Without asking how your debts were contracted, I discharged them, though your pay has been liberal without precedent, and your plunder immense. On many of you I have bestowed crowns of gold, lasting monuments of your valour and my esteem; and those who fell in battle have been honoured with tombs on the field, and brazen statues at home; while their parents are had in honour, and are exempted from all public service and imposts.

"And now, such of you as are unfit for war, I intended to dismiss you, so as to be objects of envy at home; but since you all wish to depart, go! And when you have arrived at home, tell that your king Alexander, who conquered the Persians, Medes, Bactrians, and Sacæ; who overthrew the Uxians, Arachosians, and Drangians; who acquired Parthia, Hyrcania, Chorasmia, to the shores of the Caspian; who surmounted the Caucasus and Caspian gates, and passed the Oxus and Tanais, and the river Indus, passed by none before but Bacchus; and after crossing the Hydaspes, and Acesines, and Hydrotæ, would have led you over the Hyphasis had not your hearts failed you; who navigated through both the mouths of the Indus to the ocean; who crossed the desert of Gedrosia, which none ever passed with an army before, acquiring Carmania in the way—tell your countrymen, I say, that after he had done all this, and after his fleet had sailed round from India to Persia, and you had arrived at Susa in triumph, you deserted him, and turned him over to the care of vanquished barbarians. This tale will perhaps gain you glory among men, and favour with the gods. Depart!"

Descending from the tribunal, Alexander took his way to the palace, attended by his friends and body guards. For two days, he shut himself up from society, expecting in the mean time that the Macedonians would make some overtures for a reconciliation. Still, though mute astonishment

had seized upon them through his resolute conduct and harangue, they gave no signs of pacific intentions. On the third day, therefore, Alexander proceeded to form an army from among his new subjects. This army was constituted on the model of the Grecian. It had its Agema, Hypaspists, and Companion infantry and cavalry; the foot company was called the *Argyraspides*, and the horse company, the king's guard. The pride of the Macedonians was now appealed to, and it had the desired effect. Their courage vanished, and their grief was unbounded. Hurrying to the palace, they piled their arms before it, in token of submission, protesting their repentance and willingness to give up those who had led them astray, and declaring that they would remain on the spot till their pardon was sealed. When Alexander was informed of this, he came out to meet them, and seeing their dejection, and hearing their lamentations, he wept with them. He then received them into full favour again, and dismissed them, shouting and singing pæans as they returned to the camp.

The conduct of Alexander, on this occasion, shows how well he understood the art of governing the passions of his soldiers. It was his skill in this art, indeed, that enabled him to make the proud boasts with which his speech teems. He knew that they were instruments in his hands, willing and able to aid him in his lust of conquest, and that he had only occasion to appeal to their pride of eminence in feats of arms, in order to make them subservient to his pleasure. No other leader could be found of such consummate abilities, otherwise it is probable that the Macedonians might have ranged themselves, during this outbreak, under his banners, to commit fresh ravages upon their brethren of the human race. Alexander and his Macedonian forces seem alike to have been formed for each other. Both were actuated by the same fierce desire for plunder and conquest.

The reconciliation of Alexander and the Macedonian troops was celebrated by offerings to the gods, and a public banquet. It is said that 9000 Grecians and Persians partook of the festal cheer. Next to Alexander were the chief Macedonians, the chief Persians were next, and the rest of the guests were seated according to their rank and country. At the feast, harmony and unity prevailed, and the Grecian augurs and Persian magi prayed for the lasting prosperity and union of the two nations.

Notwithstanding this reconciliation had been effected, the plan of disbanding the veterans was persisted in. About 10,000 were sent home, under the command of Craterus, with their full pay and a gratuity of a talent each, about 200*l.* sterling. Their offspring were retained in Persia, Alexander promising to educate them in the Grecian manner, and to restore them at a future time to their parents. Beyond this commission, Craterus was directed to supersede Antipater in the vice-royalty of Macedonia and the superintendence of Greece, while Antipater was to proceed to Asia with new levies, to fill the station held there by Craterus. The parting scene between Alexander and his veterans is described by ancient historians as being

most affecting, all weeping. It had been well for the honour of humanity, had their tears been mutually shed over the desolations they had caused in the earth, rather than on account of their inability to increase the heavy score of guilt and blood.

Alexander now directed his march towards Ecbatana. In five days he reached Sambana, and in three days more he came to Celonæ, which was inhabited by the descendants of a Bœotian colony, and which appears to have been situated near the site of the modern Ghilancee on the south-western side of Mount Zagros. Crossing the chain of Zagros, Alexander traversed Bagistane, a delightful and beautiful country, in the neighbourhood of which the Persian royal stud was kept. Alexander halted here for thirty days, during which time a quarrel took place between Hephæstion and Eumenes, the king's secretary, which demanded the interposition of his authority.

On his arrival at Ecbatana, Alexander offered sacrifice to the gods in thanksgiving for the success of his arms.

Emperors and kings how oft have temples rung
With impious thanks, giving the Almighty a scorn!
How oft above their altars have been hung
Trophies that led the good and wise to mourn
Triumphant wrong, bottle of battle born
And sorrow that to fruitless sorrow clings.

WORDSWORTH

Gymnastic games and theatrical representations succeeded, and joy reigned throughout the Grecian army. In the midst of these rejoicings, however, a severe shock was given to the monarch's feelings by the sudden death of Hephæstion, who appears to have fallen a victim to his excesses. The grief of Alexander was excessive on this occasion, and if ancient historians could be implicitly credited, his affliction gave rise to many insane actions. One, however, as recorded by Arrian, appears to have been true. He wrote to Cleomenes, the rapacious governor of the eastern division of Egypt directing that a temple should be erected to Hephæstion in Alexandria, and another in the island of Pharos, and that all legal writings should be inscribed with the name of the deceased, adding, that if on his return to Egypt he should find these temples built, all his past immoderacies should be forgiven, and he should have license to commit the same for the future. The funeral of the favourite Hephæstion was of the most magnificent kind. It is said, but it savours of exaggeration, that the expense of it amounted to 10,000 talents, about 2,000,000 sterling.

So deep was Alexander's grief for the death of Hephæstion, that his courtiers advised the tumult of warfare to arouse him from his melancholy. Alexander readily responded to this strange advice, war being most consonant to his feelings. Prey was also soon discovered. In the mountains, south of Ecbatana, now called Loozistan, in a part of which dwell the Uxians, there was a warlike people, denominated the Cossæans. These people had never been subdued by the Persian kings, but, on the contrary, had been accustomed to demand and receive a present from them when they traversed their fastnesses, in their way from Babylon to Ecbatana. Against

these Cossæan robbers Alexander resolved, though it was winter, to march. Dividing his army into two bodies, one commanded by Ptolemy Lagus, and the other by himself, he attacked them on their own mountains, whither they had fled, on his approach, for safety; conceiving them to be inaccessible fortresses. They were soon undeceived. Alexander was a different warrior to the kings of Persia. At the head of the light armed foot, himself and Ptolemy climbed up the rocks, and either compelled those who had sheltered themselves there to descend, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, and left them to be wasted by famine. The result was, that, after a campaign of forty days, the Cossæans were compelled to submit to his authority. To secure their obedience, forts and towns were directed to be built in various parts of their territory.

About this time, Alexander planned a voyage of discovery, to obtain accurate information as to the nature and extent of the Caspian Sea, and he despatched Heracles son of Argæus, into Hyrcania, with a body of shipwrights, to construct a fleet for that purpose.

Influenced by the affliction which the Babylonians had manifested towards him, and by the fertility of Babylonia, Alexander chose Babylon for the metropolis of his empire. To this city he now, B.C. 423, directed his march. In his way thither, he gave directions for collecting whatever Grecian statues or other curiosities had been brought by Xerxes or his officers out of Greece into the Persian dominions, that they might be restored.

Arrian says that when he had crossed the right bank of the Tigris on his way to Babylon, he was met by a deputation of Chaldean priests, who entreated him to suspend his progress, as the oracle of Belus had declared that his immediate entrance into the city would be productive of fatal consequences to him. Alexander was startled by this augury for a moment, but afterwards, suspecting that the Babylonian priests wished to hinder him from going thither, that he might not detect their peculation of the sacred treasury, and apply the money to rebuilding the temple, for which purpose he had placed it at their disposal on a former occasion, [see the History of the Persians, page 100,] he repeated this line to his friends, from Euripides,

He the best prophet is who guesses best,

and made known to the priests that it was his intention to proceed. Disconcerted by this repulse, and in order to preserve the semblance of solicitude for the welfare of Alexander, "At least," they replied, "if thou must needs enter Babylon, avoid entering with thy face to the west, but take a circuit, and enter towards the east." Alexander assented to this, but he found access on that side impracticable by marshes and inundations, and he was under the necessity of returning and entering with his face towards the west, in the face of the predicted danger, which he appears to have in reality believed, notwithstanding his taunt derived from the page of the poet. "He had often employed superstition as an engine of state policy," says Dr Hales,

"when he represented himself as the son of Ammon, and he now fell a prey to it himself; illustrating the truth of Ptolemy, that superstition, like water, always flows to the grounds which are low and depressed."

While he was on the road to Babylon, and as soon as he had arrived at it, Alexander received embassies from the Libyans, Carthaginians, Ethiopians, Lucanians, Bruttians, Etruscans, European Scythians, Celts, and Iberians, to solicit his friendship or avert his hostility. From the Greek republics, also, deputies were sent to congratulate him, and to offer him the customary present of a crown of gold. Some of these deputies were commissioned to procure his intervention for the settlement of religious, domestic, and foreign disputes, and some to solicit the revocation of the decree by which banished citizens were restored to their native cities. All these deputies were received, and listened to with marked attention, and they were dismissed with courteous speeches and tokens of esteem. In order to win still more the good will of the Greeks, he delivered the Grecian statutes which had been discovered to these ambassadors, to be conveyed back to the cities whence they had been removed. By some authors it is asserted that the Romans sent ambassadors, at this time, to Babylon: but Arrian, who is the most veracious historian of these ages, questions the truth of this assertion.

Alexander designed that Babylon should not only be the metropolis of his empire, but also a port and naval arsenal. He gave orders for a basin to be excavated, capable of admitting a thousand sail, to which docks and magazines for stores were to be attached. The ships of Nearchus were already arrived, with some from Phoenicia, while others were directed to be built with the wood of the cypress trees in Babylonia. Micaelus, a Clazemonian, was despatched to Syria and Phoenicia to engage sailors, and to obtain emigrants to people the islands and shores of the Persian Gulf. Many of the materials requisite for the equipment of the fleet were also obtained from these provinces.

The design for which Alexander gave orders for the collection of this armament was, to invade Arabia. Ancient historians give the following reasons for this step: 1. The Arabians had sent no ambassadors to acknowledge his supremacy. 2. They worshipped only two divinities, Uranus and Dionysius, and he was desirous of making them acknowledge him as a third. 3. Arabia abounded in myrrh, frankincense, cassia, spike-nard, and cinnamon. 4. A fourth and more rational reason might be, that he desired to secure his frontier provinces from the continual incursions of the restless and unconquerable descendants of Ishmael.

During the time these preparations were going forward for the conquest of Arabia, Alexander was engaged in projecting domestic improvements. He went in person down the Euphrates to examine the canal called Pallacopas. This canal received the redundancy of waters occasioned by the melting of the snow on the mountains into the river Euphrates, thereby preventing the evils of inundations. When, however, the snows were wholly melted, and the river sank

within its usual bounds, it became necessary to prevent its waters from diverging into the Pallacopas, and it was closed by a dam, the accomplishment of which object is said to have occupied 10,000 men during three months. It was the object of Alexander to remedy this evil, and to preserve an equable flow of water necessary for the purposes of agriculture; and accordingly, having examined the country towards the lake, he gave directions that a new opening should be made to it about four miles from the mouth, which, it was conceived, would answer the purpose. After this, proceeding into the Pallacopas, he steered towards the Arabian frontier, where he founded a city,* peopling it with some veteran Greek mercenaries.

In sailing through the marshes, an accident occurred which, though trivial in its nature, was afterwards regarded by that superstitious age as ominous. As Alexander was steering near one of the sepulchral monuments of the ancient Assyrian kings, many of which stood in the islands with which the lake abounded, a gust of wind blew the diadem from his brow, and lodged it upon the reeds growing near the tomb. One of the sailors plunged into the water to recover it, and wishing to preserve the ensign of royalty from being wetted, he placed it on his head, for which he had a talent given him as a reward for its recovery, but was immediately put to death, or, as Aristobulus says, scourged, for his indiscretion in putting it on his head.

On his return to Babylon, Alexander found large reinforcements for his army, consisting of Persians, Taperians, and Cosæans, which were brought by the satrap Peucestas, besides a body of Carian infantry conducted by Philoxenus, another of Lydian infantry furnished by Menander, and a division of cavalry by Menidas. The Persians, with a small body of Greeks intermingled, were formed into a separate phalanx by Alexander, the superior command of which was given to Macedonian officers.

It was about this time that Alexander gave directions for the rebuilding the temple of Belus, which Dr. Hales suggests might be to conciliate the Babylonian god, and avert his anger. [See the History of the Assyrians.]

While these works were proceeding, fresh deputies arrived from the Grecian states, bringing with them their usual gifts of golden crowns, and a commission to yield to him divine honours! This was, doubtless, a grateful offering to the pride of Alexander; but it brought shame upon the adulators, for the head of their new divinity was about to be laid low in the dust, and all his greatness to pass away for ever.

The preparations for the departure of the expedition against Arabia being completed, Alexander offered a magnificent sacrifice for the success of his arms, after which he gave a feast to his principal officers. He had sat late and drank deeply, when Medius, a Thessalian of Larissæ, invited him to join a party of his boon companions at supper. The invitation was accepted,

* This city has been known in different ages by the appellations of Hira, Almondari, Nigref, and Meshed Ali: the latter of these names is supposed to have been derived from its being the burial place of the caliph Ali.

and the night and the following day were spent in revelling with Medias. Towards evening, however, disease began to manifest itself, and after bathing, Alexander retired to bed in the house of his host. The fever with which he was attacked, Dr. Fordyce observes, appears to have been an irregular semitertian fever, caught by surveying the marshes adjoining the Euphrates, and increased by his carousals. On the morning after the prostration of his powers by it, he was carried on a couch to perform the daily sacrifice, and in the evening he was rowed over the river to a garden, where he passed the night. Still dreaming of conquest, in the course of the next day he gave orders that the army should be put in motion on the fourth day, and that the fleet, with which he himself meant to proceed, should sail on the day following. On the fourth day, there was an exacerbation of his disorder, which confined him to his couch, so that these orders were countermanded. The next day, however, brought so much relief, that fresh orders were issued for the armament to be ready to depart in three days. These orders were also set aside; for during these three days the fever rapidly gained ground, and at the end of that time it was evident that nature was fast sinking. On the ninth day, he was with difficulty carried to the altar, again to offer sacrifice; and after this ceremony, he was removed to the palace, whither he was followed by his principal officers, to whom he gave audience. The fever raged during the whole of the night and the next day, and he was now so far reduced by it, that he who had given laws to half Europe and Asia could no longer intimate a wish by the sound of his voice. Under these humiliating and melancholy circumstances, the Macedonians, upon their urgent request, were permitted to pass silently by his bedside. He raised his head, fixed his eyes on them, and made an attempt to stretch forth his hand, thereby indicating a recognition of his partners in war; but he could no longer command them. It was evident that his end was approaching, and as a last resource, his friends Python, Attalus, Demophoon, Penteastus, Cleomenes, Menidas, and Seleucus, after spending the tenth night in the temple of Serapis,* consulted the god whether it would be better to convey the king thither? They were forbidden by the oracle, says Arrian, to remove him, and had scarcely reached the chamber of their sovereign, and made known this reply, before he ceased to exist, B. C. 323.

Thus, says Dr. Hales, was cut off in the prime of life and in all the pride of conquest, "Alexander the Great," after he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and reigned in all twelve years and eight months from his father Philip's death. "Therefore the he goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken," Dan. viii. 8.

Many omens are recorded by ancient historians as preceding the death of Alexander, but they are passed over in this history, as not being wor-

thy of notice. It is probable, however, that these were all promulgated by the magi, who were doubtless well acquainted with the prophecies of Daniel, which foretold his early doom and the desolation of Babylon. Looking at them in this light, it was a golden opportunity for the magi to raise their credit with the people; for they knew from experience that the predictions of this great prophet would never fail, and therefore any assertion founded upon them must surely come to pass.

The nature of these omens may be seen in the following tradition respecting Alexander, many of which still exist in Persia. "The astrologers had foretold, that when Alexander's death was near, he would place his throne where the ground was of iron and the sky of gold. When the hero, fatigued with conquest, directed his march towards the Grecian states, he was one day seized with a bleeding at the nose. A general who was near, unlacing his coat of mail, spread it for the prince to sit on; and to defend him from the sun, held a golden shield over his head. When Alexander saw himself in this situation, he exclaimed, "The prediction of the astrologers is accomplished; I no longer belong to the living! Alas! that the work of my youth should be finished! Alas! that the plant of the spring should be cut down like the ripened tree of autumn!" He wrote to his mother, saying, he should shortly quit this earth, and pass to the regions of the dead. He requested that the alms given on his death should be bestowed on such as had never seen the miseries of this world, and had never lost those who were dear to them. In conformity to his will, his mother sought, but in vain, for such persons: all had tasted the woes and griefs of life; all had lost those whom they loved. She found in this a consolation, as her son had intended, for her great loss. She saw that her own was the common lot of humanity.

The praises of Alexander have been recorded by historians from the age in which he lived to the present time. Arrian, in the height of his admiration, observes, that "he resembled no other man, and seemed to have been born by a special providence." What he accomplished in the short compass of his reign was certainly wonderful, his measures being executed with all the rapidity of the double-winged leopard, as predicted by Daniel. Nor can there be any doubt that he was an instrument in the hands of Divine Providence. Scripture itself speaks of him as such; but it does not therefore speak of him in terms of praise. On the contrary, it represents him as ambitious of dominion, and his ambition as being made subservient to the Divine will and pleasure. When that was executed, the same Providence checked his ambitious career, and to humble his pride and impious arrogance, soon mingled him with the dust. To attach glory to deeds of rapine and slaughter, is unworthy of a rational being. Upon the same ground might we honour the beasts of the forest for devouring the lamb of the mead, instead of taming them ferocious. As regards the Persians, indeed, Alexander had a plausible pretence for making war upon them. Long had they been professed enemies of the Greeks, and he had been appointed generalissimo over the latter, in order to

* Serapis was a deity, honoured in heathen mythology as a restorer of health, as was also Esculapius. As such he appears to have been worshipped at Babylon. Other attributes were, however, ascribed to this fabulous deity in different cities. The rites of Serapis were performed with abominable wantonness in some cities.

avenge their wrongs. When, however, that conquest was completed, (the only work assigned him by Providence, and which was given him to perform, that a guilty nation might be chastised,) his career became unjust and unmerciful. The Scythian ambassador was right in his notion of the character of the conqueror, when he addressed him in these words "What have we to do with thee? We never once set our feet in thy country. Are not those who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of thee and the place where thou comest? Thou hast boasted that the only design of thy marching is to extirpate robbers: thou thyself art the greatest robber in the world." The same may be said of the answer a pirate gave Alexander, when he asked what right he had to infest the seas? "The same that thou hast," he replied, "to infest the universe, but because I do this in a small ship, I am called a robber, and because thou setest the same part with a fleet, thou art called a conqueror." The Almighty never delegated power to one man, to enable him to destroy another. Such would be a monstrous proposition, which right reason must ever repudiate. And yet such is palmed upon the world when men possessing power are lauded as heroes because they have destroyed their brethren of the human race. The character of Alexander, therefore, is one to which we cannot attach glory. The poet defines honour as

The finest sense
Of justice which the human mind can frame,
Intent each lurking frailty to disclaim
And guard the way of life from all offence
Suffered or done

WORDSWORTH

Such was not the rule of Alexander's conduct. No sooner had he invaded one nation, destroying life and property, and overturning institutions dear to their possessors as life, than he commenced the same wild career of desolation upon another. Heeren remarks, that "the death of Alexander, under the peculiar circumstances of the time, was the greatest loss mankind could experience. From the Indus to the Nile, the world lay in ruins, and where was now the architect to be found, that could gather up the scattered fragments, and restore the edifice?" This is fallacious. Alexander's own hand caused these ruins, and we cannot discover any display of such wide-spread philanthropy in his life, as to warrant the belief, or the hope, that he would heal the wounds he had inflicted. The lust of conquest was still his predominant passion; and his plans, as unfolded before his death, show that his thoughts were rather bent upon future desolation than on ameliorating the condition of mankind. The most essential and excellent virtues of a great prince are the following: to be a father, guardian, and shepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws, to make trade both by sea and land flourish; to encourage and protect arts and sciences; to establish peace and plenty; to preserve his subjects from aggression and injury, to maintain harmony between all orders of the state, and make them conspire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to do justice to all his subjects, and to provide for their necessities and enjoyments of life. Such was not Alexander. His legitimate subjects of Macedonia were abandoned, that he might lord

it over Asia. It cannot be denied that he possessed some useful traits of character, of which the building so many cities in the different parts of his new empire, and the judicious choice of their sites, and the commercial projects which he conceived, are among the greatest. But these works were not projected solely for the exaltation and comfort of his specks, which would alone have brought him honour. They formed a part of the dream of his ambition, as the whole tenor of his life proves.

The private character of Alexander, as recorded by ancient historians, reflects little honour on humanity. It was a strange compound of excellences and defects, in which the latter predominated. His wild ambition, his disgraceful intemperance, his love of adulation and servility, his violent anger, beneath the effects of which some of his most ardent friends were destroyed, these are fearful blotches which cannot be wiped out from the pages of his history. They have been the theme of satirists and philosophers, and the conqueror of Persia, Syria, and India was reduced by these faults below the level of the human race. His downward career of vice affords a fine comment on Juvenal's description of a sinner's progress.

"He that once slips like him that slides on ice
Takes swiftly down the slippery ways of vice
Through consequence checking him, yet these ruinous o'er,
He slides on mine this and looks back no more
What sinners hush where they first begin
And with one crime content their lust to sin?
Nature that rude and in her first career,
Stood boggling at the roughness of the way
Tied to the road, unknowing to return
Goes a boldly on, and loves the path when worn."

Still, as the prosperity of Alexander increased, he became more depraved, and that which he looked upon with compunction in the early part of his career, was performed by him finally with pleasure. From the period that he had executed the work assigned to him by Providence, the overthrow of the Persian empire, he lost his reputation as a man.

And yet Alexander was learned. Plutarch says, that he was instructed by Aristotle, not only in morality and politics, but also in those abstruser branches of science which were called *aeromatic*, as taught in "private conversation" to a chosen few. This shows how vain knowledge is, and how powerless in itself to preserve the heart from sin.

This leads to another trait in the character of this great conqueror which reflects no honour upon him. Hearing that Aristotle had published a treatise on those sciences, he wrote a letter to him, deprecating the act "You did wrong," says he, "in publishing the aeromatic parts of science. Wherein shall we differ from others, if the sublimer knowledge we gained from you be made common to all the world? For my part, I had rather excel the bulk of mankind in the higher branches of learning, than in extent of power and dominion." This letter, as Dr. Hales observes, strongly marks his monopolising spirit of knowledge, as well as of conquest. He knew that "knowledge is power,"—that the enlightenment of the world would tend to the debasement of those whom men in a state of ignorance and

barbarism call heroes, and therefore be deprecated in diffusion. Such conduct finds imitators even in the present day. Many there are who conceive that it is a crime, and detrimental to the welfare of the community, that the poor should be enlightened. It is not so. Crime ever waits upon the footsteps of ignorance; while knowledge, sanctified by religion, makes good and loyal subjects. With universal knowledge, based upon Christianity, universal peace will reign among the sons of men. This is the picture which Scripture itself presents to our view. See Isa. xi. 9, Hab. ii. 14. It is only by this knowledge that both rulers and subjects can rightly know the ends for which they were created—can regard the sacred rights of humanity, and glorify their Maker.

Roman authors say, and moralists and theologians have commented with great eloquence on the story, that when Anaxarchus the philosopher told Alexander there were an infinite number of worlds, he wept to think it would be impossible for him to conquer them all, since he had not yet conquered one. This is no doubt mere fiction. No one in his right senses could act thus, and Alexander was no madman.* He was a frail erring man, partaking largely of the corruption of human nature, and as such demanding the tear of Christian philanthropy. Juvenal alludes to this story in a passage in which he finely shows the madness of ambition.

"One world sufficed not Alexander's mind
Coud up his acumed in earth and was confind
And, struggling stretch'd his restless limbs about
The narrow globe to find a passage out
Yet enter'd in the brick built town he trod
The tomb and found the strait dimensions wide
Death only this mysterious truth unfolds
The mighty soul how small a body holds!"

All human greatness mingles with the dust,
and its tale ends in these three emphatic words,
"Here he lies"

Nor man alone his breathing bust expires
His tomb is mortal, empires die Where now
The Roman? Greek? They stalk an empty name?
Yet few regard them in this useful light
Though half our learning is their epitaph

O Death! I stretch my view, what visions rise!
What triumphs! tolls imperial! arts divine!
To wither'd laurels ghid before my sight!
What lengths of far famed ages, billow'd high
With human agitation, toll along
In unsubstantial images of air!
The melancholy ghosts of dead renown,
Whispering faint echoes of the world's applause,
With penitential aspect, as they pass,
All point at earth, and hint at HUMAN PRIDE

Young

Reader, there is nothing on earth worthy of your supreme regard. Set your affections on things above.

* The Roman writers seem to have taken a pleasure in representing Alexander as a madman and monster, probably because he had done more during his brief reign than Rome accomplished in three centuries, and had performed that which Cæsar and Antony vainly attempted

† Babylon.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MACEDONIAN EMPIRE

THE very first measure adopted after the death of Alexander, says Heeren, contained within itself the seeds of all the dire revolutions that afterwards ensued. Not only were the jealousy and ambition of the nobles aroused, but even the interference of the army was exhibited in the most terrific manner. Although the idea of the supremacy of the royal family was cast off only by degrees, yet the dreadfully disturbed state of that family rendered its fall inevitable.

The measure referred to by Heeren was the succession. Unmindful of death, even in his latest hours, Alexander had neglected to make a provision for the contingency.* This gave rise to a contest for a week between his generals, at the end of which time it was agreed that Philip Arrhidesus, the natural brother of Alexander, and a weak person, should be elected king, and that if Roxana should bear a son, which she did shortly afterwards (Alexander Ægus) he should be associated with his uncle in the kingdom. At the same time, Perdiccas was appointed regent, or guardian, to both these princes.

In the same council, the first partition of the provinces was made. Egypt, with Libya and Cyrenaica, was assigned to Ptolemy Lagos; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia to Eumenes, Pamphylia and the greater Phrygia to Antigonus; Phrygia the lesser to Leonnatus, Caria to Cassander, the son of Antipater, Armenia to Neoptolemus, Mesopotamia to Arcesias; Babylonia to Seleucus; Media to Atropates; Persia to Peucestas, Thrace to Lyfymachus, Macedonia and Greece to Antipater and Craterus; Lydia to Menander, Syria and Phenicia to Lomedon, Parthia and Hyrcania to Phratasphearnes, Bactriana and Sogdiana to Philip: besides several of the minor regions which were divided among generals whose names are sunk into oblivion, and several of the Asiatic provinces which were left under the government of their native princes.

This partition, however, was only the work of man, and its duration, as will be seen, was brief. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the King of kings, had decreed a different distribution. He had assigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries, and his will alone was to be performed, and so far as man's arrangements went, the empire was soon scattered to "the four winds of heaven."

The proceedings of this self-constituted government, all the power of which was in the hands of Perdiccas and Roxana, soon became mercurial. Roxana, jealous of Statira and her sister, daughters of Darius, despatched letters under the seal of Perdiccas, directing them to come to Babylon, where they were secretly de-

* Some writers assert that on Alexander being asked to whom he bequeathed his empire, he replied, "To the strongest," and others affirm that he added, "I foresee my funeral games will be celebrated with strife and bloodshed." It is, however, doubtful whether these speeches were uttered by him, for Aristobulus and Ptolemy, the most veracious writers of his history, are silent on the subject.

stroyed. Sysigambis would probably have shared the same fate, but as soon as the news of Alexander's death reached her, she resolved to take away her own life. Ancient historians say, that she starved herself for grief; and Montesquien, in his apology for, and panegyric of Alexander, asks, "What usurper but himself had his death bewailed with tears by the family whose throne he overthrew?" It is very probable, however, that Sysigambis was more affected by the strife which followed than by the death of the conqueror. She might have thought of the days when she reigned in peace and splendour with Darius, and contrasting them with those of strife on which she had fallen, might have been impelled to the rash act of self-destruction.

The scene of strife which immediately followed the death of Alexander was but the precursor of years of the same. Treading in the footsteps of the deceased conqueror, all the satraps were ambitious to rule, and none willing to obey.

The Greeks whom Alexander had established in the provinces of Upper Asia, despairing of ever again beholding the land in which they were born, as soon as they heard of the death of Alexander, armed 20,000 foot and 3000 horse, and placing Philo at their head, resolved to attempt to cut their way thither by the edge of the sword. Perdicas, who foresaw the consequences of such an enterprise, when the spirit of independence ruled in every breast, sent Pithon to oppose these lovers of their country: giving him the cruel order to exterminate the whole. Pithon was an ambitious man himself, and he secretly resolved to win these Greeks over to his side, that he might establish himself as a monarch. In this, however, he was disappointed. He had gained a victory over them and had bribed 3000 Greeks to join him; but the Macedonians deeming it incumbent on them, to accomplish the cruel orders of Perdicas, slaughtered the whole of the Greeks without mercy. So thoroughly had they been trained by their deceased leader to deeds of carnage.

This expedition was followed by the Lamiæ war in Greece.*

During the life of Alexander, although the Greeks had submitted with seeming readiness to his sway, and were culpable in their adulation of him, yet they looked with a jealous eye on his superiority, and loathed the authority of their governor, Antipater. One of the last actions of Alexander blew the embers of revolt into a flame. He had by an edict directed all the cities of Greece to recall their exiles, which caused great discontent. Many of the cities were fearful that when the exiles returned they would change the government; others doubted of their safety should the edict take effect; while others held the edict to be the abolition of their liberty. The general feeling, therefore, was that of revolt, and when Alexander died, the flames burst forth.

In this revolt, the Athenians appear to have taken the lead. On hearing of the death of Alexander, they displayed an indecent joy, and immediately began to breathe war from the rostrum. Leosthenes, a disciple of Demosthenes, was the most active on this occasion, and though op-

posed by the veteran Phocion with eloquence and biting sarcasm, he carried his point. A war was resolved upon, and it was agreed that a deputation should be sent to all the states of Greece to engage their accession to the league. This deputation was successful; partly from the eloquence of Demosthenes, who was at this time recalled from Megara, whither he had been banished, and partly from the love of liberty, a formidable army was drawn together from the different Grecian states, and placed under the command of Leosthenes.

As soon as Antipater heard of this outbreak, he sent to Leonnatus in Phrygia and Craterus in Cilicia, to request assistance. In the mean time, he marched at the head of 13,000 Macedonians and 600 horse towards Thebes, whither he was followed by his fleet, consisting of 110 triremes, which cruised along the sea coasts. At first, the Thessalians declared in his favour; but they afterwards changed their sentiments, and joined the Athenians, supplying them with a strong body of cavalry.

Leosthenes was in possession of the Pylæ, or straits leading into Greece, where he waited for the arrival of Antipater. As the forces which he commanded were more numerous than those of Antipater, the latter could not support the charge, and he fled to Lamia, a small, yet strong city in Thessaly, in order to wait for succours from Asia.

Lamia was soon besieged by the Athenians. The assault was carried on with great vigour against the city, and the resistance was equally energetic. After several attempts, Leosthenes, despairing of success, changed the siege into a blockade, in order to reduce it by famine. He surrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a deep ditch, by which means, all supplies of provisions were cut off. The effects of famine were already felt, and the besieged entertained thoughts of surrendering, when Leosthenes advancing near the wall was slain by a stone.

On the death of Leosthenes, the army was assigned to Antiphilus, whose valour and ability were held in great reputation. In the mean time, n. c. 322, Leonnatus was marching to the assistance of the besieged. This at least was his ostensible motive; but he, also, was seized with the mania of ambition, and had designs to exalt himself. His real intention was to advance into Greece in order to make himself master of Macedonia. As soon as Antiphilus heard of his approach, he raised the siege, burned his tents, and marched to meet him. Prosperity had introduced some disorder in the Grecian camp, and many bands of soldiers had withdrawn to their homes. Their army was reduced to 20,000 foot and 3500 horse; those under Leonnatus were not quite so numerous. The battle was severely fought; but through the labour of the Thessalian cavalry, and the death of Leonnatus, the Greeks were victorious; the Macedonian phalanx was compelled to retire to eminences where the cavalry could not pursue them.

The news of this success created great joy in Athens. Festivals were celebrated and sacrifices offered, to testify their gratitude to their idol gods for the advantages they had obtained. These advantages, however, were not final in their consequences. The siege of Lamia being raised,

* This war was so called from the name of a city near which the first battle was fought.

Antipater marched hastily to the place where the remains of the army of Leonatus was encamped, and having joined them, held the Greeks at bay. In the mean time, Craterus, who had been long expected, arrived in Thessaly, and halted at the river Peneus. The troops he had brought with him amounted, in conjunction with those of Leonatus, to nearly 50,000 fighting men, while those of the allies did not exceed 30,000. Craterus having resigned the command to Antipater, the latter attacked the Greeks near Cranon, and defeated them with great slaughter. Still the Greeks were not utterly subdued, for it was debated in a council of war, held immediately after, whether they should continue in the field or propose terms of accommodation to the enemy. The latter alternative was decided upon, and deputies were despatched to the camp of Antipater in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied in the spirit of a conqueror who saw his superiority. He would enter into a treaty separately with the cities of Greece, he said, or not at all. This haughty answer broke off the negotiation, but the moment he presented himself before the cities of the allies, they surrendered up their liberties, without an attempt to avert the blow. Each city was attentive only to its separate advantage, and their previous union, in which alone was strength, was thereby broken.

The Athenians and Ætolians alone stood firm in this general defection. But for their success, there was no hope. The Athenian fleet had recently been twice defeated by Clytus, and when Antipater advanced towards their city, they were not in a condition to dispute the palm of victory with him. As usual, they gave themselves up to despair. Demosthenes and his party, under the influences of this wild passion, retreated from the city. In this dilemma, those who remained turned their eyes on Phocion, and demanded his advice. "To what end," said he, "should I advise you? If you had not rejected my counsel, you had not known this calamity." They then called upon Demades, who had always been in the interest of the Macedonians. Demades first proposed a decree by which Demosthenes and his party, who may be considered as the sole remaining defenders of the expiring liberty of Greece, were condemned to die. Demades next proposed a decree for sending ambassadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, invested with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace with him. This embassy was sent, Demades and Phocion being of the number. They found Antipater inflexible in his desires to rule over Athens. He would listen to no other terms than those offered to him at Lamia, which were that they should yield implicitly to his authority, and suffer their affairs to be settled at his pleasure.

On receiving this reply, Phocion returned to Athens, and gained the people's consent to these measures. He then came back to Thebes, accompanied by Xenocrates, to whose virtue and talent as a philosopher the Athenians hoped Antipater would pay regard. It was a vain hope; for the conqueror eyed him with stern contempt, and in the midst of his harangue commanded him to be silent. Phocion was, however, treated courteously, and after he had concluded his harangue, Antipater replied, that he was disposed

to contract an alliance with the Athenians on these conditions: "1. They should deliver up Demosthenes and Hyperides; 2. The government should be restored to its ancient state, by which all employments were to be conferred upon the wealthy; 3. They should receive a garrison in the port of Munychia; 4. That they should defray all the expenses of the war, and pay a large sum, the amount of which should be settled."

The design Antipater had in view in the dictation of this treaty was to make himself absolute master of Athens. The sage Xenocrates saw this, and when the other ambassadors expressed an opinion that the terms were moderate for men in their situation, he replied: "They are moderate for slaves, but severe for free men."

According to this treaty, the Athenians were compelled to receive a garrison of Macedonians into Munychia. These troops, under the command of Menyllus, a man of probity, took possession of the place during the festival of the Great Mysteries, and on the day when it was usual to carry the god Iacchus in procession to Eleusis. Affected by this incident, the citizens exclaimed "Alas! the gods would formerly manifest themselves in our favour, when adversity surrounded us, by mystic visions and audible voices, to the terror of our foes, but now they cast an un pitying eye on Greece, and behold the most sacred of all days polluted and distinguished by calamities which will be associated with the memory of this sacred season through succeeding ages." It was a circumstance well calculated to cast a shadow over the rejoicings of these high-minded sons of liberty and passionate admirers of their false deities.

Great distress resulted from the second article of the terms of peace dictated by Antipater, 12,000 citizens being excluded from employments in the state by its rigour on account of their poverty, and losing the small emoluments they had hitherto received. Some of these perished by famine amid the taunts and insults of their superiors, while others retired into Thrace, where Antipater assigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

As might be expected, the proscribed philosophers, with some of their adherents, took refuge in flight. Antipater, however, was inexorable in his vengeance against them. He despatched Archias, an actor of tragedy, with a body of men to discover them, and to bring them to him. Hyperides, Aristomachus of Marathon, and Himeræus, brother of Demetrius Phalereus, were found in the temple of Ajax, and were sent to Antipater to Cleonæ, where they suffered death. Demetrius Phalereus, the disciple and friend of Theophrastus, retired to Nicanor, and was protected by Cassander. The fate of Demosthenes was tragical. He fled into the island of Calauria, and took refuge in the temple of Neptune. He was followed thither by Archias, who endeavoured to persuade him to accompany him to Antipater, promising him that no harm should befall him. Demosthenes knew the nature of his foes too well to rely on such promises, and in order to avoid falling into the hands of Antipater, he took poison, with which he had furnished himself, and under the effects of which he died.

The character of Demosthenes is one of the most prominent, and highly praised in the pages of ancient history. He was enlightened, eloquent, and endowed with an enthusiastic love of liberty. Had the Athenians acted fully and boldly according to his counsel, their liberty would doubtless have been preserved from the power of Philip. When he perished, they saw their error, and soon after they erected a statue of brass to his memory, and decreed that the eldest branch of his family should be brought up in the Prytaneum at the public expense, from generation to generation. At the foot of the statue this inscription was engraved

Demosthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wisdom, the Macedonian Mars would not have triumphed over Greece

"Patriots have toiled, and in their country's cause
Bled nobly, and their deeds as they deserve
Receive proud recompense. We give: charge
Their names to the winds fly. The last in music
Proud of the treasure, marches with it in
To latest times, and sculpture in her turn
Gives bond in stone and ever during brass
To guard them, and to immortalize their trust

(GUTHRIE)

Demosthenes struggled nobly for the liberty of his country, and he deserves to be had in eternal remembrance. But there are those whose claims are nobler than those of such patriots as Demosthenes, and yet they are forgotten. These are

Those who posted at the shrine of truth
Have fallen in her defence

for

The right is shed
In confirmation of the noblest claim
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth
To walk with God to the end of life
To soar and to anticipate the skies

Whence springs the indifference of mankind to the claims of these noble sufferers? The answer is to be found in the fallen and depraved state of human nature. This world is pictured to the next, and human laws prized above Divine. Hence their names are not embalmed in the pages of the poets or history with that warmth their memory demands, and no marble points to the place where their ashes are laid. Their memories are embalmed only in the hearts of those who partake of the sweets of that Divine liberty which they have procured, and whose

"Freedom is the same in every state
And no condition of this changeful life,
So manifold in cares whose every day
Brings its own evil with it makes it less
For he has wings that neither sickness pain
Nor penury can cripple, or confine." COWPER

Those possess true liberty, whose souls are set free from the thralldom of sin and Satan. All are slaves besides!

The death of Demosthenes and Hyperides caused the Athenians to mourn the loss of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their memory the generosity with which they had been uniformly treated by those conquerors. Antipater was the reverse of a generous character. Under the mask of a private man, in a cloak of frieze, he discovered himself to be a rigid and imperious

master. By the entreaties of Phocion, however, the stern conqueror eventually relaxed somewhat in his measures. He recalled several persons from banishment, among whom was Demetrius, and reversed the sentence by which others were banished beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Tanarus. The exertions which Phocion made on this occasion reflect great honour on his humanity.

After thus subjecting Athens to his rule, Antipater set out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, an event of importance to their future movements.

During the time in which these events were passing in succession, the bones of the once mighty Alexander were unburied. So busy were his followers at first in procuring for themselves honours, that his corpse lay neglected. About B.C. 321, his funeral obsequies were performed with true oriental magnificence, such, says the ancient historian, as had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, uttered doubtless in the spirit of flattery, that the place where Alexander should be buried would be rendered the most happy and flourishing in the whole earth. This gave rise to strife. Each governor contested for the disposal of a body that was to produce such happy results. Ptolemy was desirous that it should be conveyed to Egypt in Macedonia, where the bones of the Macedonian monarchs were usually deposited. Other places were likewise proposed, but Egypt was at length adopted for his resting place. Ptolemy, who owed much to the deceased monarch, signalized his gratitude on this occasion. He marched forward to meet the funeral procession at the head of his best troops, and advanced as far as Syria. It had been proposed that the corpse should be deposited in the temple of Jupiter Ammon, but Ptolemy prevented this, and it was first deposited in the city of Memphis, and finally in Alexandria. Ptolemy raised a magnificent temple to the memory of Alexander, and rendered him those honours which were paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity. According to Laon, an African author, who wrote in the fifteenth century, the tomb of Alexander was to be seen in his time, and he states that it was revered by Mohammedans as the monument of an illustrious monarch and a great prophet. So dazzled are the eyes of mankind in all ages by the glitter of human glory.

It has been seen that in the partition of the governments of Alexander's empire, Cappadocia and Paphlagonia were apportioned to Eumenes. It was stipulated by the treaty that Leonnatus and Antigonus should march thither to establish him in these dominions, and dispossess the king Ariarathes of the sovereignty. The regent Perdiccas gave them instructions for this purpose, but neither Leonnatus nor Antigonus were careful of any one's interests but their own. Antigonus refused to obey the orders of another, and though Leonnatus signed compliance, yet he was drawn off from the enterprise by the Laman war, in which he conceived his interests were more nearly concerned. Antipater being the most powerful, Leonnatus had confessed to

Eumenes that he designed to marry Cleopatra, sister of Alexander, and in her right to seize upon the reins of empire. Acting upon this, Eumenes possessed himself of the treasures of Leonnatus in the dead of the night, amounting to 5000 talents of gold, about 28,000,000*l.* sterling, and retired to Perdiccas. This was a piece of service not to be overlooked by the regent, and a short time after Eumenes was conducted into Cappadocia by a large army, commanded by Perdiccas in person. Ariarathes made a vigorous defence; but his army was defeated and he was taken prisoner by Perdiccas, who, by a cruel line of policy, which he had adopted for his own aggrandizement, put him and his whole family to death. Eumenes, therefore, was established in the government of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.

After this transaction, Perdiccas advanced with his troops to Issura and Laranda, cities of Pisidia, with a determination to reduce them, because they had slain Balacrus, the son of Nicenor, whom Alexander had appointed their governor. Laranda was taken by assault, and all who were able to bear arms were put to the sword, while the women and children were sold for slaves. Issura was next invested, but being a strong and populous place, it defied the power of Perdiccas till many of its inhabitants had fallen in the struggle. The rest, foreseeing the final consequences of the siege, and having no hopes of mercy, determined upon self-destruction. Having appointed a sufficient number to defend the walls, they set the city on fire, consuming their parents, wives, and children, and then threw themselves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder, and after having collected much gold and silver from among the ashes, Perdiccas led his army into Cilicia, where he passed the winter.

On the first division of the provinces, the cruel and ambitious Perdiccas had proposed to marry Nicæa, the daughter of Antipater, believing that the union would be subservient to his own interests. While he was in Cilicia, her brothers, Jullas and Archias, accompanied her thither, in order to be present at the celebration of the nuptials. But Perdiccas had changed his views on this subject. Olympias, who had always hated Antipater, having solicited him to marry Cleopatra, her daughter, and the widow of the king of Epirus, he despatched Eumenes to Sardis in Lydia, where she then was, to make proposals of marriage to that princess. In the mean time, persuaded by Alcetas, his brother, Perdiccas married Nicæa; intending to repudiate her, however, as soon as the mind of Cleopatra was known, and his ambitious designs were fully matured. As a preliminary step to his grand movement to the throne, he contrived a plan for cutting off Antigonus. He caused many accusations to be laid against him, and a day was appointed for his trial. Antigonus lulled the suspicions of Perdiccas by an apparent acquiescence in his measures, and by collecting proofs of his innocence against the day of trial. But Antigonus had an understanding too penetrating to be imposed on. He saw that his own destruction was sealed if he remained, and that it was to be the foundation of the success of Perdiccas.

The murder of Cynane, daughter of Philip by his second wife, who was cut off by the command of Perdiccas, confirmed him in these views; and accordingly, taking his son Demetrius and all his domestics in whom he could confide, he embarked in an Athenian vessel, and sailed over to Greece to take shelter under the protection of Antipater and Craterus.

At this time Antipater and Craterus were at war with the Ætolians. Upon being informed, however, of the designs of Perdiccas, they made peace with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Hellespont, to watch the movements of their new adversary. At the same time, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their interest.

Foreseeing that he should have to oppose the veteran forces of Greece conjointly with those of Ptolemy, if he did not prevent their junction, Perdiccas held a council of war, to deliberate whether they should first march into Macedonia against Craterus and Antipater, or into Egypt against Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the last proposition, and it was accordingly determined that Perdiccas should march into Egypt, attended by the two minor kings, which he did by the way of Damascus and Palestine. At the same time, Eumenes was appointed to oppose Antipater and Craterus, who, it was expected, would soon cross the Hellespont into Asia.

This expectation was realized; Antipater and Craterus were early in the fields of Asia. They crossed the Hellespont, and, on their landing, were joined by Neoptolemus, governor of Armenia, who had recently suffered a defeat from the power of Eumenes. Neoptolemus informed the Macedonian leaders that the army of Eumenes was weak, disorderly, and incapable of resistance. This information was incorrect, and led to the overthrow of the Macedonian forces. Misled by it, Antipater and Craterus divided their forces, the former passing through Phrygia in pursuit of Perdiccas, and the latter, accompanied by Neoptolemus, marching against Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia.

The armies of Eumenes and Craterus met in the Trojan plain, and a severe battle was fought. In making his arrangements for the battle, Eumenes, who was brave and generous, and who desired the reconciliation of Craterus with Perdiccas, was careful not to oppose any Macedonian against him, lest he should be slain. But his generous care was vain. In the first onset, Neoptolemus was slain by the hand of Eumenes; and Craterus, at the close of the battle, when victory declared for his opponent, lay undistinguished among the heaps of dead. Eumenes having learned the state of Craterus, hastened to the spot where he lay, and found him expiring, bitterly bewailing the misfortune that had changed old friends into foes, he wept over him, and he caused the last honours to be paid him with magnificence. He also ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children.

While these events occurred in Cappadocia, Perdiccas passed into Egypt. On his march thither, the army which he commanded had become turbulent, and the breach was widened soon after his arrival by the emissaries of Pto-

lenny, who secretly encouraged their mutinous dispositions. Many of his officers deserted him, and the feelings of the soldiers generally were in favour of Ptolemy; and at length Python, who had been formerly employed in the ruthless management of some Greek mercenaries, for disobedience of orders, organized a conspiracy, and Perdiccas, who in imagination had already his foot upon the throne of Macedonia, was murdered in his tent. As he had cut off others, so he was cut off himself, treacherously, and in a moment sent to his account.

Two days after this event, news arrived in the camp of the victory gained by Eumenes. Had it reached the camp earlier, the regent's life might have been saved, but now the news served only to aggravate the malice of the insurgent troops and soldiers. Enraged thereby, they put all the friends of Perdiccas on whom they could lay hands, to death.

Three of the principal personages, Perdiccas, Craterus, and Leonnatus, were already removed from the theatre of action, and Eumenes, now master of Asia Minor, had to maintain, unaided, the struggle against the confederates in every quarter.

As soon as Ptolemy heard of the death of Perdiccas, he brought the royal army a large supply of wine and provisions. This act, combined with his courteous manners, won upon the turbulent soldiers, and they unanimously offered him the regency. He saw that this was a dangerous position to be placed in, and therefore he declined the honour. On his refusal, the weak Aridus, who is not before mentioned, and the traitor Python were appointed to the regency. It was about this time that the news arrived of the recent victory of Eumenes. This intelligence filled the breasts of the soldiers with indignation. Craterus, who had been a warrior from his youth, was a favourite with his companions in arms, while Eumenes was despised by them on account of his former peaceful occupation, that of secretary to Alexander. Ptolemy conceived it would be his interest to heighten this feeling of revenge, and he induced them to pass a decree whereby Eumenes and his adherents were proclaimed enemies, and war was denounced against them, and all who afforded them support or protection.

Having thus doomed Eumenes, the army commenced their march towards Cado Syria, to put their decrees into effect. Their designs, however, were delayed by a new revolution. Lysidice, wife of the weak Philip Arrhidæus, and niece of the celebrated Philip, a woman of great ambition and considerable talent for intrigue, supported by the army, wrested the regency from Aridæus and Python. Thus matters stood when they arrived at Tripardisus, in Syria, where they were joined by Antipater. Ever seeking his own interest, Antipater reproached the Macedonians for submitting to the government of a woman, and being supported by Antigonus and Seleucus, obtained for himself the office of regent. Eurydice ably supported herself against his designs, for which reason, fearing her abilities, Antipater sent her with her husband prisoner to Pella.

As soon as the strife attendant upon this change was allayed, Antipater proceeded to make a new division of the provinces. Egypt, Libya, and

the adjacent country, were confirmed to Ptolemy; Syria was also confirmed to Laomedon; Philoxenus had Cilicia; Mesopotamia and Arbēlitis were given to Amphimachus; Seleucus received Babylon; Antigonus was placed over Susiana, because he was the first who opposed Perdiccas; Peucestas held Persia; Theopompus had Carminia; Python was intrusted with Media as far as the Caspian Straits; Sissander, with Bactria and Sogdia; Sybirtius, with Arachosia; Oxyartes, the father of Roxana, with Paropamisus; Python, with the country between Paropamisus and India; Porus and Taxiles, with the country they already possessed as received at the hands of Alexander; Cappadocia was assigned to Nicenor; Phrygia Major, Lycæonia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, to Antigonus; Caria, to Cassander; Lydia, to Clitus; and Phrygia the Less, to Aridæus. Cassander was appointed general of the horse; and the command of the household troops was given to Antigonus, with orders to prosecute the war against Eumenes, whose territories he was to possess, and who was, by this division of the empire, outlawed.

The crafty and ambitious Antigonus soon commenced operations against Eumenes. He was joined by Cassander, son of Antipater, with 1000 horse. Cassander was a selfish and cunning statesman, and he soon penetrated the secret plans of Antigonus. He warned the regent of these designs in vain, and a quarrel took place between the colleagues, upon which Cassander returned to Europe, where he soon commenced a career as bold and cruel as that of Antigonus in Asia.

In the mean time, Eumenes had prudently prepared for the coming storm. He was joined by Alectas, the brother of Perdiccas, and by Attalus with the fleet. But treachery was in his camp. One of his principal officers, named Perdiccas, prevailed on a body of 3500 troops to desert with him, which led to a battle between his divided forces, thereby weakening his power. Not was this all. Having met the forces of Antigonus at Oxyntum, in Cappadocia, during his engagement with them, Apollonius, one of the principal officers of his cavalry, corrupted by Antigonus, deserted him with 8000 men, which defection caused his overthrow, *n.c.* 320.

After his defeat, Eumenes took shelter in Nora, a Cappadocian city, a place of considerable strength, where he vigorously sustained a siege of twelve months, rejecting the many tempting offers by which Antigonus endeavoured to win him to the support of his designs. At the end of that time, *n.c.* 319, Antigonus, perceiving that the siege would retard his designs, ordered Nora to be surrounded by a strong wall, and leaving a force sufficient to guard it, marched into Pisidia against Alectas and Attalus, who were raising a body of troops for the rescue of Eumenes. The celerity with which Antigonus marched into Pisidia was such, that he surprised these generals, and being unprepared, they were routed in a battle. Attalus was taken prisoner; but Alectas fled with 6000 men to Termessus, where, to escape the swords of murderers, (by whom he was already surrounded, and who were commissioned by the magistrates of Nora, through the influence of Antigonus, who pursued him thither,) he put an end to his own life.

During these transactions in Asia, Ptolemy was pursuing his conquests in Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, as related in the History of the Egyptians.

Much dissatisfaction prevailed in Athens concerning the garrison which Antipater had left in that city. Phocion had been often requested to go to the court of that prince, to solicit him to recall those troops. This general, foreseeing the uselessness of this step, refused, and the orator Demades at length took upon himself that commission. The arrival of Demades in Macedonia happened at a fatal juncture for himself. Antipater had been seized with a severe illness, and his son Cassander, who was master of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Asia, pressing him to come and make himself master of Greece and Macedonia and representing that it was only held together by "an old and rotten thread," thereby ridiculing Antipater. As soon as Cassander saw Demades, who was accompanied by his son, he caused him to be arrested, after which, having bitterly reproached the orator for his perfidy and ingratitude, he slew them both with his own hands. Such was the end of Demades, who had dictated the decree by which Demosthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die, a fearful retribution for the cruelty he had shown to others.

The indisposition of Antipater proved fatal. Before he died, he bequeathed the regency to his friend, the aged Polysperchon, to the exclusion of his own son Cassander, because of his criminal intrigues with the wicked and ambitious Eurydice.

Cassander could ill brook this singular love of the public welfare displayed by his dying father. He deemed it an insult, and sought to form a party against the new regent. He applied to Ptolemy and Antigonus, and they readily espoused his cause from the same motives of ambition as himself. Thus aided, Cassander strengthened himself in Southern Greece, where he seized the strong fortress of Munychia. He was, however, for the moment overreached by Polysperchon as regards Athens. Foreseeing that Cassander would attempt to make himself absolute master of that city, he issued an edict declaring his intention of restoring democracy in the Grecian states. The Athenians heard this with delight. They sent an urgent embassy to the regent, requesting him to send an army to protect their city from Cassander and his partisans. Polysperchon sent his son Alexander with considerable forces into Attica, and encouraged by their presence, the restoration of democracy was voted by a tumultuous assembly, and a decree passed for proceeding against all aristocrats as capital enemies of the state. It is probable that Polysperchon foresaw this, and it is evident that he sought the overthrow of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater. He had his desire. Several illustrious individuals, among whom was the virtuous Phocion, fell victims to this burst of popular violence, and the arm of the regent was not interposed to save them.

Although the Athenians generally were thus led astray by this burst of democratical fury, there

were those in Athens who lamented the death of Phocion. On the day he was doomed to drink the fatal hemlock, there was a public procession, and as it passed before his prison doors, some of those who followed in the train took off their crowns from their heads, and others burst into tears. All who were not blinded by rage or envy deemed it an instance of unnatural barbarity and impiety, that one whose virtues had procured for him the appellation of "the good," should die on a day of solemnity.

The revenge of the foes of Phocion sensuously pursued him after death. An edict was obtained from the people that his body should be carried out of the territory of Attica, and that none of the Athenians should furnish fire to honour his funeral pile. Accordingly, the remains of Phocion were carried into the territories of Megara, where the last sad rites were paid by a few weeping friends.

Phocion was one of the greatest men that Greece ever produced. Brought up in the school of Plato and Xenocrates, he had formed his manners upon the most perfect plan of pagan virtue. This, compared with the line of conduct marked out for man by the great Founder of Christianity, was lamentably deficient, but he deserved a nobler end. The Athenians themselves saw this in after ages, when no longer blinded by popular fury. Then they erected a statue of brass to his memory, and entered his bouc at the public expense. His accusers, also, were brought to condign punishment. These were, indeed, vain retributions, tending to the dishonour of the Athenian character, for they punished their own crime in others; but at the same time they exhibit the moral worth of Phocion. He acted uprightly according to the light afforded him, and Christians would do well to take many a lesson from him. Their superior advantages are attended with proportionate responsibility.

While the disorders incident to this democratical fury prevailed at Athens, Cassander entered the Piræus with a fleet of thirty-five vessels, which he had received from Antigonus. When the Athenians beheld themselves destitute of necessary succours to repel these forces, they resolved to send deputies to Cassander, in order to learn the conditions of peace. It was agreed that the Athenians should continue masters of the city, with the territories, and of the revenues and ships, but it was stipulated that the citadel should remain in the hands of Cassander, till he had ended the war with the kings. At the same time the Athenians permitted Cassander to choose what citizen he pleased to govern the republic, and Demetrius Phalerus was elected to that dignity, which he filled for ten years under Cassander with great applause, ruling with mildness and equity.

In the mean time, Polysperchon had neglected nothing that he deemed necessary to strengthen his interest. He recalled Olympias, who had retired into Epirus under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of sharing his authority with her. This was an unwise measure; for Olympias, upon her arrival, consulted nothing but her passions and her insatiable desire of dominion and revenge. A more judicious step was taken by Polysperchon when he entered into

a close alliance with Eumenes, although it brought upon him the powerful resentment of Antigonus.

Having heard that Cassander had made himself master of Athens, Polyperchon hastened to besiege him in that city. He was, however, unable to drive Cassander from Athens, and he entered the Peloponnese to punish the Arcadians, and engaged in a fruitless siege of Megalopolis.

While these proceedings were going forward, the crafty and ambitious Antigonus appeared in the field, resolved to make himself lord of Asia. Backed by an army of 80,000 men and vast treasures, he commenced his career by endeavouring to remove those governors of provinces who were not in his interests. In this, however, he was not very successful. Aridæus, governor of Phrygia, immediately began to arm, and set his power at defiance, openly denouncing him as a traitor. He next sought to gain Eumenes over to his interests, with the promise of being the second person in his court. Eumenes outwitted Antigonus. He listened to his overtures, upon which Antigonus framed an oath, which he sent to the commanders of the troops forming the blockade of the castle of Nora, where Eumenes still was, with instructions that on Eumenes subscribing thereto, the siege should be raised. The purport of this oath was, that he should be faithful to Antigonus and should be a friend to his friends, and a foe to his foes. When this oath was tendered to Eumenes, he observed that there was a slight mistake in the paper and exchanged the name of Antigonus for that of Olympias, the kings and the royal family. The Macedonians approved of this alteration, and raised the siege, and Eumenes had no sooner gained his freedom, than he began to collect forces to oppose the ambitious Antigonus, much to his chagrin.

The revolt of Antigonus occasioned great alarm, while the deliverance of Eumenes was hailed with joy. Polyperchon despatched to him, in the name of the kings, a commission, by which he was constituted captain general of the forces of Asia Minor. Orders were also sent to Teutames and Antigènes, colonels of the *Argyraspides*, or silver shields, to join and serve under him against Antigonus. Orders were likewise transmitted to those who had the care of the king's treasures, to pay him 500 talents, about 200,000 pounds sterling, for the re-establishment of his own affairs, and all necessary sums to defray the expenses of the war. All these were accompanied with letters from Olympias to the same effect. B. C. 318.

Eumenes, sensible that the accumulation of these honours on the head of a foreigner would excite the envy of the Macedonians, and render him odious to them, refused the sums granted for his own use, and endeavoured, by an engaging conduct, to gain their affections. But envy is not easily uprooted from the heart of man. Antigènes and Teutames deemed it dishonourable to submit to a foreigner, and refused to attend him in council. Eumenes, careful as he was of the public good, and disinterested withal to a noble degree, could not consent to his own degradation lightly, fearing that his cause would be injured thereby. In this dilemma, he had recourse to the

side of superstition, which at all times has a powerful effect on the rude mass of mankind. He told them that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and shown him a magnificent tent, in which a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to him, that while they held their councils in that tent, he himself would be always present, seated on the throne, to direct them in their designs and enterprises, if they would always address themselves to him. This was sufficient. The profound respect which the Macedonians maintained for the memory of that prince, overcame all considerations, and a splendid tent was ordered to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called "The throne of Alexander." On this throne were to be laid the insignia of royalty, and before it an altar was to be erected, on which it was proposed that all the chiefs should offer incense every morning, after which they should take their seats indiscriminately and consult for the public safety. By this means Eumenes calmed the envy of the Macedonians, which otherwise would have ended in anarchy; thus credulous did the pagan religion render its votaries. The more extravagant theories were which policy propounded to their understandings the more ready they appeared to adopt them as emanating from their gods.

Hear the just law—the judgment of the skies,
He that hates truth shall be the dupp of lies,
And he that will be cheated to the last
Delusions strong as hell shall bind him fast.

COWPER.

As Eumenes was sufficiently supplied with money he raised an army of 20,000 men in a brief period. These forces spread terror among his enemies, and they sought to counteract their operations. Ptolemy sailed to the coasts of Cilicia and sought to corrupt the *Argyraspides* by the persuasive power of gold. Antigonus made the same attempt by emissaries in the camp. But so powerfully had the stratagem of Eumenes wrought upon the minds of these veteran followers of Alexander, that all their attempts proved at this time abortive.

Eumenes advanced with his troops, thus favourably disposed, into Syria and Phenicia, to recover those provinces which Ptolemy had unjustly seized. This movement proved unsuccessful. While the events just narrated were going forward, Antigonus had defeated Clitus, who commanded the fleet of Polyperchon, which rendered the expedition ineffectual. Antigonus, indeed, marched against Eumenes with a more numerous force than his own, upon which he retreated through Cælo Syria, and passing the Euphrates, took up his winter quarters at Carrhæ, in Mesopotamia.

During his continuance at Carrhæ, Eumenes sought the assistance of Python, governor of Media, and Seleucus, governor of Babylon, which they refused, ostensibly on the grounds of his being outlawed, but in reality to further their own interests. Most of the officers of Alexander, who had shared the governments of the empire among themselves after his death, smitten with the same mania of ambition which actuated his conduct, were solicitous to secure to themselves the supreme power in their several provinces. It was with this view they had

chosen a person of weak intellect and an infatigable as their rulers, and their designs would have been disconcerted had they allowed Eumenes an ascendancy over them, or obeyed his orders. These orders were issued, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumstance they were anxious to evade, they wishing to be kings themselves. They were, moreover, apprehensive of the merit and superior genius of Eumenes, who, although he had not been trained up to the art of war, was unquestionably one of the greatest captains of his age. He was wise, brave, steady in resolution, and of unshaken fidelity to the royal cause; whence the power of his arm was dreaded by those who had nothing to show against these virtues, but their own insatiable ambition. The presence of an upright man has ever been, and will ever be a sore burden to those who act unjustly towards their fellow men.

In the following spring, *a. c.* 317, Eumenes marched in the direction of Babylonia, where he was in great danger from a stratagem of Seleucus. His troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the banks of that river, laid the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, succeeded in gaining an eminence with his troops, and found means to drain off the inundation without sustaining any great loss. Seleucus was then reduced to the necessity of making a truce with Eumenes, and of permitting him to pass peaceably through his province towards Susa.

While at Susa, Eumenes sent to the governors of the provinces in Upper Asia, requesting succour. He had before transmitted to them the order of the kings; and those whom he had charged with that commission found them all assembled at the close of a war undertaken in concert against Python, governor of Media, who had pursued the same measures in Upper Asia, which Antigonus had formed in the Lower: whence the governors confederated together against him, and drove him out of Media, obliging him to resort to Seleucus for protection. The confederates were still in the camp after this victory, when the deputies arrived from Eumenes requesting their aid; and fearing the subjection of Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, their policy, rather than inclination, taught them to join his forces. With this reinforcement Eumenes saw himself not only in a condition to oppose Antigonus, who was then advancing towards him, but also superior in the number of his troops. The season was too far advanced when Antigonus arrived on the banks of the Tigris, whence he was obliged to take up his quarters in Mesopotamia. He was joined here by Seleucus of Babylon, and Python of Media, with whom he concerted measures for the operations of the next campaign.

Juvenal has well said:

Where wild ambition in the heart we find,
Content and quiet reign not in the mind.

During these transactions in Asia, ambition was performing its deadly work in Macedonia. Olympias had made herself paramount mistress, and had put to death the weak Arrhidaeus and his consort Eurydice, with Nicanor, brother of

Cassander, and a hundred of his principal friends. These barbarities, however, did not long remain unpunished. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Thessalonica, sister of Alexander the Great, and Deidamia, daughter of Eacides, king of Epirus, and sister of Pyrrhus. Cassander hastened to besiege them by sea and land. Eacides prepared to assist Olympias, and was already upon his march, when his troops revolted, and condemning him to banishment, returned to Epirus. On their return to Epirus, these troops massacred all the friends of Eacides, and then declared for Cassander, who sent Lyciscus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no resource left but Polysperchon, who was in Phœræa, a small province on the confines of Ætolia. Polysperchon was preparing to succour the guilty princess; but Cassander sent Callas, one of his generals, against him, who corrupted the greatest part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, where he besieged him. Thus left to herself, and having no hopes of relief, Olympias was compelled to surrender at discretion.

The doom of Olympias was sealed. Cassander prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had caused to be slain, to accuse her in the assembly of the Macedonians, and to sue for vengeance. The request of these persons was granted, and when they had all made their complaints, Olympias was unanimously condemned to die. After sentence of death had thus passed, Cassander proposed to her, by some friends, to retire to Athens, promising to accommodate her with a galley for the voyage. His intention was to destroy her by sea, and to publish through all Macedonia that the gods had avenged her crimes; but Olympias penetrated into his designs, and insisted on pleading her own cause in the public assembly; adding that this was the least favour that could be granted a queen. Cassander was apprehensive that her presence would counteract his designs—that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmost veneration, would incline them to spare Olympias; and therefore, he sent two hundred soldiers, with orders to put her to death. These soldiers, awed by her presence, retired without executing their commission. But Cassander was not to be foiled in his resolution to destroy Olympias. He knew that the deadly feeling of revenge lurked in the bosoms of the relatives of those she had caused to perish, and they readily entered into his views: Olympias fell beneath their united arms, and thus the ambition of Cassander was made the instrument of punishing her for her cruelty and ambition.

Cassander now saw his way clear to the throne of Macedonia, and he hastened to secure it by measures suggested by the deepest policy ambition could suggest. Among the captives taken at Pydna, were Roxana the widow, Alexander Ægus the posthumous son, and Thessalonica the youngest sister of Alexander the Great. Cassander sought and obtained the hand of the latter princess, and thereby consoled himself for the loss of Eurydice, his partner in guilt,

and conciliated the friendship of the nobles of Macedonia. At the same time Cassander, emboldened by the success of his former crimes, resolved to pursue his ambitious course. He caused Roxana and Alexander Egeas to be conducted to the castle of Amphipolis, where they were divested of all regal honours, and where he intended on a future day to put them to death, with Hercules, son of Alexander by Barsine, widow of Memnon; that no rival might remain to contest the crown of Macedonia with him by a regal claim.

In consequence of the influence which Cassander had acquired by his marriage, and the steps he had adopted to exalt himself to the throne of Macedonia, Polysperchon did not venture to return home, but continued in the Peloponnesus, where he retained for some time a shadow of authority over the few Macedonians who still adhered to the cause of the family of Alexander. Cassander at first marched into the Peloponnesus in order to give him battle; but after taking the city of Argos, and all the cities of the Messenians except Ithome, he deemed it prudent to retire into Macedonia, lest he should prove unfortunate. Soon after his return, he found means to corrupt Alexander, the son of Polysperchon, by offering him the government of all Peloponnesus, and the command of the troops stationed in the cities he had captured. Alexander greedily devoured the bait, and deserted the cause of his parent; but he was slain soon after by some citizens of Sicyon, where he then resided, who combined to destroy him, in order to effect their own deliverance. This conspiracy, however, did not produce the desired effect. Craterus, wife of Alexander, unappalled by the death of her husband, and the rage of mutiny, took upon herself the command of the troops, and subdued the Sicyonians in a battle, after which she entered upon the administration of the government, which she conducted with much prudence.

At length the winter passed away, and Antigonus appeared again in the field to contest the crown of Asia. He first advanced to Babylon, where the troops raised by Python and Seleucus augmented his army. Thus strengthened, he passed the Tigris to attack Eumenes, who was prepared to receive his onset. During the course of this campaign, the war was maintained with obstinacy on both sides, and Persia and Media were the theatre of its operations. The armies, which were nearly equal, traversed those two great provinces, by marches and countermarches, and each party resorted to every art and stratagem that the greatest capacity combined with experience could supply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous army to govern, an army which, though they felt his superiority as a commander, were yet determined to oppose, and finally to destroy him, obtained several advantages over his enemy; and when his troops grew impatient for winter quarters, he had the dexterity to secure the best in the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to seek his in the north of Media, twenty-five days' march distant. This campaign occupied the year B. C. 316.

The troops of Eumenes were so ungovernable that they insisted on taking up their quarters in different parts of the province, under pretence of being more commodiously stationed, and of

having their wants better supplied. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumstance, marched in the depth of winter, in hopes of falling upon them unawares. Eumenes had foreseen this event, and had sent spies mounted on dromedaries to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions. He had posted these so judiciously that he received intelligence of the coming of Antigonus before he could arrive at either of his quarters, by which means he collected all his forces before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus finding his schemes defeated, and mortified at being thus out-generalled, determined to come to an engagement.

The skill which Eumenes had displayed on this occasion had so charmed his troops in general that they resolved he should exercise the sole command. But it was not so with Antigonus and Tetrames, captains of the *Argyraspide*. Mortified at this distinction being given to a Thracian, they formed a resolution to destroy him, and drew most of the satraps and principal officers into their conspiracy. It was agreed, however, that his fall should be protracted till after the decision of the impending battle, thereby acknowledging his superior merit as a general. Eumenes was informed of their design, but he would not forego his duty by endeavouring to escape his doom. On the contrary, in the spirit of true magnanimity, he made his will, and determined to discharge his duty to his prince to the latest breath. He resigned his destiny, says Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing for the battle. Truly this was devotion worthy of a better reward than it obtained.

The army of Eumenes consisted of 36,000 foot and above 6000 horse, with 114 elephants; that of Antigonus was composed of 22,000 foot, 9000 horse, a body of Median cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. These armies met, and the *Argyraspide* quickly broke the hostile infantry, dealing out destruction with unerring certainty. On the other hand, the cavalry of Antigonus defeated that of Eumenes, and captured the baggage. This was fatal to Eumenes. The *Argyraspide* hearing of this disaster, mutinied in the very moment of their victory, and delivered him bound with his own sash into the hands of Antigonus, on condition that their baggage should be restored.

Antigonus deliberated for some time how he should treat his prisoner. They had been bosom friends, and had served under Alexander together, which considerations rekindled some tender sentiments in his favour. His son Hecetrus, also, earnestly solicited that the life of so brave a man might be spared. But the selfish interests of Antigonus prevailed. He feared if he should set Eumenes free he would take up arms again for the house of Alexander, and therefore ordered him to be put to death.

Such was the end of the brave, generous, and faithful Eumenes. As a general, and as a man of probity, his name ranks high in that age of ambition. As a proof of his greatness of mind, it may be mentioned, that he rose to the eminence he attained from a low rank in life. His talent commanded for him the high station he held, and the ambitious characters who surrounded him on every hand quailed before that talent. His very ashes commanded their respect.

Antigonus and his whole army, being now dead to envy and fear as regarded Eumenes, celebrated his funeral obsequies with great magnificence, and gathering up his babes, deposited them in a silver urn, and sent them to his wife and children in Cappadocia; a sad relic for a disconsolate widow and helpless orphans.

"From the first beam that waked the golden day
To lingering twilight's melancholy ray,
No respite came their drooping hearts to cheer,
Or from the fount of misery stole a tear."

The *Argyraspidae* met with the due reward of their treachery. Justly dreading their turbulence, Antigonus sent them in small detachments against the barbarians, and thus sacrificed in detail the veterans that had overthrown the Persian empire, and freed himself from a power able to thwart his ambitious designs.

Antigonus, immediately after his victory, B.C. 315, looking upon himself as master of the empire of Asia, began to aim at the sovereignty of the entire Macedonian empire. His first measure was directed against the satraps whose rebellious conduct had enabled him to triumph over Eumenes. He banished Peucestas of Persia, put Python of Media, and Antigeneas, general of the *Argyraspidae*, to death, and sought to involve Seleucus of Babylon in the same destruction. Seleucus fled to Ptolemy, to whom he represented the formidable power of Antigonus so effectually, that he engaged him in a league with Lysimachus and Cassander against the usurper. The two latter sent an embassy to Antigonus, who answered their proposals with menaces and insult. At the same time, he prepared to wage war. While his armies overran Syria and Asia Minor, he roused the Southern Greeks, Ætolians, and Epirotes, to attack Cassander in Macedonia, and bribed the mountaineers and northern barbarians to attack Lysimachus in Thrace, while his son Demetrius, afterwards named Poliorcetes, or, The conqueror of cities, marched against Ptolemy of Egypt.

The details of the war between Demetrius and Ptolemy are related in the History of the Egyptians: its results will be seen in the succeeding paragraphs.

While this war was proceeding, B.C. 313, seeing the armies of Antigonus engaged in Phœnicia, Cassander invaded Asia Minor. On hearing of this, Antigonus marched with a portion of his forces to arrest his progress. Success attended his arms; he pressed Cassander so vigorously that he obliged him to come to an accommodation on humiliating terms. But treaties were not deemed of any import by the successors of Alexander, and this was hardly concluded before Cassander broke it by demanding succours of Ptolemy and Seleucus for the renewal of the war, which was obstinately contested till the belligerents were parted by succeeding events.

At this period, the excavated city of Petra was the great dépôt of the caravan trade between the southern countries of Asia and northern Africa. One of the generals of Antigonus, named Athenæus, was sent to seize its stores. Athenæus surprised the inhabitants by a rapid march and sudden attack, and enriched himself with the plunder. The Nabathæan Arabs, however, enraged by their loss, hastily collected their forces,

and urging forward their dromedaries through the desert, overtook Athenæus near Gaza, where they not only recovered the spoil, but destroyed his army almost to a man. Demetrius hastened to avenge this loss, but he was baffled by the strength of the fastnesses of Arabia Petrea, and was compelled to retire into Syria.

On his return, Demetrius received intelligence that directed all his attention to the state of Upper Asia. Previous to his entering upon this war with the Arabs, Ptolemy had gained a victory over him at Gaza, upon which Seleucus, with a small but gallant band of attendants supplied by the Egyptian monarch, threw himself into his ancient satrapy of Babylon, and he was received with so much enthusiasm, that he obtained possession of his former power without striking a blow. The Persian and Median satraps, who had been appointed by Antigonus, sought, conjointly with Demetrius, to crush his power; but they were totally routed by him, after a brief but ineffectual struggle.

[According to oriental historians, it was at this date, B.C. 312, that the era of the Seleucids commenced, which forms an important epoch in Grecian history. Although, however, Seleucus now established his interest in Babylon upon such a solid foundation that it could no more be shaken, it was not till the battle of Ipsus, B.C. 301, that his title was acknowledged. In the second partition treaty, he was excluded, as will be seen in the next paragraph, from the government of Babylonia, allotted to him by the first, B.C. 323, as recorded at the commencement of this chapter.]

Alarmed at these occurrences, Antigonus hastened to conclude a peace with his various opponents, Seleucus only excepted. The treaty which was entered into by these sons of ambition contained in itself the seeds of a new war, ready to burst forth at any favourable opportunity, especially its second article. It was as follows: 1. That each should retain what he had; which demonstrates that the treaty was dictated solely by Antigonus; 2. That the Greek cities should be free; 3. That young Alexander should be raised to the throne upon attaining his majority. B.C. 310.

The last stipulation was vain. Cassander had long meditated the death of the young prince, and to make sure of the crown of Macedonia for himself, he privately murdered him in his confinement in the castle of Amphipolis, with his mother Roxana. The latter had put to death Statira, the daughter of Darius and wife of Alexander, shortly after his decease, and also her sister Drypetis, the widow of Hephestion, and now she herself and her young son fall by the hands of violence.

Polysperchon, who was still in the Peloponnese, exclaimed loudly against the treason of Cassander, and sending for Hercules, the only remaining son of Alexander, from Pergamus, with his mother, he proposed him as king to the Macedonians. Cassander was so alarmed at this proceeding, that he came to a compromise with Polysperchon to share the government between them, and he was seduced by this tempting offer to destroy both Hercules and his mother the ensuing year, B.C. 309.

Thus, says Dr. Hales, was "the posterity of

Alexander all extirpated in the course of fourteen years from his death, and his kingdom plucked up, and given to others;" by a righteous retaliation, that he whose sword had made many parents childless, should leave his children and all his family to perish by the sword.

Antigonus early discovered that he had been deceived in the recent treaty by Cassander and Ptolemy. Under pretence that he had put garrisons in some of the Greek cities, Ptolemy invaded Cilicia, and the rest of the confederates attacked him in other quarters. Accordingly, Antigonus sent Demetrius into Cilicia to recover the cities there lost, which he accomplished: the other generals of Antigonus also met with the same success wherever they were despatched. *B.C.* 306.

During this year, Antigonus was concerned in a fearful tragedy. Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, and widow of Alexander, king of Epirus, had for several years resided at Sardis, in Lydia, which was in the hands of Antigonus. Ambition had led Cassander, Antigonus, and Lysimachus, each to seek her hand in marriage, but in vain. Ptolemy now pursued the same course from the same motives, and he was listened to with favour. Already had Cleopatra set out for the camp of Ptolemy, when the governor of Sardis arrested her, and shortly after, by the command of Antigonus, caused her to be secretly destroyed. And yet to wipe off the stain of the crime from the page of his history, Antigonus ordered the heads of the women who had been instrumental in the murder to be struck off, and buried Cleopatra with great solemnity!

Behold, reader, how closely vengeance pursued the race of Alexander! See what calamities attended all those who were related to that famous conqueror, whose favour but a few years before was ardently courted by the world! A fatal curse rested upon his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. His very courtiers, officers, and domestics, were used in the ministration of this vengeance. And why? Because the judgments of the Almighty should be rendered visible to all mankind. Antigonus, however, though he was one of the ministers of God in his just decrees, was not the less criminal on that account. He was equally guilty in the sight of God, and in his turn he received the due reward of his deeds, as recorded in a future page. Punishment is irreversibly annexed to guilt: it may be delayed, but it cannot, in the ordinary course of events, be avoided. As surely as the sinner lives, so surely will his sin find him out, unless he seeks a refuge in the merits of a crucified Redeemer. From Him alone can any sinner hope for deliverance.

Antigonus had long formed a design to restore liberty to Greece, which was held in subjection by Cassander, Lysimachus, and Polyperchon. In the year *B.C.* 306, he commenced operations to carry this design into effect. To engage the Grecians in his interest, he promised to establish the democracy, their popular form of government. Antigonus foresaw that this bait would be greedily seized by the Athenians, and so it came to pass. No sooner had Demetrius made a proclamation before their walls to this effect, than

they cast down their bucklers at their feet, and with loud demonstrations of joy, welcomed him as their preserver and benefactor. They carried their gratitude even to impiety and irreligion. They first conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, and then honoured them with the appellation of tutelary deities, and instead of the magistracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected annually a priest of these tutelary deities, in whose name all the public acts and decrees were passed. Nor was this all. They ordered their portraits to be painted with those of the other gods, on the veil which was carried in procession at their solemn festivals in honour of Minerva, called *Panthenæa*; they consecrated the spot of ground on which Demetrius descended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called "the altar of Demetrius, descending from his chariot;" they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they styled the tribes of Demetrius and Antigonus; and they changed the names of two months in their favour, and published an order, that those who should be sent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, instead of being distinguished by the common title of ambassadors, should be called *Theori*, which was an appellation reserved for those who were chosen to go and offer sacrifices to the gods at Delphi, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. The climax of these extravagances was brought about by Democles, who proposed, "that in order to the more effectual consecration of the bucklers that were to be dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, proper persons should be despatched to Demetrius, the tutelary deity; and that after they had offered sacrifices to him, they should inquire of him, in what manner they ought to conduct themselves so as to celebrate, with the greatest promptitude and the utmost devotion and magnificence, the dedication of those offerings, and that the people should comply with all the directions of the oracle on that occasion." These propositions, as wicked as they were absurd, were passed into a decree, by the ever superstitious and idolatrous Athenians.

The ingratitude of the Athenians towards Demetrius Phalereus, who had governed them with much uprightness for ten years, was as criminal and extravagant as the immoderate acknowledgment they showed to Antigonus and Demetrius. They accused him of having acted contrary to their laws in many instances during his administration; they threw down the numerous statues they had raised to his honour, condemned him to suffer death for his contumacy, he having fled rather than be a party of the new government, and finally, persecuted his friends, among whom was the celebrated poet Menander.

Demetrius Phalereus, after sojourning some time at Thebes, and in the court of Cassander, retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who was an illustrious patron of men of letters. While in Egypt, he composed several treatises on government, and the duties of civil life; an employment, says Plutarch, which sustained his mind, and cherished in it those sentiments of humanity with which it was so richly endowed. Demetrius Phalereus was one of the wisest and best governors of this stormy period.

Although the Athenians had exalted the character of Demetrius to the rank of a demigod, his conduct at Athens proved him to be of the sinful race of man. His behaviour in that city was infamous to the last degree. In the midst of his excesses, however, he was directed by his father to wage a second war with Ptolemy of Egypt, the particulars of which are related in that history.

It was during this war, on hearing of the capture of Cyprus by Demetrius, that "the old man" Antigonus first assumed the crown. He decked his own brows with the regal circlet, and sent another to his son, with a letter of congratulation on his victory. Their example was followed by the other generals. Ptolemy of Egypt, Seleucus of Babylon, Lysimachus of Thrace, and Cassander of Macedonia, all "put on crowns." The assumption of the royal title, however, by those generals, was but a mere form now that the royal family was extirpated.

Before Demetrius undertook the expedition against Cyprus, he invited the Rhodians to an alliance against Ptolemy; but the Rhodians resolved to preserve a strict neutrality. Accordingly, having failed in his project of subduing Egypt, he was resolved to make this wealthy republic the victim of his fury.

The Rhodians, who foresaw the impending storm, had sent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their assistance, and caused it to be represented to the latter that it was their attachment to his interests which drew down upon them the danger to which they were exposed.

The preparations on each side were very great. Demetrius had 200 ships of war, and 170 transports, which carried about 40,000 men, exclusive of the cavalry and the succours he received from pirates, who joined him in hopes of plunder. He had likewise 1000 vessels laden with provisions, and all other necessary accommodations for an army. He had with him, moreover, a vast number of machines of war, for the construction of which his name is celebrated in history.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. Many commanders of note in alliance with them threw themselves into the city, being desirous to try their skill in military affairs against one of the greatest captains, and who was considered most experienced in the conduct of sieges. The besieged commenced by dismissing all useless persons: and then taking an account of those capable of bearing arms, they found that the citizens numbered 6000 and the foreigners 1000. Liberty was promised to all the slaves who should distinguish themselves by their bravery, and the public engaged to pay their ransom. A proclamation was also made, that whoever died in the defence of the country should be buried at the public expense; that his parents and children should be supported out of the treasury; that fortunes should be given to his daughters; and that his sons, when they had arrived at manhood, should be crowned and presented with a suit of armour, at the great solemnity of Bacchus. This decree had the desired effect. The rich came in crowds, with money to defray the expense of the siege and the soldiers' pay; the artificers applied themselves to the

forming of catapults, balistae, and new warlike engines; while others applied themselves to the reparation of the breaches made in the walls by the enemy. In a word, all were stimulated to action, and their noble defence affords an illustrious example of the power of discipline in conjunction with well-guided patriotism.

The siege of Rhodes is one of the most memorable recorded in the pages of ancient history. All the engines of assault which the mechanical knowledge of that age could invent,—catapults, balistae, battering-rams, and the famous engine called *helepolis*, or taker of cities, etc., were employed, both by sea and land, in order to effect the reduction of the city. But they were all of no avail. As soon as a breach was made in the wall, it was nobly defended till repaired, or another wall rose to view behind the breach. At length, indeed, a detachment of 1500 men entered the city at midnight, but they were destroyed by the valiant Rhodians, who were seconded during the siege by succours from Ptolemy and from Cassander.

This was the last noted assault made. Antigonus hearing of the brave stand the Rhodians were making against the forces of Demetrius, sent letters to him, enjoining him to conclude a peace with them, lest he should lose his whole army. At the same time, ambassadors arrived from the Ætolian republic, soliciting the contending parties to put an end to a war which threatened to involve the east in endless calamities. Ptolemy also secretly advised the Rhodians to come to terms of peace.

An accident which occurred to Demetrius about this time, according to Vegetius and Vitruvius, contributed greatly to a peace between the contending parties. Demetrius was preparing to advance his *helepolis* against the city, when a Rhodian engineer opened a mine under the walls of the city and the site it was to pass; and when it was moved towards the spot undermined, it buried itself so deep into the ground that it was rendered useless.*

Under these circumstances, a peace was concluded on the following conditions: 1. That the people of Rhodes should maintain the full enjoyment of their ancient rites, privileges, and liberties. 2. That they should confirm their alliance with Antigonus, and assist him in his wars against all states and princes, Ptolemy excepted. And, 3. That for the effectual performance of these articles, they should deliver 100 hostages, to be chosen by Demetrius. When these hostages were given, the siege was raised.

At the departure of Demetrius from Rhodes, he presented them with all the machines he had employed in the siege. These were afterwards sold for 300 talents, about £150,000, which was employed, with some additional sums, in the erection of the famous Colossus, reputed one of the seven wonders of the world.

* The *helepolis* was moved upon eight strong *axle* large wheels, the felices of which were strengthened with iron plates. To facilitate and vary its movements, castors were placed under it, whereby it was turned to what side the engineers pleased. The whole was of such an immense weight, that it is said, 3000 of the strongest men of the whole army were employed in its removal, notwithstanding the art with which it was built greatly facilitated its motion.

The farther the historians advance with the history of those restless spirits which succeeded Alexander the Great, the more clearly he discovers the unworthy motives by which they were actuated. They concealed their ambition at first by nominating a child and a person of weak intellect to the regal dignity; but as soon as the family of Alexander was destroyed, they threw off the mask, and showed themselves in their proper colours. Each sought to tower over the heads of the others. They were all solicitous to support themselves in their several governments; to become independent; to assume an absolute sovereignty; and to enlarge the limits of their territories at the expense of those who were weaker or less successful than themselves. For this purpose they employed the force of arms, and entered into alliances, which were no sooner made than broken, when they could derive more advantage from others, and they were renewed with the same facility from the same motives. The vast conquests of Alexander were to them as an inheritance destitute of a master, and each sought to serve himself with the largest portion.

The struggle for power and territory was not yet over. Seleucus was master of all the countries between the Euphrates and the Indus, and he was desirous of acquiring those that lay beyond the latter river. Accordingly, he improved the opportunity which now offered (when he was in alliance with Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus, and when Demetrius was besieging Rhodes) for that purpose. He conceived the conquest of India would be no difficult task, if he made a sudden irruption into that country, and he acted upon this conception. Seleucus was deceived. The report of his invasion had gone before him; and when he passed the Indus, he found an Indian, named Sandrocotta, with a very numerous army, and a large number of elephants, waiting to receive him. Awed by this formidable array, Seleucus entered into a treaty with Sandrocotta, by which he agreed to renounce all pretensions to that country, upon receiving 500 elephants. Seleucus received his elephants, and returned to Babylonia.

This was the final result of Alexander's Indian conquests! this the pitiful fruit of the streams of blood shed to gratify inordinate ambition! For the lives of tens of thousands of human beings, a few poor beasts were received—a result clearly showing the perversion of human nature.

While Seleucus was thus employed, *n.c.* 303, Cassander of Macedonia besieged Athens. In this extremity, the Athenians had recourse to their new tutelary deity, Demetrius. Their call was responded to: Demetrius set sail with 350 galleys, and a great body of foot soldiers, with whom he drove Cassander out of Attica, pursuing him as far as Thermopylae, where he defeated him, and captured Heraclea. Six thousand Macedonians at this time, also, came over to the side of Demetrius.

On the return of Demetrius to Athens, the inhabitants having lavished the highest honour which they could think of upon him, had recourse to new flatteries. Being a demigod in their sight, they lodged him in that part of the temple of Minerva called the Parthenon, which he profaned with the most infamous debauches,

in mockery of their excessive and criminal adulation. Athenæus says that he considered the Athenians creatures born only for slavery, and denominated these seditious wretches for their servility. This is very probable; for Demetrius, though the Athenians decreed that he was a tutelary deity, does not appear to have so parted with his senses as to have believed them. In this respect, he had a mind greater than Alexander. Truly, adulation is no better than interest under the disguise of friendship. It was for the protection he afforded them, that the Athenians flattered Demetrius: on a future day, when his fortunes were fallen, they shut their gates against him. Such conduct is exemplified by everyday observation, even in a Christian land, where mankind are taught to look upon each other as brethren.

After these proceedings, Demetrius entered the Peloponnesus, and wrested from Ptolemy the cities of Sicyon, Corinth, and others, where he had garrisons. This led to the appointment of Demetrius as generalissimo of Greece, for the conquest of Macedonia and Thrace—an injudicious measure, which led to the formation of a new confederacy against Antigonus.

The appointment of Demetrius as general of the states of Greece proved not only to Cassander, but to Seleucus, Lysimachus, and Ptolemy, that their common interest called upon them to resist the overpowered Antigonus. Accordingly, a confederacy was formed by these three kings, and Seleucus hastened into Assyria to make preparations for the war. *n.c.* 302.

The first operations of this war commenced at the Hellespont; Cassander and Lysimachus having deemed it expedient that the former should continue in Europe, to defend it against Demetrius, while the latter should invade the provinces of Antigonus in Asia. Lysimachus consequently passed the Hellespont, and either by treaty or his arms reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycania, and chief of the territories between the Propontis and the river Maeander.

Antigonus was at Antiochia, in Upper Syria, a city he had himself built, when the news of this confederacy reached him. At the moment, he was celebrating some games he had instituted at that city; but he broke up the assembly abruptly, and commenced preparations for advancing against the enemy. When his troops were ready, he marched expeditiously over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he replenished his finances from the treasury of Quinda, a city in that province, and augmented his troops. After this, he advanced towards the enemy, and retook several places in his march, which had been captured by Lysimachus. As Lysimachus was acting singlehanded, he thought it prudent to stand upon the defensive, till the confederate forces, which were on their march, should join him: the remaining part of the year, therefore, elapsed without action, and each party retired into winter quarters.

On the departure of Antigonus from Syria, Ptolemy invaded that country, and recovered all Phenicia, Judea, and Coele Syria, except Tyre and Sidon; but in consequence of a false report, that Lysimachus had been defeated, he retired full of alarm into Egypt.

The conjunction of the confederate forces took place in the spring of B.C. 301. They were commanded by Lysimachus and Seleucus, and they entered Phrygia almost at the same time with their opponents, Antigonus and Demetrius. A decisive engagement ensued. The battle was fought near Ipsus, a city in Phrygia, and it ended in the defeat and death of Antigonus, and the destruction of the power that he had raised. It is said that he brought 70,000 fighting men into the field, and that 10,000 only escaped the carnage—so terrible and unrelenting is the demonic spirit of war.

The consequences of the victory at Ipsus were the third and final partition of the empire, and the erection of the satrapies into independent kingdoms. Ptolemy was established in Egypt, Lybia, Coelo Syria, and Palsune, Cassander, in Macedonia and Greece, Lysimachus, in Thrace, Bithynia, and the districts adjacent to the Hellespont and Bosphorus, and Seleucus in Syria, Babylonia, and the eastern provinces. It is to this last partition that Daniel's prophecies of the division of Alexander's empire among his four generals seem to have alluded. "Therefore the he goat waxed very great and when he was strong, the great horn was broken, and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven," Dan viii. 8. "And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he reled for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those," chap xi. 4.

Thus ended the struggle for power amongst the generals of the renowned Alexander. It continued during twenty-two years, and during this contentious period events are crowded together in quick succession, interesting, both from the talents of the chiefs concerned in them, and from the singular combinations of political affairs continually occurring. The cautious Ptolemy, the base Polysperchon, the haughty Antipater, the designing Leonnatus, the cruel Perdicas, the rapacious Antigonus, the brave and generous Eumenes, appear like so many fleeting figures passing over the stage, while the sceptre of Alexander sliding from the weak hands of his brother and son, and the extinction of his race, are scarcely noticed by the reader. The empire which his ambition and power acquired could only be upheld by his own hand, but in the midst of his conquests he was struck down by the restless hand of the universal conqueror, death. His power and his future schemes passed away as a vision in the night, and no sooner had his commanding spirit, which ruled the fierce energies of the Macedonian chiefs, fled, than the mighty strife for empire commenced among those chiefs a strife which has no parallel in history, and which exhibits the state of man by nature in lively colours. In it he appears ambitious, crafty, revengeful, bloodthirsty, rapacious, unprincipled, with all the evil passions which can torment the heart and enslave the immortal soul.

Concerning the internal policy of this period, Heeren says "The almost unbroken series of wars which had raged from the time of Alexan-

der, must have precluded the possibility of much being effected with respect to domestic organization. It appears to have been nearly, if not wholly, military. Yet were the numerous devastations in some measure compensated by the erection of new cities, in which these princes vied with one another, impelled partly by vanity to immortalize their names, and partly by policy to support their dominion, most of the new settlements being military colonies. Nevertheless, this was but a sorry reparation for the manifold oppressions to which the natives were exposed by the practice of quartering the army upon them. The spread of the language and civilization of the Greeks deprived them of all national distinction, their own languages sinking into mere provincial dialects. Alexander's monarchy affords a striking example of the little that can be expected from a forced amalgamation of races, when the price of that amalgamation is the obliteration of national character in the individuals. Reader, the whole superstructure was raised by the device of man, and being founded in blood, the curse of the Almighty brought it to nought."

CHAPTER VII

THE KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA FROM THE BATTLE OF IPSUS TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST

CASSANDER

ALTHOUGH Cassander had been raised to the throne of Macedonia by the issue of the battle of Ipsus, he did not find it a bed of roses. Demetrius, son of Antigonus, had still some territories in Greece, whence he derived hopes that he might one day be able to restore his fallen fortunes. These hopes of Demetrius filled Cassander with fears, and he was jealous also of the power of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, whom he had persecuted from his infancy. Under the influence of these feelings, tormenting to the heart notwithstanding the show of outward grandeur which surrounded him, Cassander strengthened the frontiers of his dominions, restored decayed cities, and built or founded others, as Thessalonica, that he might be able to repel either of his foes should they attack him. He likewise laboured to secure the love of his subjects to his family, being, not without cause, afraid of the inconstancy of the Macedonians. While he was thus employed, a more formidable enemy than any whose power he was providing against appeared in his very palace—that enemy was death, against whose power no mortal arm can prevail. Cassander was seized with a dropsy, which brought him to his end, like Herod, with loathsome circumstances. This was the end of his dark and cruel deeds.

The death of Cassander occurred B.C. 298, after he had held the government of Macedonia nineteen years, and had ruled it three years with the title of king. He left three sons, Philip, Antipater, and Alexander, the eldest of whom succeeded him on the throne.

PHILIP.

The reign of Philip was brief. He died shortly after his accession, upon which his brothers, Antipater and Alexander, drew the sword to contest the crown, which, as will be seen, was fatal to both.

ANTIPATER AND ALEXANDER.

In the quarrel which ensued between these two sons of Cassander, their mother, Thessalonica, favoured Alexander, who was the youngest, instead of endeavouring to heal the breach. This undue partiality produced the most bitter results: Antipater, enraged thereby, killed her with his own hand, turning a deaf ear to her entreaties by the breasts which had nourished him in infancy to spare her life. In order to avenge this deed, and thereby to advance his own interests, Alexander sought the aid of Pyrrhus and Demetrius Poliorcetes, both of whom obeyed the call, but only with the expectation of being paid. Pyrrhus arrived first, and having made himself master of several cities in Macedonia, part of which he retained as compensation for his services, and reconciled the two brothers, he returned to his own dominions. Demetrius arrived shortly after his departure, and was displeased to find that his assistance was not required. The semblance of friendship, however, was preserved between him and Alexander, and they entertained each other at reciprocal feasts. But their hearts were false. Demetrius, at length, upon some intelligence, either true or fictitious, that Alexander intended to kill him, prevented the execution of that design by destroying him, and Antipater, fearing the same catastrophe, fled into Thrace. B.C. 295.

DEMETRIUS.

The vacant throne of Macedonia was now seized by Demetrius, who possessed, in addition, Thessaly, a great portion of Southern Greece, with the provinces of Attica and Megaria, to which, after a fierce resistance, and a twofold capture of Thebes, he added Boeotia.

Demetrius might have tranquilly enjoyed this extensive realm, but his restless ambition led to his ruin. He formed a plan for the recovery of his father's power in Asia, upon which Seleucus and Ptolemy roused Lysimachus, king of Thrace, and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, to attack him at the same time. Alarmed by this confederacy, the Macedonians mutinied, and Demetrius fled, disguised as a common soldier, into the Peloponnese, which was governed by his son Antigonus. B.C. 287.

PYRRHUS.

On the flight of Demetrius, Pyrrhus ascended the throne of Macedonia; but after a brief reign of seven months, he was reduced to the same necessity to which Demetrius had been before him. He was compelled to take refuge in flight from the power or popularity of Lysimachus, who invaded Macedonia, and to leave him a kingdom which he himself had stolen.

LYSIMACHUS.

In the mean time, Demetrius had sailed into Asia with the hope of capturing the provinces belonging to Lysimachus. B.C. 286. In this he was disappointed. He was driven into Cilicia by

Agathocles, son of Lysimachus, and forced to surrender to Seleucus, his father-in-law, who detained him prisoner in the Chersonesus of Syria, near Laodicea, till the day of his death, which occurred B.C. 284.

In consequence of the accession of Lysimachus, Thrace, and, for a brief period, even Asia Minor, were annexed to the Macedonian kingdom. But a worm was at the root of this power, even at its commencement. Lysimachus was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Strife ruled dominant in his court, and at length having, upon the instigation of his queen, the wicked Arsinoe, put his son Agathocles to death, Cassandra, the widow of the young prince, with her brother Ptolemy Ceraunus, fled to the court of Seleucus, and stimulated that prince to war. The two armies met at Corupedium, in Phrygia, and Lysimachus was defeated and slain, leaving his kingdoms to Seleucus by his victory. B.C. 282.

Seleucus Nicator, or, the conqueror, already lord of Asia, now caused himself to be proclaimed king of Macedonia, and there was every prospect of that country becoming again the head seat of monarchy. Such was the victor's intention; but as he was marching into Europe the next year, the shores of which he had already gained, he fell by the murderous hand of Ptolemy Ceraunus, who, availing himself of the treasures of his victim, and of the yet remaining troops of Lysimachus, took possession of the throne. B.C. 281.

In the same year that Seleucus fell, Pyrrhus invaded Italy as an ally of the Tarantines; the Achæan league was revived in Southern Greece; and Cappadocia, Armenia, and Pontus, in the north, and Bactria in the east, became independent kingdoms.

PTOLEMY CERAUNUS.

On usurping the throne of Macedonia, Ptolemy had to treat with three foes: Antiochus, son of Seleucus; Antigonus, son of Demetrius; and Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. Antigonus, who, since the death of Demetrius, had maintained himself in the Peloponnese, in hopes of one day securing the crown of Macedonia, advanced with an army to contest the prize with Ptolemy, but he was defeated; while Antiochus was pacified with fair words, and Pyrrhus with presents, and the hand of Ptolemy's daughter in marriage. After this, Ptolemy fraudulently obtained the hand of Arsinoe, widow of Lysimachus, in marriage, which was followed by the murder of her two sons, Philip and Lysimachus, in her presence, and her own banishment into Samothrace. B.C. 280.

Ptolemy now deemed himself secure on the throne of Macedonia. Providence had, however, marked his crimes, and did not suffer them to remain long unpunished. An innumerable multitude of Gauls, who had been settled in Pannonia about two centuries before, driven by want, or instigated by a restless disposition, poured into Thrace and Macedonia, and desolated the country. Ptolemy led an army against these ferocious savages, but he was defeated and slain. B.C. 279.

In this dilemma, the Macedonians knew not what measures to take for the preservation of their country.

MELAEGER.

Melaeger, the brother of Ptolemy, was first elected as king; but finding that his hand was too weak to hold the reins of government, they deposed him after he had reigned two months.

ANTIPATER.

The Macedonians next exalted Antipater, the son of Philip, brother of Cassander, to the throne, but he governed only forty-five days, upon which an interregnum followed.

In the mean time, the Gauls wasted the country of Macedonia. At length, however, Sosthenes, a Macedonian noble, assumed the command, and this time liberated his country. But his triumph was short. The next year, B.C. 278, the storm returned with tenfold fury. Sosthenes was defeated and slain, and although the Greeks brought their united forces into the field, the Gauls, under the guidance of their *brenn*, or chief, burst into Greece on two different sides, and pushed on to Delphi, with intent to plunder it of its immense wealth. Here the success of the invaders ended. Animated by the danger in which their temple was placed, the Greeks charged the Gauls with so much impetuosity, that they were unable to sustain the shock, and were slaughtered in great numbers. Their chief fell by his own hands, and the miserable remnant fell back upon a fresh body of their countrymen established on the Propontus, with whom they passed over into Asia, where, after inflicting many calamities on the states of Anatolia, they obtained possession of the provinces, which received from them the denomination of Gallogreece or Galatia.

It was to the descendants of this people, that the epistle of St Paul to the Galatians was written. See that epistle.

After the death of Sosthenes, who had refused regal honours, Antiochus, son of Seleucus Nicator, and Antigonus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was now called Gonatas, from Gonni, in Thessaly, where he had been educated, appeared as rivals for the crown of Macedonia. Antigonus Gonatas, however, bought off his competitor by treaty and marriage, he marrying the niece of Antiochus.

ANTIGONUS GONATAS.

The reign of Antigonus commenced B.C. 278. His first noted act was the expulsion of the Gauls, who made another irruption into his territories in hopes of plunder. After this he proceeded to the consolidation of his kingdom, but before he could effect this he was dethroned by Pyrrhus, who, on his return from Italy, was a second time proclaimed king of Macedonia. B.C. 274.

SECOND NOTICE OF PYRRHUS.

Extraordinary as these revolutions appear, says Heeren, they may be easily accounted for by the mode of warfare in those days. Every thing depended (humanly speaking) on the arms; and these were composed of mercenaries ever willing to fight against him they had defended the day before, if they fancied his rival to be a more valiant or fortunate leader. Since the death of Alexander, the Macedonian phalanx was no longer dependent on its captains, but they on their men. The impoverishment of

the countries, in consequence of war, was such, that the soldier's was almost the only profitable trade, and none prosecuted that trade more ardently than the Gauls, whose services were ever ready for any one who chose to pay for them. Their swords were ever sharpened for the slaughter of their species, friends as well as foes, neighbours as well as strangers. Their barbarity was such, that their very names were dreaded. No emotions of pity warmed their breasts. Hardened by their dreadful avocation, they swept all before them, destroying alike the fair face of the creation and their brother man. Human depravity was stamped upon their every movement, demonstrating beyond dispute the fallen condition of the human race.

On the expulsion of Antigonus from the throne of Macedonia, he again retired into Southern Greece. He was followed thither by his rival, who had been solicited to place Cleonymus on the throne of Lacedaemonia. This was the professed object of Pyrrhus, on entering the Peloponnese; but he went beyond it, for he ravaged the lands of Locomia, and made an attempt to surprise Sparta. In this enterprise, however, Pyrrhus was defeated, and he turned his arms against Argos, into which city he was admitted by some of his partisans. But the Argives in general were favourable to Antigonus, and having admitted him with a chosen body of troops through another gate, a fierce struggle ensued, which terminated in the death of Pyrrhus, B.C. 271.

On the death of Pyrrhus, a brief contest took place between his son Alexander and Antigonus for the crown of Macedonia, which resulted in the confirmation of it to the latter.

SECOND NOTICE OF ANTIGONUS GONATAS.

Some years after the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus Gonatas became very powerful in his kingdom, whence the Achaean league, which had been dissolved in the commotions subsequent to the death of Alexander, and revived in Southern Greece, B.C. 281, was renewed with increased vigour, in order to check his power. Alexander, king of Epirus, was induced by this motive to join in this league, and Antigonus deemed it so formidable, that he conceived he should never be able to support his authority over Greece, unless he was in possession of Corinth. Under this impression, he possessed himself of this place by craft, but Aratus, who had become the animated spirit of the confederation, retaliated, and wrested it from his hands by a bold attack in the darkness of midnight, when the Achaean league was joined by Corinth, Troezen, and Epidaurus.

This event took place in the year B.C. 243, and soon after, Antigonus, who had passed the allotted period of man's existence, died, leaving his crown to his son Demetrius.

DEMETRIUS II.

In the latter part of his reign, Antigonus had recourse to various means, and more especially to an alliance with the Etolians, for the purpose of counterpoising the power of the Achaeans. Demetrius adopted a different line of policy. He waged war upon the Etolians, and endeavoured to repress the growth of the Achaean power, by favouring the tyrants of particular cities. The remainder of the reign of this prince, as Heeren

observes, is little more than a chaos in history : he died B.C. 233.

ANTIGONUS II.

Antigonus, surnamed *Doxos*, or "will give," because he was slow in the performance of promises, succeeded Demetrius II. Antigonus Doxon was the nephew of Demetrius ; but he was raised to the throne in preference to Philip his son, the rightful heir, inasmuch as the latter was yet an infant.

At the period of the accession of Antigonus, a revolution in the Peloponnesus was about to effect a great and important change in the political aspect of Greece. The ancient laws of Lycurgus were only nominally observed in Sparta ; but the plunder of foreign countries, and particularly the permission to transfer landed estates, obtained by Epitadeus, had produced great inequality of property. In the year B.C. 344, king Agis III. introduced a bold plan of reform, including a fresh division of landed property, an abolition of debts, and the weakening of the power of the Ephori. This was attended in the beginning with partial success, but eventually frustrated by the other king, Leonidas, who brought about a counter revolution, B.C. 241, which terminated in the extinction of Agis and his family. Leonidas, however, was succeeded, B.C. 236, by his son Cleomenes, who defeated the plans of Aratus to force Sparta to accede to the Achaean league, B.C. 227. After this, Cleomenes renewed the reforms of Agis, and by a forcible revolution overthrew the Ephori. At the same time, he increased the Spartans by the admission of a number of Periaci, and enforced the laws of Lycurgus referring to private life. After this, B.C. 224, Cleomenes turned his arms against the Achæans, compelled Argos and Corinth to secede from the league, defeated the confederates at Hyme, and reduced Aratus to such a condition, that he was compelled to seek assistance from the king of Macedonia.

Antigonus was not slow in advancing his own interests. He entered the Peloponnesus, and obtaining a complete victory over Cleomenes at Sellasia, on the borders of Laconia, Sparta was placed at his mercy : and it was compelled to acknowledge its independence, indeed, as a gift at the hands of Antigonus, B.C. 222. Thus from having been opponents, the Macedonians became allies of the Achæans.

Antigonus did not long survive his victory ; he died lamented by the Greeks in general, B.C. 221, and was succeeded in his kingdom by his nephew Philip.

PHILIP II.

Philip II. was the son of Demetrius, before whom Antigonus had been preferred, on account of his infancy, on the death of his father.

Philip, who ascended the throne at the early age of sixteen, was endowed with qualities such as might, under favourable circumstances, have formed a great prince. Macedonia had recruited her strength, and her grand political aim, the supremacy of Greece, secured by the connexion of Antigonus with the Achæans, and by the victory of Sellasia, seemed to be already within her grasp. Philip, however, lived in a time when the Romans were seeking power on the earth—when the fourth monarchy of prophecy was be-

ginning to be unfolded ; and the more vigorous and prompt his efforts were to withstand that power, the more deeply was he entangled in the new mass of events. These events, indeed, embittered his life, and at last brought him to the grave with a broken heart, and with the character of a despot.

The first five years of Philip's reign were occupied by a participation in the war between the Achæans and Ætolians, called "The war of the two leagues." The Ætolians were dissatisfied with the peace that followed the battle of Sellasia, whence on receiving intelligence of the death of Antigonus, despising the youth of Philip, they commenced a series of piratical attacks on the Messenians and Macedonians. This line of conduct rekindled the flames of war. Aratus was sent to expel the Ætolians from Messenia, and entered into a convention with their leaders for the purpose, after which he dismissed the greater part of his army. This was an error of which the Ætolians took advantage. They attacked him unexpectedly, and having ravaged the greater part of the Peloponnesus, returned home laden with plunder.

The errors committed by Aratus compelled the Achæans to have recourse to Philip, who, placing himself at their head, went to Corinth, where a general assembly of the states was held. The result of the deliberations of this assembly was, a declaration of war against the Ætolians, which was voted by all the Southern Greeks, except the Spartans and Eleans, and preparations commenced on both sides for the strife. B.C. 220.

About the same time a war broke out between the two trading republics of Rhodes and Byzantium, in consequence of the heavy tolls exacted by the latter from all vessels entering into the Euxine Sea. This was insignificant in itself, but as a commercial war, it was the only one of its kind in this age. It ended in the success of the Rhodians, who, being powerful by sea, compelled the Byzantines to abolish the onerous duties.

On the defeat of Cleomenes by Antigonus Doxon, at Sellasia, he fled to Egypt. It was at this date that he sought to return to his native country, to regain his throne, as related in the History of the Egyptians.

The war between Philip and the Ætolians was conducted with great ferocity. The progress of Philip was aided by his fleet, which enabled Macedonia eventually to gain the ascendancy as a naval power ; but it was also checked by the intrigues of Apelles and others, who envied Aratus. These, working in the dark, weakened the influence of his prudent counsellors, and thereby checked the success of Philip. But while the Greeks were thus contending with each other, foreign events taught them to sheathe their swords. The increasing power of the Romans and Carthaginians, who were contending for the empire of the world in the second Punic war, suggested peace. They saw that it would soon be necessary to defend the independence of Greece against either Rome or Carthage, and a treaty was in consequence concluded between the general assembly of the Ætolian states and the representatives of the Achaean confederacy, at Naupactus, B.C. 217.

This peace was not of long duration. Philip,

conceiving that it would be his interest to enter into an alliance with Hannibal, who had already invaded the peninsula, took that step, and resolved to invade Italy, to assist in the annihilation of Rome. This was fatal to his interests. The Romans resolved to find Philip such employment in Greece as would leave him no leisure to attack Italy. They prevailed on the Ætolians to violate the treaty, holding out to them as a reward the possession of Acarnania and the Ionian islands. The republics of Sparta and Elis, and Attalus, king of Pergamus, with Scerdilaidas and Pleuratas, kings of Illyria, acceded to this confederacy; while Philip was supported by the Acarnanians, Bœotians, and Achæans. *n.c.* 211.

At the commencement of this outbreak, the aged general Aratus warned Philip of the dangers that would result from his indulgence in ambitious projects. His advice was unheeded, and so unpalatable was it to the monarch's ears, that he caused him to be poisoned. This crime filled the Greeks with horror and indignation. He was succeeded, as head of the Achæan league, by Philipæmon, who proved himself worthy of the dignity.

Although attacked on every side, Philip successfully extricated himself from his present difficulties. He defeated the Ætolians at Lamia, in Thessaly; successfully withstood the combined forces of the Ætolians and Romans at Elis; captured a stronghold of the Eleans; and, finally, the Achæans gained a great victory over the Lacedæmonians in the territories of Mantinea, in which Philipæmon slew with his own hand Machinadas, the usurper of Lacedæmon.

In the mean time, Attalus, king of Pergamus, was recalled home to defend his own kingdom from an invasion of the Bithynians, and the Romans became too deeply engaged, by the presence of Hannibal in Italy, to continue their aid to the Ætolians. This brought about a peace. The Ætolians, thus deprived of their allies, made overtures to that end, which were accepted. *n.c.* 208.

The sword of Philip had scarcely been sheathed, when he entered into an alliance with the Syrian monarch against the infant ruler of the Egyptians, as related in their history. He also entered into an alliance with Prusias, king of Bithynia, against Attalus, king of Pergamus, and declared war against the Rhodians. *n.c.* 203.

The end which Philip had in view in these proceedings was chiefly to disarm the military servants of the Romans. But his designs were defeated. He was punished by the overthrow and ruin of the Macedonian fleet at Chios. *n.c.* 202.

Not yet having learned wisdom from his experience, Philip next added the Athenians to the number of his enemies. The Athenians were not in a condition to defend themselves from his power, and they supplicated the Romans for aid. This produced a war with Rome, which suddenly buried the Macedonian power from its lofty height, and by making way for the commencement of the Roman dominion in the east, speedily wrought a change in all the political relations of that quarter.

In the first campaign, the Romans sent a fleet and army to secure Athens from the grasp of Philip. This they effected; after which the

Romans advanced into Northern Greece, where they compelled the Bœotians to join the league against Philip. At the same time, the legions in Epirus marched into Macedonia, and though they gained no immediate advantages, they opened the way for a future decisive invasion. *n.c.* 199.

In the next year, the conduct of the war was confided to the consul Flaminius, who rekindled by his harangues, the love of freedom in the breasts of the Grecians, whence the fortunes of Philip declined so rapidly, that his allies, especially the Achæans, lost their courage, and made peace with the Romans. Still Philip persisted in his opposition. He assembled an army in Thessaly, nearly equal in number to that of his adversaries, with which he occupied a range of low hills, called, from their peculiar shape, *Cynocephale*, the dogs'-heads. At this place, a battle was fought, which decided the fate of his power. The Macedonians were completely routed, leaving 8000 dead on the field, and 5000 prisoners in the hands of their enemies, while the loss of the Romans did not exceed 700 men. Thus stripped of power, Philip was reduced to the necessity of soliciting a peace, and of accepting it as a boon. *n.c.* 197.

The articles of peace between the Romans and Philip, after the battle of *Cynocephale*, were: 1. That all Grecian cities in Europe and Asia should be independent, and Philip should withdraw his garrisons. 2. That he should surrender the whole of his navy, and never afterwards keep more than 500 armed men on foot. 3. That he should not, without previously informing Rome, undertake any war out of Macedonia. 4. That he should pay 1000 talents (about 250,000 sterling) by instalments, and deliver up his younger son Demetrius as an hostage.

Thus successful, the Romans soon after solemnly proclaimed the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian games. But this, though it was received by the Greeks with the wildest exultations of joy, and the most extravagant displays of gratitude, was no better than a farce. Loud as the Greeks were in the display of their feelings, the measure served only to transfer the supremacy of their country from Macedonia to Rome. The history both of Macedonia and Greece, from this date, is interwoven with that of Rome.

After the proclamation of the freedom of Greece, Flaminius showed his insincerity by secretly endeavouring to weaken the Achæan league. He took care that the Achæans should have an opponent in the person of Nabis, although under the necessity of waging war against him previous to his return into Italy. Notwithstanding, after the murder of Nabis by the Ætolians, the Achæan league was strengthened by the accession of Sparta. *n.c.* 192.

About the same time, Greece became once more the theatre of foreign war. Instigated by Hannibal, Antiochus the Great, the king of Syria, declared war against the Romans. Instead, however, of attacking their power in Africa or Italy, he passed over to Greece, where he was gladly received by the Ætolians. The Achæans and Philip were compelled to aid the Romans, and Antiochus was expelled from Greece, leaving his allies exposed to the vengeance of his ene-

mies. The *Ætolians* paid dearly for their secession: the daily terms of peace which the Romans would consent to grant, were, their reduction to poverty, and their deprivation of independence, to which they were compelled to submit. A.C. 189.

While war was pending between the Romans and Antiochus, Philip, as one of the numerous allies of Rome, increased his territory at the expense of the Athamenes, Thracians, and Thesalians, which Rome passed over. After the termination of this war, however, the yoke of Rome became so oppressive, that he resolved to make another struggle for freedom. To this end, his subjects on the sea-coast being inclined to peace, and favourable to the Romans, he removed them into *Emathia*, and brought multitudes of hardy Thracians to inhabit their territories. He also sought the extirpation of the *Dardanians*, a barbarous nation, who were the implacable enemies of the Macedonians, by inviting the *Hasarnæ*, a numerous people inhabiting the banks of the *Ister*, to come and possess themselves of *Dardania*; he himself paying their way by presents made to the petty princes of *Thrace*, to procure for them a safe passage through their dominions.

These measures proved abortive. The transplantation of the inhabitants of whole cities and countries excited universal complaints. Philip heard these complaints, but instead of redressing them, or alleviating the anger of the aggrieved parties, he proceeded to rigorous measures in order to silence them. He put to death a great number upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans, and retained their offspring in prisons, with the intention of destroying them also. The cruelties which he committed increased the hatred of the Macedonians against him, and complaints were forwarded to Rome, from both cities and private persons. His doom would have been inevitable, had not Demetrius, his son, who had regained his liberty, and had been sent to Rome to watch over the interests of Philip, stood in the gap. By his wise exertions only was he saved from the sword of Rome, which was ever ready to attack all those who opposed its power. Demetrius pledged himself for his father's future good conduct, and he returned into Macedonia crowned with the favour of the Romans for his wise policy.

On the return of Demetrius to Macedonia, he was received with enthusiasm by all classes. This involved him in ruin. His elder and illegitimate brother, Perseus, regarded his popularity with a jealous eye, and resolved upon his death. He began by sowing the disposition of those in favour with the king. For some time he was unheeded, but afterwards observing that Philip's hatred increased daily towards the Romans, which Demetrius opposed, they entered into the views of Perseus, and devoted themselves to him. The snares they laid for the life of Demetrius, who was young, and of a generous and confiding disposition, were of a threefold character. They first undermined his credit with the king, by artfully calling forth his defence of the Romans, in private debates; they next accused him of attempting the life of Perseus, which they failed to prove; and, finally, they charged him with treason. Malice at length prevailed. Phi-

lip, whose affection for Demetrius had been eradicated by the artifice of Ptolemy and his accomplices, gave orders for the secret assassination of his high-minded and promising son, which was accomplished by Nidas, who was one of those men ever found in the courts of the ancients, whose business it was to destroy life at the command of their princes.

Demetrius was scarcely in his grave before Perseus altered his conduct towards his parent. The crown, by the removal of his competitor, seemed within his grasp, and he could not disguise his disregard to his parent, and the satisfaction which the death of Demetrius gave him, or endeavour to conceal the number of his dependents, and strength of his faction. Philip discerned the alteration of the conduct of Perseus, and was afraid. He doubted whether a base and cruel son had not deprived him of a worthy and deserving child. He discovered the fact, and formed a design to change the succession, and have Antigonus acknowledged as his heir, but before this could be effected, the wretched monarch died of a broken heart. B. C. 179.

PLEASE USE

When the wicked flourish, mankind are apt to cavil at the ways of Providence, and conceive that they are not founded upon equity. To such the words of the psalmist are applicable.

Feet not thine if because of evidence,
Neither be thou curious against the workers of
innuents

For they shall soon be cut down like the grass
And wither as the green herb ~ Psa xxxv 1, 2

Thus truth will receive illustration from the life of Perseus. He ascended the throne of Macedonia with his hands stained with the blood of his brother, but vengeance was following hard after him.

On the discovery of his treachery towards his brother, Perseus had taken refuge in flight from the vengeance of his injured and incensed parent. Before the death of Philip was made public, however, his partisans sent him in his place of retreat, and on his arrival he took possession of the crown which he had acquired by guilt, to the astonishment and indignation of the great body of the Macedonians.

One of the earliest acts of Perseus was to put Antigonus, whom Philip had designed to fill the throne, to death, that he might have no competitor for the crown. Thus as he ascended the throne, so he sought to secure the crown by shedding blood.

It has been already stated, that the settlement of the Bastarnæ (probably a German race resident beyond the Danube) in Dardania was one of the plans traced out by Philip in order to carry on war with them against the Romans. These people were on their march when Philip died, and Perseus, who saw the wisdom of the policy, assisted them in their enterprise. This gave offence to the Romans, and Perseus deemed it prudent to conciliate them, lest he should draw down their vengeance upon him before he was prepared. In consequence of this, the success of the Bastarnæ was but partial: the greatest part of them were compelled to return into their own country. B. C. 173.

Still war was in the heart of Perseus. His hatred of the Romans was as inveterate as that of Philip. While he humbled himself before them, he sent ambassadors to Carthage, and he infringed the treaty between the Romans and Macedonians, by carrying his arms against the Dolopians, his subjects, and destroying Euphanor, the governor, under pretence that he had behaved tyrannically. This furnished the Roman ambassadors with new cause of complaint, and it was heightened by his paying a visit to the temple of Apollo at Delphi, at the head of his forces. Notwithstanding, Perseus by his address still maintained peace with the Romans, it being still his interest.

Sooner or later, however, an appeal to arms between Perseus and the Romans was inevitable. Perseus intended this, and prepared for it accordingly. He allied himself to the Rhodians, Bithynians, and Thracians, laid up vast sums of money, and provided magazines of provisions for the sustenance of a large army for ten years. Harmed with the idea of gaining their freedom from the yoke of the Romans, the Greeks began to incline universally to Perseus, to the neglect of Eumenes, king of Pergamus.

Between Perseus and Eumenes there was deep strife. Hence, when the Greeks turned to the former, Eumenes hastened to Rome, to incite the senate against his competitor. Eumenes succeeded in his intrigues, and when Perseus sought again for peace, he was answered, that if he was sincerely inclined to treat with the Romans, he might have an opportunity of doing it in his own dominions, into which they were about to send their consul with an army.

The success of Eumenes caused Perseus to attempt to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison, but he was defeated in his purpose, and weakened his cause by the act.

The Roman army, under the command of Lucius Crassus, at length arrived in Macedonia. Alarmed at their promptitude, Perseus was again induced to send ambassadors to Rome to sue for peace. They were unsuccessful in their mission, and Perseus renewed his preparations for war.

At the period of taking the field, the army of Perseus consisted of 34,000 foot and 4000 cavalry, the finest army that, since Alexander's expedition to Asia, any Macedonian monarch had collected. These all thrived to restore the glory of the Macedonian name to its ancient splendour, nor would Perseus accept the aid of other Greeks when proffered, lest that glory should be diminished.

The operations of the Macedonian monarch were first carried on in Thessaly, where the Roman army was encamped. He took several cities, while others opened their gates to him. He then wasted the country about Phars, near which the Roman consul lay, and growing more bold every day by the inactivity of his enemy, he at length appeared before his camp. A battle ensued, which resulted to the advantage of the Macedonians, and had Perseus followed it up by storming the enemy's intrenchments, as his generals, Hippas and Leonatus, advised, he would probably have put an end to the war. This oversight gave the Roman consul opportunity of re-

tiring to an advantageous post, and when Perseus again attacked him, he was routed with considerable loss, and compelled to retire into Macedonia.

Though defeated, Perseus was not yet destroyed. He appeared again in the field, and gained several advantages over both Lucius Crassus and his successor, Appius Claudius. Had he been prudent as well as valiant, he might yet have checked the power of Rome; but he obliged Gentius, king of Illyria, whom he had recently engaged to war with the Romans as they passed through his territories, and Clondicus, probably king of the Bastarnæ, who had agreed to bring a considerable reinforcement to the king's army. To these he promised a sum of money for their services, which he afterwards, from his ruling passion, avarice, refused to pay, thereby converting them into foes. Another imprudence was the rejection of the amity of his ancient foe, Eumenes, who offered to assist in the reduction of the power of Rome, he having discovered the enmity which Rome, at this date, bore to crowned heads.

Thus was the war protracted for four years, from B.C. 173 to B.C. 169. At the end of that time, the Romans appointed the consul Lucius Æmilius Paulus to the command of the forces in Macedonia. The skill of this consul soon changed the aspect of affairs. Ever active, he sent a detachment over mount Olympus to attack the army of Perseus in his rear. This detachment was three days in passing over Olympus, during which time Æmilius drew out his forces to attack the enemy in his camp. In these attacks, the Romans were repulsed by the engines placed upon the fortifications of his camp, but at length the detachment appeared on the other side of the Macedonian camp, and Perseus, alarmed, fled precipitately to Pydna.

On his arrival at Pydna, Perseus held a council of war, in which, after much discussion, it was resolved to hazard a battle. This was what the Roman general desired, and he responded to his preparations by arraying his forces in the face of the Macedonians. After thus braving each other for some time, the deadly strife commenced. Victory was long doubtful, but at length, it decided for the Romans. The forces of the Macedonians were completely overthrown, and Perseus fled to Pella, Amphipolis, and finally to the island of Samothrace, which was looked upon as sacred, for refuge. He was afterwards taken prisoner, and was led in chains to Rome, to adorn the triumph of his haughty conqueror. He died at Rome, B.C. 166, under circumstances of the greatest ignominy, his keepers having in vain sought to compel him to put a period to his own existence, it is said they prevented his taking rest, in which miserable state he died. Thus in the death of this fratricide we see the ways of Providence justified.

The house of the wicked shall be overthrown

Prov. xiv. 11

By the victory of Pydna, the fate of Macedonia was sealed. No monarch was permitted any longer to sit upon its throne. According to the system at that period followed by Rome, indeed, it was not immediately converted into a province. It was first deprived of all offensive

power, by being republicanised, and divided into four districts, wholly distinct from one another, and bound to pay Rome half the tribute they were wont to furnish their kings. Afterwards, however, about a.c. 150, Andriacus, who pretended to be the son of Perseus, having caused an insurrection, and set up for a tyrant, on his defeat by Metellus, the country was constituted a Roman province. The last glimmer of its glory was eclipsed by Roman splendour! The throne whereon a Philip, an Alexander, had been seated, was subjected to republican Rome! a.c. 148.

It was in the natural order of things, says Heeren, that the independence of Greece, and more especially that of the Achaean league, should fall with Perseus. The political inquisition of the Roman commissaries not only visited the declared partisans with punishment, but those also who stood neutral. Amid the rising hatred Rome did not deem herself secure until she had laid all her opponents prostrate. More than a thousand of the most eminent Achæans were summoned to Rome to justify themselves, and were there detained seventeen years in prison without a hearing. At the sack of Corinth, b.c. 146, the last glimpse of Grecian freedom vanished. Greece, from that time, under the name of Achæa, became a Roman province, although to a few cities, such as Athens, which became the university of the Roman empire, some shadow of freedom was left, to mock their ancient glory.

Once only after the yoke of Rome had been made thus heavy, did the Macedonians endeavour to deliver themselves from its bitterness. A pseudo-Philip appeared on the borders of Thrace, and many Macedonians joined him, and urged him to enter Macedonia and assume the regal title. This counsel was adopted, and the greatest part of the country submitted to the adventurer, but the Romans sent a numerous army, under the command of the quaestor Lucius Trimeilus, who retook the cities which Philip had subdued and fortified, and finally defeated and slew him in battle. This attempt on the part of the Macedonians, therefore, only resulted in their yoke being made more galling, the Roman governors were encouraged by their disaffection to treat them with great rigour, especially Silianus.*

The history of Macedonia teaches an emphatic lesson on the short-lived nature of all subterranean things, and the madness of ambition. In it the reader has perceived a great empire arise from small beginnings, to flourish for a little while, and then vanish away. The seeds of its ruin were sown at the birth of its greatness. It was built up by injustice and bloodshed, whence it could never prosper. For as with individuals, so with kingdoms; sooner or later they meet with the due reward of injustice and wrong. The world may laugh at the idea of an overruling Providence, but its actions are strongly marked upon the pages of ancient history. Cast your thoughts back, reader, to the strife of the

successors of Alexander, the utter extinction of his family, and the rapid overthrow of his mighty empire, extending from the Adriatic to the Hyphasis, or Beyah, and from the sands of Libya to the deserts of Toorkistan, and equaling, in territorial surface, that occupied by the modern empires of Turkey, Persia, and Mawar-ai-nahr united. Did the hand of man alone do these mighty things? No, truly not. A Power far superior to that which is centred in his hand controlled all the events according to his just will and pleasure. Not that we assert that God was the author of the dark deeds committed by the various chiefs during that period. God is not the author of evil, but man is sometimes permitted to work confusion in the earth, that He in the end might show himself the Supreme Ruler of all below: when that is done, his hand is laid upon their strife, rage, and power, and they can go no farther. If there were not a Ruler on high, what terrors would reign below! Man, left to himself, would long ago have madly exterminated his own species from the earth. The picture which the poet presents of the immediate descendants of Cain is not altogether ideal, it exhibits a clear view of human nature. He says

Now from the east, supreme in arts and arms,
The tribes of Cain, awakening, war alarms,
Full in the spirit of their father, came
To waste their brethren's land with sword and flame
In vain the younger race of Adam rose
With force unequal to repel their foes
Their fields in blood, their houses in ruin lay,
Their whole inheritance became a prey
The stars to whom as gods, they raised their cry,
Roll'd backless of their offsprings through the sky
Till urged on Eden's utmost bounds at length
In fierce despair they rallied all their strength
They fought, but they were vanquish'd in the fight,
Fear'd or slain or scatter'd in the flight
The mourning, bitter scene at eve was spread
With ghastly heaps the dying and the dead,
The dead unburied, unburied, left to lie
By friends and foes the dying left to die
The victim wail he heard of his soul away,
Heard the gentle voice hurrying to his prey,
Then straight he felt the ravening beak that tore
His widened wounds, and drank the living gore

MONTGOMERY

Mankind, possessing such evil passions as these, would have proceeded to greater extremities than the wide range of ancient history presents to our view, had not an overruling power checked those passions. Boundless as ambition is in its desires, it can proceed no further than He pleases whose voice has taught the deep to know its bounds. This truth is exemplified in almost every page of the ancient historian. With the voice of creation and the truth of Scripture they proclaim, **THE LORD GOD OMNIPOTENT REIGNETH.** Pagan darkness may have blotted out his name from these records, yet his hand is no less seen in the events than when he

on the chosen race
Showers miracles and ceased not to dispense
Judgments that filled the land from age to age
With hope, and love, and gratitude, and fear,
And with an awe that made them thereby to assert
His scorned, or unacknowledged sovereignty.

WORDSWORTH

The perversion of human intellect alone hides this truth from the view of mankind, so deeply has sin impaired the faculties with which they are richly endowed by the bounty of the Being they neglect or despise.

* An outline exhibiting the downfall of the Macedonian monarchy has thus been given in the last chapter. The details will be found in the history of Rome to which they more properly belong. Rome being, figuratively speaking, the eagle, and Macedonia, as well as Greece, its prey.

THE HISTORY OF THE SELEUCIDÆ IN SYRIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE SELEUCIDÆ TILL THE COMMENCEMENT OF THEIR UNION WITH THE ROMANS

SELEUCUS NICATOR.

It has been seen in the History of the Macedonians, page 96, that, on the partition of Alexander's mighty empire, B.C. 301, Seleucus was established in Syria, Babylonia, and the eastern provinces. The era of the Seleucidæ, which commences with Seleucus, and takes its name from him, is, however, dated from the capture of Babylon, in the 117th Olympiad, or B.C. 312. It was dated thus over all the east, by Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, in stating the numbers of the years. By the Jews, it was denominated, "The era of contracts," because they were compelled, when subjects of the Seleucidæ, to use it in all their contracts and civil matters. By the Arabians, it was called *Taarich-dhui-karmîn*, that is, "The epoch of the two-horned,"* and in the books of the Maccabæa, "The era of the kingdom of the Greeks."

Having recovered Babylon, Seleucus advanced into Media, and defeated and slew Nicanor, whom Antigonus had sent against him, and slew him with his own hand. After reducing that province, he marched through Persia, Hyrcania, Bactria, and other provinces west of the Indus, which he subjected to his sway. Meanwhile, B.C. 306, Antigonus and his son Demetrius, having assumed the regal title, Seleucus also styled himself king of Babylonia and Media. He then marched across the Indus to recover the Punjab, out of which Sandrocotta had driven the Macedonians. In this enterprise he failed. Sandrocotta marched with a powerful and well-dis-

ciplined army to meet him, and Seleucus deemed it prudent to abandon the attempt of re-subjugating India, and to make proposals of peace. Accordingly, a treaty was concluded between them, by which Seleucus renounced all claims to the provinces of the Punjab, conquered by Alexander, upon receiving 500 elephants from the Indian prince. See the History of the Macedonians.

But although Seleucus abandoned the conquest of the Punjab, he had the sagacity to perceive that great advantages would be derived from establishing a commercial intercourse between his subjects and those of Sandrocotta—advantages that would more than counterbalance his loss of empire. Accordingly, he deputed the celebrated Megasthenes to the court of his Indian rival, who restored that commercial intercourse between Persia and India which had been almost destroyed by the Macedonian conquest. This was a judicious measure.

—The hand of commerce was designed
To associate all the branches of mankind,
And if a thousand plants be the robe,
Trade is the golden girdle of the globe.
Wise to promote whatever and by means
God opens fruitful Nature's various stores.
Each climate needs what other climates produce,
And offers something to the general use,
No trade but leads to the common call,
And in return receives supplies from all.

COOPER

On the return of Seleucus from his Indian expedition, he fought, in conjunction with his allies, the decisive battle of Ipsus, which annihilated the power of Antigonus, and secured his own. See the History of the Macedonians.

After the battle of Ipsus, Seleucus marched into Upper Syria, and having made himself master of that rich country, he built the new capital of his recently acquired empire, on the river Orontes, and called it Antioch, after the name

* This appellation does not refer to Alexander the Great, also styled *Seleucus dhui Karmîn*, or, "The two-horned Alexander." The question therefore, has been asked, why Seleucus is designated *dhui Karmîn*, or, "The two-horned?" In the language and oriental sculpture, horns are used to denote kingly power, as in the books of Daniel and the Apocalypse they are emblematical of kings or potentates. Thus, therefore, would explain the reason why Seleucus was thus denominated; but Appian says, that he was so called from his great bodily strength, he being able to seize a bull, and stop him while in full career. Hence it is that the statues represent him with two bulls' horns on his head, which gave rise to the appellation.

† Antioch stood upon the left bank of the Orontes, about 300 miles to the north of Jerusalem, and twenty-three from the place where the Orontes discharges itself into the Mediterranean. It became one of the largest and most important cities in the world. It ranked third only after Rome and Alexandria, and from its magnificence it was denominated "The Queen of the East." In the time of Strabo, it consisted of four distinct quarters, each having a wall of its own, and the whole enclosed by a common wall. These quarters marked the successive additions which the city received from the time of Seleucus, the founder, to that of Antiochus Epiphanes. This may be

of his father Antiochus, one of the chief captains of Philip of Macedonia. He also built or embellished many other cities, the most important of which, next to the capital, were the two Seleucia, "one on the Tigris, and the other on the Orontes. Sixteen of the cities which he founded were denominated Antiochia, whereof one, situated in Pisidia, is mentioned Acts xiii. 14, and is called "Antioch of Pisidia," to distinguish it from the others of the same name, and particularly the Syrian capital. He built nine, also, which he called Seleucia, after his own name, six in honour of his mother Laodice;† and three in honour of his first wife Apamea;‡ Hence Seleucus is esteemed as one of the greatest builders of antiquity.

The eighteen years of tranquillity enjoyed by Asia, after the battle of Ipsus, says Heron, prove that Seleucus was one of the few followers of Alexander who had any genius for the arts of peace. It was during these years that Seleucus was employed in building these cities, and extending his commerce. He also organized the home department of his empire into seventy satrapies. This was a wise measure in itself, but Alexander's maxim, "to give the satrapies to natives," was wholly forgotten by his followers, and the Seleucidæ were not long before they experienced the evil consequences of swerving from

taken to represent Antioch as it appeared at the time when the believers in Christ received first the name of Christians within its walls, and when it received repeated visits from the apostle Paul, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles.

Antioch was a city of importance till Theodosius the Persian took it, and nearly levelled it with the ground. It was rebuilt by Justinian, and again became of importance, continuing so till the age of the crusades. After it was taken by the crusaders, a D. 1098, it became a Christian principality, under the European conquerors of Syria. The sultan Bebars took it from the Christians in 1269, and destroyed its churches. It afterwards passed under Turkish dominion, whose despotic sway has obscured its glory. At the present day, the Christians have not a single church in it; they assemble for prayer in a cavern dedicated to St. John. Antioch still, however, exists as a town of some importance, although grievously declined from its ancient importance.

* Seleucia on the Tigris became, soon after it was built, the metropolis of the East, whence Ptolemy and Strabo of Byzantium state, that it was called Babylon. Seleucia on the Orontes, denominated Seleucia Parva, to distinguish it from other cities of the same name, became also a great city. Strabo says that it was an impregnable city, and made free by Pompey, as appears from several medals by different emperors. Both these cities are now in ruins. Dust and rubbish are all that remain of this glory.

† These were all denominated Laodiceæ. The principal stood about five hours' sail of mount Casius. This city, under the name of Bamacha, was famous for a temple of Minerva. In the days of Christianity it became a bishop's see, and it was still possessed by Christians when the crusaders invaded Syria. It was afterwards included in the empire of the celebrated Saladin, and it was subsequently conquered by Selim, and finally destroyed by an earthquake. At the present time, it is a miserable town, containing about 4000 inhabitants only.

‡ The principal of these cities stood on the Orontes, and according to Strabo was a well-fortified city in a peninsula formed by the Orontes and a lake. At this place was a celebrated pagan temple, defended by its votaries against the Christians. It is now called Pamiha. The tract in which Antioch, Seleucia, Laodiceæ, and Apamea were found, was called Tetrapolis, or "The region of the four cities." The true name of the tract, however, was Seleucia, a name given it by Seleucus himself, in the spirit of the psalmist's declaration "They call their lands after their own names." See Ps. xlix. 11. All the cities which Seleucus built in honour of his first wife were called Apamea.

that practice. The empire was, indeed, preserved by Seleucus Nicator; but he paved the way for the dismemberment of his empire, by ceding Upper Asia, together with his consort Stratonice in incestuous union, to his son Antiochus.

Having spent all these years in tranquillity, Seleucus girded on his sword for war with Lysimachus of Thrace. This war was kindled by ancient jealousy, and fomented by family feuds. A battle took place at Europedion, which cost Lysimachus his throne and his life: Asia Minor was annexed to the Syrian realm. A.C. 322.

Flushed with victory, Seleucus caused himself to be proclaimed king of Macedonia; but as he was marching into Europe, he was murdered by Ptolemy Ceraunus, A.C. 281, and with him the splendour of his kingdom vanished. See the History of the Macedonians, page 97.

The character of Seleucus is one of the most exalted of this dark age. Without mentioning his military skill, he distinguished himself by a love of justice and kindness, which endeared him to his subjects. He had a taste for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleasure in the conversations of Cræstratus, and the celebrated Megasthenes. Having discovered the Athenian library which Xerxes had brought into Persia, he sent it back to Athens. By all ancient writers his name is mentioned with veneration. Plutarch tells us, that he used to say: "If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters," (which in those days was deemed the indispensable duty of a king,) "no one would accept of a crown, though east at his feet, or think it worth taking off the ground." The cares of royalty are, doubtless, more than a counterbalance for all the honours that wait upon its train.

ANTIOCHUS SOTER.

Seleucus was succeeded in his kingdom by Antiochus Soter, who had for some time governed the provinces in Upper Asia.

The first step which Antiochus took, was to secure the eastern provinces where he resided, which he accomplished. After this, he endeavoured to reduce the western provinces. He sent Patrocles, one of his generals, over against Taurus, at the head of a powerful army, to attack Parthia, and Asia Minor. On his arrival, Patrocles marched against Heraclea in Pontus, with the design to render himself master of its rich territory. The Heracleans had formerly entered into an alliance with Mithridates of Pontus, and the cities of Byzantium and Chalcedon, against Seleucus; but they averted the storm of war by entering into a treaty with the general of Antiochus. Patrocles now led his army into Bithynia, where he committed great devastations; but the Bithynians having drawn him into an ambush, slew him, and destroyed his army.

After the death of Patrocles, (who defeated the Gauls, and governed the Macedonians like a king, though he never assumed the crown,) Antiochus of Syria, and Antigonus Gonatus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, formed pretensions to the throne of Macedonia, which their fathers had obtained successively. Antigonus first ascended

he throne; but each of them raised armies and contracted alliances, the one to support himself in his new conquests, and the other to dispossess him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, having espoused the party of Antigonus, Antiochus was unwilling to leave so powerful an enemy in the rear. Instead, therefore, of crossing the Hellespont, he suddenly poured his troops into Bithynia, which then became the theatre of the war. The forces were so equal, that neither party would presume to attack the other and they continued for some time in a state of inaction. In the mean time, a treaty was concerted, in consequence of which Antigonus espoused Phila, the daughter of Stratonice and Seleucus, and Antiochus resigned to him his pretensions to the throne of Macedonia. *A.C. 375*

Having thus disengaged himself from this war, Antiochus marched against the Gauls, who, after settling in the land granted them by Nicomedes, were continually making incursions into the surrounding territories. Antiochus defeated these Gauls with great slaughter, and delivered the country from their oppression, which acquired him the title of Soter, signifying a saviour, or deliverer.

Soon after his conquest of the Gauls, hearing of the death of Phileterus, prince of Pergamus, Antiochus invaded his territories, with a view of annexing them to his own dominions. His design was defeated. Eumenes, nephew of the deceased monarch, raised a considerable army, encountered Antiochus near Sardis, and overthrew him, thereby securing himself in the possession of the throne of Pergamus, and enlarging his dominions with new acquisitions.

After this defeat, Antiochus returned to Antioch, where he put to death one of his sons, for raising disturbances in his absence, and at the same time proclaimed the other, also named Antiochus, king of Syria. Soon after this he died, leaving his surviving son in the possession of his dominions.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS.

The first act of this prince was to deliver the Milesians from the tyranny of Timarchus, governor of Caria under Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had revolted from his sovereign, and chosen Milesius for the seat of his residence. Antiochus defeated and slew Timarchus, in acknowledgment of which they rendered him divine honours, and immoderately conferred upon him the title of *Theos*, or God, by which he is distinguished from the other kings of Syria bearing the name of Antiochus.

In the beginning of the reign of Antiochus, the famous Chaldean historian Berosus flourished, who dedicated his history to him. Pliny says, that his history contained astronomical observations for 480 years; from the accession of Antiochus, *A.C. 361*, extending back to *A.C. 741*, shortly after the commencement of the Nabonassaræan era. Dr Hales thinks it probable that Ptolemy of Alexandria constructed his scientific Canon by the help of these observations.

In the third year of the reign of Antiochus, a long and fearful war commenced between him and Ptolemy Philadelphus, King of Egypt, and at the same time great commotions took place in

the eastern provinces of the empire, which he had no leisure to suppress. Armean revolted in Parthia, Theodotus in Bactria, and the northern provinces, Pontus, Bithynia, etc., following their example, expelled the Macedonians, and chose governors of their own. In order to quell these insurrections, Antiochus deemed it necessary to make peace with the King of Egypt. A treaty was concluded between them, whereby Antiochus married Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy, divorcing his former wife Laodice, and excluding her children from the succession. When Ptolemy died, Antiochus restored the divorced queen to her honours, but she could not forget her injuries, nor conquer her dread of being subject to the same ill treatment. Under these feelings, she poisoned her husband, and procured the murder of Berenice and her son. *A.C. 247*. See the History of the Egyptians.

SELEUCUS CALLINICUS.

The crime of Laodice, which raised this prince, her son, to the throne, involved him in a long and calamitous war with Ptolemy Evergetes, king of Egypt, by which he was stripped of all Syria and Cilicia, and the country as far as Babylon and the river Tigris. To add to the calamity, Eumenes of Pergamus took advantage of the Egyptian war to enlarge his dominions at the expense of Seleucus. His own brother Hierax, also, presuming upon his general unpopularity, and aided by a body of Gauls, attempted to usurp the throne. The rebellion was at first successful, but the ravages of the Gauls so incensed the subjects of Seleucus that they rose as one body to support him, and thus strengthened, he engaged the army of the rebels in Babylon. The battle was fierce and obstinate, but the Gauls were finally defeated, and almost annihilated. Hierax fled to Egypt, but Evergetes having recently made peace with Seleucus Callinicus, threw the fugitive into prison, where he languished thirteen years, escaping only to perish by the hands of robbers in the Syrian desert. See the History of the Egyptians.

On the defeat of his brother, Seleucus attempted to recover the eastern provinces that had revolted. He turned his arms against the Parthians, but he was defeated in a decisive battle by Arsaces, and taken prisoner, in the seventeenth year of his reign, *A.C. 233*, and died in captivity two years afterwards.

It is from the above epoch that the Parthians reckoned the recovery of their liberty, though some date the commencement of the Parthian empire from the year of their revolt, *A.C. 251*, in the reign of Antiochus Theos.

SELEUCUS CERANUS.

Seleucus, surnamed Ceranus, "the thunder-bolt," succeeded his father, but his reign was very brief. He was on the point of taking the field against Attalus, King of Pergamus, when he was removed by poison.

On the death of Seleucus Ceranus, the kingdom of the Seleucids would have been at an end, had not Achæus, son of Andromachus, his mother's brother, vigorously secured the inheritance for Antiochus, surnamed the Great, the

younger brother of the deceased monarch, who had been for some time satrap of Babylon.

ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT.

The long reign of Antiochus the Great is not only the most eventful in Syrian history, but it likewise marks an epoch by the relations commencing between Syria and Rome. *A.C.* 224.

In the early part of his reign, Antiochus was brought into great danger by the intrigues of his prime minister Hermias, a Carian. Deceived by his artifices, Antiochus quarrelled with his benefactor Achæus, and set Molon and Alexander, brothers of Hermias, over the important provinces of Media and Persia. These men were scarcely settled in their provinces, when they raised the standard of revolt. Antiochus sent his generals against them, but they were defeated, and the rebels made themselves masters of all Babylonia and Mesopotamia. Antiochus now took the field in person, contrary to the advice of his minister Hermias. When the armies were about to engage, however, the rebel forces threw down their arms simultaneously, and submitted themselves to their youthful sovereign. On this defection of their army, Molon and Alexander committed suicide, and Hermias soon after perished on the scaffold.

While Antiochus was thus engaged in the remote east, Achæus, whom he had forced into revolt, had strengthened himself in Asia Minor. At the same time, the Egyptian monarch, Ptolemy Philopater, was becoming formidable on the southern frontiers of Syria. Antiochus gained possession of Cælo-Syria by the treachery of Theodotus, its governor; but he was soon after defeated by Ptolemy at the battle of Raphia, near Gaza, and forced to purchase peace by the cession of the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, which was the subject of their contest. *A.C.* 217. See the History of the Egyptians.

Having thus concluded a peace with Ptolemy, Antiochus, in conjunction with Attalus, king of Pergama, made war in Asia Minor against Achæus. Their united forces were so powerful, that Achæus was compelled to shut himself up in the citadel of Sardis, where he was closely besieged by the confederate princes. Achæus held out for more than a year, during which time frequent battles were fought under the walls, with great loss of life on both sides. At length, however, the city was taken by a stratagem of Ligoras, one of the generals of Antiochus, and Achæus retired into the castle, where he defended himself with great bravery till he was delivered up to Antiochus by two crafty Cretans, who had been sent by Ptolemy Philopater to rescue him from peril. Achæus was ungratefully put to death by Antiochus, who thereby recovered his dominions in Asia Minor. *A.C.* 216.

Freed from the dangers of this war, Antiochus turned his thoughts to Upper Asia, where several provinces had shaken off the Syrian yoke.

As the Parthians under Arsaces II. had lately seized on Media, the first operations of Antiochus were upon that province. On the approach of the enemy, Arsaces commanded all the fountains and wells in the desert through which they were to pass to be stopped up; but Antiochus having sent several parties of horse to secure

them, marched onward unimpeded, and entering Media, drove Arsaces from thence, and spent the remainder of the year in settling the internal affairs of the province upon their ancient basis, and in providing for the farther operations of the war. *A.C.* 215.

Early next spring, Antiochus marched into Parthia, where success still attended his movements. Arsaces was forced to retire into Hyrcania, where he conceived he should be able to secure himself behind the mountains which parted that country from Parthia. Accordingly, Arsaces posted soldiers in all the passes through which the Syrian army was to march, in order to obstruct their progress. But Antiochus took the field as soon as the season would permit, advanced to the passes, and dividing his army into as many bodies as the manœuvre of Arsaces required, he soon forced them all. Antiochus then assembled his army again in the plains, and with all his forces invested Syringia, the capital of Hyrcania, which quickly surrendered at discretion.

In the mean time, Arsaces, having collected a large army, took the field. With this force he arrested the progress of Antiochus. After many conflicts, a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that Arsaces should hold the provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, on the condition of assisting Antiochus to recover the rest. *A.C.* 214.

Peace being concluded with Arsaces, the Syrian monarch turned his arms against Euthydemus, king of Bactria. This country had become a kingdom by revolt, about the same time as Parthia. Theodotus was its founder, and he had left it to a son of the same name; but this son had been vanquished and driven from his throne by Euthydemus, against whom Antiochus now made war. Euthydemus was a man of considerable courage and prudence, and he maintained a long war against Antiochus, who carried it on with great vigour and extraordinary courage. At length, however, finding that he wanted his army without gaining any decisive advantage by the struggle, Antiochus admitted ambassadors from Euthydemus to treat concerning peace. A treaty was concluded between the combatants, by which Euthydemus gave the Syrian monarch all his elephants, and Antiochus recognised the independence of the Bactrian monarch. These stipulations, with others, were confirmed by the usual oaths, and by the marriage of Demetrius, the son of the Bactrian monarch, with the daughter of Antiochus.

The Syrian and the Bactrian monarchs some time after joined their forces, and marched into Northern India, where Antiochus renewed his alliance, which was chiefly of a commercial nature, with Sophagasenus, king of that country. This expedition probably extended far up the country, and was attended with important consequences to Bactriana. *A.C.* 206.

On his return from India, Antiochus marched into Arachosia, Drangiana, and Carmania, settling in all these countries due order and discipline. He passed the winter in Carmania, and thence returned by Persia, Babylonia, and Mesopotamia, to Antioch, after having spent about seven years in this expedition. *A.C.* 205.

The boldness of the movements of Antiochus, and the wisdom of his conduct during this long war, gained for him the reputation of a wise and valiant prince, so that his name was celebrated in Europe and Asia.

Soon after the return of Antiochus, the king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philopater, died, and left his throne to Ptolemy Epphanes, his son, who was only five years of age. The cupidity and ambition of Antiochus led him to form an alliance with Philip of Macedonia, in order to take possession of the throne of Egypt, contrary to the dictates of humanity and justice. Their unhallowed design was frustrated by the Egyptians calling in the aid of the Romans, and by the interference of Attalus, king of Pergamus, with that of the Rhodians. With the conquest of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, the successes of Antiochus, therefore, ceased in this quarter. See the History of the Egyptians.

Thus checked, Antiochus revived the claims of his family on the northern states of Europe and Asia. As he could not succeed in this design unless he could prevent the Egyptians from molesting him in his new conquests while he was at a distance from them, he sent Eucles, the Rhodian, to Alexandria, with proposals of marriage for his daughter Cleopatra and Ptolemy, which was to be consummated as soon as they were of age, promising to give up the conquered provinces as a dowry on the day of the nuptials. This proposal was accepted, and the treaty concluded and ratified, upon which the Egyptians, relying on his promise, suffered him to war unmolested.

Having thus secured peace in his rear, early in the spring of B. C. 198, Antiochus sent his two sons, Aridus and Mithridates, before him, with his land forces, to Sardis, while he himself set sail with a fleet, consisting of 100 large ships of war, and 200 smaller vessels of different descriptions. He intended first to reduce the cities of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, and Caria, and then advance to the aid of his old friend, Philip of Macedonia, then engaged in his unsuccessful war with the Romans.

As Antiochus sailed along the coasts of these rugged countries, many of their maritime cities voluntarily submitted to his sway. Among these may be enumerated Soli, the modern Mezitli, Zephyrium, which lay in Cilicia Issensis, at the small projection of the coast which exists at the mouth of the river of Mersin, Aphrodisias the promontory and the city Veneria of Phrygia, which appears to have stood on the coast between Celenderis and Cape Sarpedon, on that part of it which lay nearest to Cyprus, and nearly north of Cape Aulon in that island, and Corica, probably the same as Corycus, now called Korghos, which lay between the rivers Calycadnus and Lamos, to the east of the former and west of the latter. From this latter city, Antiochus doubled the promontory Anemurium, which is the most southern projection of the Asiatic Peninsula, and made himself master of the city of Selinus. Upon the news of his approach, all the cities in the vicinity sent deputies to him, owning his authority, and declaring their readiness to receive his troops within their walls. Coracesium, the modern Alai, was the only city on that coast

which dared to sustain a siege. While Antiochus was employed before this place, the Rhodians, antedified by his formidable power, sent an embassy to him, requiring him not to extend his conquests farther, and to withdraw his troops out of Cilicia, else they should be compelled to arrest his progress by force of arms. Antiochus, accustomed to command others, was highly incensed at this bold message from a minor insular state. He, however, so commanded his temper as not to express any great resentment, and only answered, that he desired not to quarrel with the Rhodians, but to keep up a good understanding with them, and would take care to renew the ancient treaties his ancestors had made with Rhodes. He then sent ambassadors to Rhodes, but in the mean time continued the siege of Coracesium, which was finally taken by storm.

Having taken Coracesium, the sea coast of Pamphylia and Lycia underwent the same vicissitude, both submitting to Antiochus. His fleet next reduced Eolis and Ionia, but Canus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and the island of Samos, were preserved by the power of the Rhodians, who supplied them with men and provisions. Having thus reduced most of the maritime cities of Asia Minor, he came to Ephesus, where he wintered, after previously reducing it, and where he concerted such schemes with his officers as seemed best adapted for the entire conquest of those provinces which had formerly been annexed to the Syrian empire.

Smyrna, Lampascus, and other Greek cities of Asia, which at that time enjoyed their liberty, finding that Antiochus designed to reduce them all to their ancient condition under the sway of the Seleucids, confederated together to oppose him. Not being able, however, to resist so powerful an enemy by their own strength, they implored the protection of the Romans, which was readily granted. The Romans saw that it was their interest to check the progress of Antiochus towards the west, and they saw, also, how fatal the consequences would be, should they suffer him to extend his power by settling on the coast of Asia, according to the plan he had laid down. They, therefore, gladly embraced the opportunity thus afforded them of opposing Antiochus, and they immediately sent an embassy to him.

Before the Roman ambassadors arrived, Antiochus had sent two detachments from his army to besiege Smyrna and Lampascus, and had crossed the Hellespont with the rest, and seized all the Thracian Chersonesus. The ambassadors followed him, and found him busied in restoring Lysimachia, which he designed to make the capital of a great kingdom under his second son, Seleucus. They came up with him at Selymbria, a city of Thrace, and they were attended by some deputies from the Greek cities. Antiochus received them graciously, and gave them a hospitable entertainment, but when they proceeded to business, the aspect of affairs was changed. L. Cornelius who spoke on this occasion, required Antiochus to restore Ptolemy the several cities in Asia, which he had taken from him during his minority, to evacuate all those which had been possessed by Philip, and not to molest such of the Grecian cities of Asia as enjoyed their

liberty. He added, that the Romans were surprised at Antiochus, for crossing into Europe with such numerous armies, and so powerful a fleet; and for rebuilding Iysmachia, an undertaking in which he could have no other view but to invade them.

In reply to all this, Antiochus said that Ptolemy should have full satisfaction, when his marriage should be solemnised; and that with regard to such Grecian cities as desired to retain their liberties, it was from him, and not from the Romans, they were to receive it. With respect to Iysmachia, he declared that he rebuilt it with a design of making it the residence of Seleucus, his son, that Thrace and the Chersonesus, which was part of it, belonged to him that they had been conquered by Seleucus Nicator one of his ancestors, and that he came thither as into his own possessions. As to Asia, and the cities he had taken there from Philip, he added that he knew not what right the Romans could have to them, and therefore he desired them to interfere no further in the affairs of Asia, than he did with those of Italy.

After this, the Romans desired that the ambassadors of Smyrna and Iumpeus might be called in, which desire was granted. But it had no good effect. These ambassadors indeed spoke with so much freedom that Antiochus, enraged thereat exclaimed that the Romans had no business to judge of his affairs, upon which the assembly broke up, every thing portending a rupture.

During these negotiations a report was promulgated that Ptolemy Epiphanes was dead. Antiochus, on hearing this report, conceived himself already master of Egypt and he accordingly went on board his fleet to take possession of the presumed vacant throne, leaving his son Seleucus at Iysmachia, with the army to complete the projects he had formed in Europe. He first landed at Ephesus, where he caused all his ships in that port to join his fleet in order to sail with him for Egypt. On his arrival at Patara in Lycia, however, advice was brought that the report which was spread concerning the death of Ptolemy was untrue. Thus disappointed in his views on Egypt, Antiochus changed his course, and sailed for the island of Cyprus intending to conquer it, but when he came near the mouth of the Sarus, a storm arose which sunk many of his ships, destroyed a great number of his men, and frustrated all his measures. Antiochus escaped with the remnant of his fleet into the harbour of Seleucia Tracheotis, about twelve miles from the sea, on the river Calycadnus. Antiochus refitted his ships in this harbour, and passed the winter at Antioch, while this work was being carried forward.

The circumstance which occasioned the report of the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes was the conspiracy formed against the life of that prince by Scopas the Etolian. See the History of the Egyptians.

Early the next spring, A. C. 195, Antiochus departed from Antioch on his return to Ephesus. He had scarcely proceeded on his journey, when Hannibal arrived there in order to claim his protection. After staying a few days at Antioch, that he might be present at the festival celebrated near Daphne, in honour of Apollo and Diana,

Hannibal set sail for Ephesus, where he found Antiochus yet wavering between peace and war with Rome. The presence of Hannibal, that firebrand of Carthage, who had sworn on the altar eternal enmity to Rome, soon determined the matter. Antiochus did not doubt but that he should, with the counsel and assistance of one who had made Rome tremble, be able to accomplish all his designs. Accordingly, dreaming of conquests and victories, war was secretly resolved upon and two years were employed in making preparations for the struggle.

In the mean time, Antiochus, having received intelligence that Flaminius, who was at the head of the Roman troops in Greece, was making preparations for a new war, and apprehending that he might fall upon his son Seleucus, who was still engaged in rebuilding Iysmachia, deemed it expedient to send deputies to Flaminius to propose an alliance with Rome. By this embassy Antiochus designed only to gain time and discover the movements of the Romans. Flaminius answered the envoys that his power was expired since the departure of the ten commissioners, who had been sent to settle the affairs of Greece and Macedonia, and that therefore, if Antiochus desired to treat with the republic, he must send to Rome. Not having yet made the necessary preparations for war, Antiochus accordingly directed Menippus Hegesinx and Iysias, to depart immediately, and desire of the Roman senate in his name the friendship and alliance of the republic. On their arrival they were received uncourteously, the proposals they made were negatived by the major part of the senators, and they were finally insulted by the senate's referring them to the ten commissioners who had been formerly sent into Macedonia to conclude a pact with Philip, and settle the affairs of Greece. Flaminius, who was then at Rome, was at the head of this commission, which circumstance, the ambassadors saw plainly, was adverse to their cause.

Having appeared before this new court, Menippus expressed himself thus: "Why are delays made, and indirect methods taken to give a plain answer? Our proposal contains no difficulty, we desire the friendship and alliance of the Roman republic. We do not come to treat with you as a conquered people with their conqueror or as nations at war, to make peace. Antiochus and the Romans are neither upon the footing of enemies, nor of conquerors. Why then do you pretend to dictate law to us? What right have you to dispose of the cities of Asia and Europe? What authority to direct us to withdraw our garrisons from some places, and not to seize others? You may indeed, treat Philip in this manner, but the law of nations gives you no right to assume such an authority over Antiochus."

Flaminius answered Menippus in the following imperious terms: "Since you insist upon a direct answer, I will give it. Antiochus shall not be our friend and ally, but upon two conditions. The first is, that he keep within the bounds of Asia, the second, that if he comes into Europe, he shall not take it upon him that the Romans protect the Greek cities in Asia, and enter into an alliance with them."

On hearing these words, Hegesias exclaimed: "What injustice! Your design is plainly to dispossess Antiochus of the dominions of his ancestors. The Chersonesus and Thrace belonged to his great-grandfather, whose right has descended to him. The possession which he has recently taken of his inheritance, was no more than rescuing it out of the hands of usurpers. Has Rome so good a title to the Greek cities in Europe and Asia? By what title do you pretend to justify your conquest of them? Antiochus desires, indeed, your friendship, but in an honourable way; he is not fond of purchasing it thus dearly."

To this solid reasoning Flaminius could give no other answer, than, that Rome was determined to pursue the resolution she had taken of procuring the liberty of Greece. "Æolis and Ionia," said he, "are inhabited by colonies from Greece, and we have formed a design of setting all the Greeks at liberty. Those of Europe are already freed from the tyranny of Philip, and it now remains for us to protect those of Asia against the power of Antiochus: what can be more humane or commendable?"

The final answer of the ten commissioners was this: "Take your choice; either let Antiochus forbear setting a foot in Europe, or prepare to meet our troops in Asia." The ambassadors declared, that Antiochus would not enter into an alliance with Rome upon such terms, and that he would prefer a war to the loss of his rights in Europe and Asia.

War, therefore, was inevitable, though not yet proclaimed, between the Syrian monarch and Rome. As might be expected, this feeling of hostility was fomented by Hannibal. He inspired Antiochus with the hatred he himself bore to that imperious republic, and made an attempt to engage his own nation in his cause. See the History of the Carthaginians.

In the mean time, Antiochus continued his preparations for the event. In order to strengthen himself by new alliances, he went to Rhabia, and there married his daughter to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, according to previous contract. On his return to Antioch, he married Antiochia, his second daughter, to Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia. He designed the third for Eumenes, king of Pergamum, with the view of breaking off his alliance with Rome; but Eumenes declined the proffered honour, conceiving it safer to prefer the alliance of the Romans to that of Antiochus, in which he was justified by the event.

Having solemnized these marriages, Antiochus returned into Asia, and wintered at Ephesus. From thence, early in the spring, a.c. 192, he marched against the Pisidians, and conquered all the country round Neige, a city on the banks of the river Cestrus, at the foot of the range dividing Pamphylia from Pisidia. He also took Side, the ruins of which are now to be seen on the south-east of Aspendus, on the Eucymedon, between a small nameless river and the Melas, which lies to the east of Side.

The conquests of Antiochus in Pisidia* drew upon him the eyes of the Romans. Hearing of

* Pisidia was a large province of Asia Minor, north of

his progress, and being informed by their friends in Asia, that most of the eastern princes were ready to declare for Antiochus, in order to avert the consequences, they sent three ambassadors to him, to make further proposals. These ambassadors, P. Sulpicius, P. Villius, and P. Ælius, advanced to Apamea, in Phrygia, with a design to wait there for Antiochus, who, being informed of their arrival, went thither to hold conference with them. The Romans still required Antiochus to confine himself to Asia, and to renounce all his rights in Europe, especially to Thrace and the Chersonesus. This was the subject of a debate; but it was broken off by the news of the death of Antiochus, son of the monarch of Myria, a young prince of great merit. Antiochus returned to Ephesus to lament his loss, leaving the proposals of the Roman ambassadors unanswered.

It was on his return to Ephesus, that Antiochus first exhibited signs of coldness towards Hannibal, which finally led to his destruction. See the History of the Carthaginians.

On his return to Ephesus, Antiochus spent his whole time in private conferences with Minio, his confidant. This Minio was a courtier, who sought only to please the monarch, and finding that his wish was to humble Rome, he persuaded him into the belief that it would be easily accomplished. Big with this expectation, Minio advised the king to send for the Roman ambassadors, who were then at Pergamum, and offered to answer them in his name. Antiochus consented to this ill-judged policy. The ambassadors were sent for, and when they arrived, Minio, puffed up with his own importance, received them haughtily. What he chiefly urged in behalf of his master was, that he had as sound a right to the countries possessed by the Eastern Greeks, whom he or his ancestors had conquered, as the Romans had to those of the Western Greeks in Italy and Sicily.

Sulpicius answered Minio, by asserting, that Rome, ever since she conquered those cities had held them without interruption from the time of their subjugation; whereas the Greek countries claimed by Antiochus, though formerly conquered by his ancestors, had undergone, since that time, many vicissitudes.

To this specious reasoning, Minio replied, by offering to give up some Greek cities in Asia; to maintain the liberty of Rhodes, Byzantium, and Cyzicus; and to permit these free states to enter into an alliance with Rome. The ambassadors, however, still insisted that Ionia and Æolis should partake of the common liberty of Greece, which Antiochus opposed, and they returned to Italy, leaving matters in the same situation they had found them.

On the departure of the Roman ambassadors, Antiochus called a council of war, from which Hannibal was excluded, to consider the propriety of war with Rome. The council knew the monarch's inclination, and therefore declared for war, that being the surest way of obtaining his

Mount Taurus, by which it was separated from the maritime province of Pamphylia, on the south, and by the same ridge from Phrygia on the west and north-west, and by a parallel range of Taurus on the north and north-east, which separated it from Isauria.

From Alexander of Acarnania, who had formerly served Philip, secured Antiochus that the Macedonians would join him as soon as he landed in Greece; and that as the Ætolians, and Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, had taken up arms, and were ready to declare for him, success was certain. From that moment, therefore, Antiochus resolved to declare war with the Romans. (On the other hand, when the ambassadors returned home, Rome declared war against Antiochus.

Nothing now retained Antiochus in Asia but an expedition which he had undertaken against the cities of Smyrna, Lampascus, and Alexandria in Trossa, which he thought dangerous to leave behind him unreduced. While he was thus employed, however, the Ætolians sent ambassadors to him, inviting him over into Greece. This was sufficient. Antiochus relinquished his designs upon these cities, and hastened into Europe, B.C. 192.

Antiochus landed at Pteleum in Phthiotis, and he marched from thence to Demetrius. Here the principal Ætolians waited upon him, and invited him to Lania, where a general assembly was convened to receive him. Being introduced to the diet, Antiochus made an harangue, wherein he told them, that his eagerness to comply with their request had induced him to leave Asia before he had made the necessary preparations for war; that his zeal for their welfare had made him un mindful of his own dignity; that their expectations should be realized next spring; and that as soon as the seas were passable, they should see Greece covered with armies, and their harbours filled with fleets. He concluded his harangue with these words: "I will spare neither fatigue nor expense: I will expose my person to the greatest dangers, to re-establish you in the enjoyment of your liberties. Rome has enslaved you; but Syria offers you a deliverer: let us, then, share the troubles between us, do you furnish provisions, and I will supply men and arms."

The effect which this speech had upon the restless and turbulent Ætolians was what he wished. Antiochus was honoured with the title of generalissimo, or commander-in-chief of all the Greek armies against Rome. At the same time, a council of thirty persons was appointed, to whom he might have recourse on all affairs of moment.

The first measures of Antiochus and this council were, to endeavour to persuade the rest of the Greeks to make common cause with them and Antiochus, against the Romans. They strained every nerve to accomplish this; but their efforts were fruitless. A great many resolved to stand neutral, and wait the issue of the contest, whilst the Achæans and others declared for the Romans. The Eleans, Epirots, Ætolians, and Athamanians, declared for Antiochus; but the Epirots were at a distance, and the Athamanians and Eleans were mere petty cantons, and therefore could render him but little service. All the men the Ætolians could raise to aid Antiochus amounted only to 4000, most of whom were their own friends and vassals. These, with the Syrian troops, finally amounted to 14,500 men; an inadequate force to struggle with the legions of Rome when they poured them into Greece.

The first measure of Antiochus, after receiving this reinforcement, was to lay siege to Phœna, which, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered. From Phœna, he advanced to Larissa; and while he was deliberating whether he should besiege this city, news was brought him that a body of Romans, under Claudius, had arrived at Goni, a city about twenty miles from Larissa. Antiochus believing, from the camp fires, that the Romans were more numerous than they really were, hastily returned to Chalcis.

As Capua had been fatal to Hannibal by its seductive pleasures, so Chalcis was fatal to Antiochus. Though he was advanced in years, he suffered himself to be shamefully captivated by the charms of a fair Chalcidian, whom he married. Rome, Greece, and Syria, were all forgotten, and neither the defence of his allies, nor the preservation of the glory he had acquired, were regarded. His conduct became a standing topic of merriment in all conversations; his allies complained; the soldiers mutinied; and the Ætolians expressed great uneasiness. Antiochus, however, insensible to every thing but pleasure, spent the winter in feasting and rejoicings, and his evil example infected the officers, and even the common soldiers of the Syrian army, all were enervated by luxury and lasciviousness.

The poet's apostrophe to pleasure forms a powerful comment upon this incident in ancient history. —

Howitching syren's golden sottiness!
Thou hast with cunning artifice displayed
Thy enamelled outside, and the banied verge
Of the fair cup, where deadly poison lurks
Within, a thousand sottos dance thee round,
And, like a shell, pain circles thee without.
Grief is the shadow waiting on thy steps,
Which, as thy joys 'gain towards their west decline,
Doth to a giant's spreading form extend
Thy dwarfish stature. Thou thyself art pain,
Giddy, intense desire, and the keen edge
Of the fierce appetite oft strangles thee,
And treads thy slender thread, but still the terror
And apprehension of thy hasty end
Mixes with all thy most refined sweets.
Yet thy Circean charms transform the world,
Captives that have resisted war and death,
Nations that over fortune have triumphed,
Are by thy magic made effeminate.
Emperors, that know no limit but the poles,
Have in thy wanton lap melted away.

CARR.

While Antiochus was thus lost in pleasures, the Romans kept an eagle eye over him. They sent an army of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse, with fifteen elephants, under the command of A. Acilius Glabrio, to oppose his progress. In conjunction with the Macedonian monarch, the Roman consul soon captured Pellusæ and Limna, cities of Thessaly. The Romans and Macedonians then parted, to spread the terror of their arms in different quarters. The king made himself master of Athamania, while the consul reduced Thessaly.

Alarmed at the progress of the Romans, Antiochus at length aroused from his lethargy. He hastily collected his forces, and seized the pass of Thermopylæ, the natural fortifications of which place he strengthened with trenches and ramparts. He also detached 2000 Ætolians to seize the summits of mount Cila, which were

nearest his camp, lest the enemy should pass over them into Achaia. But all his efforts were unavailing. While the consul engaged Antiochus in his entrenchments, Cato obliged the Æolians to abandon their post on the mountains, and the pass was taken.

On being thus defeated at the pass of Thermopylae, the Syrian monarch first fled to Elatia, and then to Chalcia, whence he embarked with his new queen for Asia, and retired to Ephesus. *b.c.* 191.

Soon after his return, Antiochus caused a fleet to be equipped, in which he set sail for the Thracian Chersonesus, where he fortified Lysimachia, Sebas, and Abydos, and the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the Romans from crossing the Hellespont into Asia.

While these precautionary measures were advancing, Polyxenidas, who was then at Ephesus, having received advice that the Roman fleet had appeared off Delos, despatched a letter to acquaint Antiochus therewith. Upon receiving this letter, Antiochus returned to Ephesus, and, in a council of war which he summoned, it was resolved that Polyxenidas, the Syrian admiral, should sail out in search of the Roman fleet, and venture an engagement. This expedition proved unfortunate. Meeting the Roman fleet near Cyzicus,* the modern Chisme, a battle was fought, which resulted in the ruin of the fleet of Antiochus. Livius, the Roman admiral, took thirty of his ships, after having sunk ten in the engagement, while the Romans lost but one ship, which was taken at the commencement of the battle. Polyxenidas fled to Ephesus, whither Livius pursued him; but finding that he would not venture another engagement, he sent his coadjutor, Eumenes, and the Rhodians home, and retired himself to Canus,† a seaport in Æolia.

In the mean time, Antiochus was at Magnesia, assembling his land forces. When news was brought that his fleet had been defeated, he hastened to the sea-coast, and applied himself to the fitting out of a new fleet, to dispute the empire of those seas. He refitted those which had escaped, built others, and sent Hannibal into Syria to bring the Syrian and Phenician fleets for their reinforcement. He also ordered his son Seleucus to watch the Roman fleet in Æolia, and keep that country in awe with one part of his army; while he put the rest into winter quarters, in the neighbouring towns of Phrygia.

In the ensuing spring, *a.c.* 190, the Rhodian fleet, being rejoined by the Rhodians under Eumenes, sailed from Canus, to secure the straits of the Hellespont, and a safe passage for the Roman army. With this view, he made himself

master of Sebas on the European side, and invested Abydos on the Asiatic side of the strait.

While thus employed, the Rhodian fleet in the harbour of Samos was attacked unexpectedly and destroyed, by the Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas. The stratagem by which this was effected was the following:—The Rhodians were the most zealous adherents of the Romans, being indebted to them for the possession of Stratonice, and the best port of Caria. They therefore sent Pausistratus, their admiral, with thirty ships, to join Livius and Eumenes against Antiochus. Polyxenidas was himself a Rhodian; but having been banished Rhodes, had entered into the Syrian service. Pausistratus had advanced with the Rhodian fleet as far as the Isle of Samos, when he received an express from Polyxenidas, telling him, that as he was now master of the Syrian fleet, it was in his power to do Pausistratus and his country signal service, provided Pausistratus would engage, in the name of his republic, to restore him to his native country and his forfeited honours. Pausistratus desired Polyxenidas to explain himself more fully, and promised secrecy. Polyxenidas upon this sent a second express, informing Pausistratus that he would deliver up the fleet of Antiochus, if he would comply with his proposition. This proposal appeared of too much importance to be rejected, and in order to give Polyxenidas time to follow him, Pausistratus retired with his squadron to Panormus, a Samian port, and waited there to see the issue of the affair. From thence he sent an express to Polyxenidas, promising compliance with his demands; and Polyxenidas, in reply, sent him a letter in his own handwriting, engaging to deliver up the Syrian fleet upon this open declaration.

All the misgivings of Pausistratus now vanished. He conceived that he had it in his power to ruin Polyxenidas, and he could not believe that a wise man would make such an engagement without designing to fulfil it. Nothing, therefore, now remained, but to take the proper means to accomplish what was intended. For this purpose, Polyxenidas engaged to cause all duty to be neglected on board the Syrian fleet; to separate the officers and men under several pretences; and thus expose them to be captured without any difficulty. This method pleased Pausistratus, who affected the same negligence which he was assured he would find in the Syrian fleet, and quietly waited for notice when he should attack them in the port of Ephesus. In the mean time, Polyxenidas, in order to conceal his designs, sent away some of his galleys, ordered the harbour to be cleansed, and seemed in no haste to put to sea.

Pausistratus now waited for the signal for his advance to Ephesus. He waited in vain. Having succeeded in lulling the suspicions of his adversary, Polyxenidas sailed from Ephesus with seventy ships of war, steering his coast to Pygela, a city on the coast of Ionia. Before he weighed anchor, he ordered Nicander to make a descent on the Isle of Samos, with a squadron of privateers, and to conceal his men there till the rest of the fleet arrived. From Pygela, Polyxenidas set sail for Panormus, where arriving in the night, he found the Rhodians lying on the shore without the smallest apprehension of a foe. The noise of

* This city was about ten miles north-west of the Cereyian promontory, and was the sea port of Erythrae, one of the twelve Ionian cities, in the peninsula of the Clazomenae, at the foot of Mount Mimas, over against the island of Chios, the modern Scio. Its representative, Chisme, is rendered famous in modern times for the destruction of the Turkish fleet by five ships sent into the harbour under Elphinstone, the Russian naval commander, in 1770.

† Canus, now Colon, was a city at the promontory of the same name, at the south entrance of the gulf of Pergamus and Adramyttium, in 39° north latitude: ten geographical miles south-west of Elos, the port of Pergamus, and twenty-five south-west of the latter, near the mouth of the Canus, or the Mytilus river.

a fleet entering the harbour soon aroused them from their lethargy. Pausistratus, convinced of the treachery, thought it more advantageous to offer battle by land than at sea, and accordingly he drew up his forces upon two promontories, which formed the mouth of the harbour. They were scarcely drawn up, when they were unexpectedly attacked in the rear by Nicander, and the Rhodians, fearing they should be surrounded, retired precipitately to their vessels. The mouth of the harbour was by this time enclosed by the Syrian ships, and they were compelled to force their way through them in order to gain the open sea. The galley in which Pausistratus was, first faced the enemy, and it broke through the fleet; but being immediately surrounded by five quinqueremes, commanded by Polyxenidas in person, it was overpowered and sunk: the Rhodian commander and all on board perished. The death of Pausistratus was succeeded by the destruction of the Rhodian fleet; seven ships only excepted, which broke through the Syrian fleet. In their flight, these ships fell in with some Erythrean galleys, that were coming to their assistance, and, with them, they turned towards the Hellespont, where they joined the Roman fleet under Livius, who was carrying on a siege against Abydos.

Hearing of this disaster, Livius deemed it advisable to abandon the siege of Abydos; to hasten to the defence of such ships as he had left at Canus, in Mysia, and to put a stop to the military progress of Seleucus, who, in pursuance of his father's directions, had captured Phocæ, Cyme, and other maritime cities along the coast.

Livius first attempted the reduction of Phocæ, in which he was baffled. From thence, accompanied by Eumenes, he sailed to Samos, where he was joined by another Rhodian fleet, hastily equipped, under the command of Eudamus. Thus reinforced, Livius left Samos, and sailing for Ephesus, insulted the Syrian fleet in that port. Some of the Romans landed, and laid waste the vicinity of Ephesus; but the garrison marched out against them, and compelled them to retreat to their ships. The next day, Livius challenged the Syrians to an engagement, which they declined, upon which he returned to Samos, and there resigned the command to his appointed successor, Æmilius.

The first act of Æmilius was to summon a council of war, to advise with the chief officers what course he should pursue in his naval operations. Livius advised him to shut up the port of Ephesus, and there keep the Syrian fleet confined; but Epicrates, an inferior officer in the Rhodian fleet, counselled the sending part of the fleet against Patara, in Lycia, and reducing that place. This last scheme was approved of, and Livius despatched thither for that purpose. But Livius failed in the attempt to capture Patara; and Æmilius was compelled, through a storm, to leave the port of Ephesus. Æmilius next hastened to Patara himself, designing to besiege it; but his officers remonstrated with him on the impropriety of spending his time before that place, when the allies would be left to the mercy of the enemy, and he therefore returned to Samos.

During the siege of Patara, Antiochus on the

one side, and Seleucus on the other, invaded the kingdom of Pergamus. Seleucus, passing the Caicus from Æolis, where he had wintered, entered the dominions of Eumenes, by the way of Elæa, the port of Pergamus; whilst Antiochus, advancing to Sardis, and from thence to the Caicus, encamped near the army of Seleucus. Antiochus had a body of 4000 Gauls in his army, whom he employed in plundering and ravaging the country; whilst Seleucus, at the head of his army, appeared before Pergamus, and besieged it in form. As soon as Eumenes was apprized of this movement by Attalus, whom he had left in his capital to defend his dominions, he sailed back from Samos to the port of Elæa, and reached Pergamus before the enemy was aware of his approach. The Roman and Rhodian fleet also set sail for Pergamus without delay.

Alarmed in his turn, Antiochus, leaving his son to ravage the country of Pergamus, marched into the Troad, which adhered to the Romans, and encamped near Adramyttium, at the foot of mount Ida, which in this part joins with mount Tennes. This city stands at the head of the gulf of the same name, twenty-five geographical miles north of Pergamus. Æmilius, therefore, accompanied by Eumenes, hastened to the assistance of those faithful allies. * Attalus still continued at Pergamus to oppose Seleucus, and was there reinforced by 1000 foot and 100 cavalry, sent him by the Achæans, headed by Diophanes, an officer of great courage and skill in military affairs. With this small body, Diophanes sallied out of the city, gained a considerable advantage over Seleucus, and obliged him to raise the siege of Pergamus, and quit the dominions of Eumenes. Had this bold action been seconded by Attalus and the Pergamenians, the whole army of Seleucus might have been destroyed.

Antiochus had no better success in the Troad, Æmilius, with the three confederate fleets, sailed to Adramyttium, and forced him to abandon it, after he had taken several defenceless cities on his way thither, and make his retreat to Sardis. The combined fleets then returned to Samos, where they separated. Æmilius continued there to watch the motions of the Syrian fleet. Eumenes sailed to the Hellespont, to facilitate the passage of the Roman army over that strait; and Eudamus returned to Rhodes, to obtain reinforcements.

Having received seventeen additional galleys, Eudamus set sail to intercept Hannibal, and prevent his junction with Polyxenidas, in the port of Ephesus. He first advanced to Megiste, the modern Casteloryzo, an island with a port off the southern coast of the Lycian peninsula. The heat being excessive, and the air very injurious to health at Megiste, Eudamus sailed thence to the mouth of the Eurymedon in Pamphylia, where he was informed by the inhabitants of Aspendus, that Hannibal's fleet appeared off Sida. This fleet consisted of thirty-seven large ships, three of which were septiremes, four hexaremes, and ten triremes. The Rhodian fleet consisted of thirty-two quadriremes, and four triremes.* A

* The septiremes were ships with seven banks or ranges of oars; the hexaremes with six banks of oars; the quadriremes with four banks of oars, and the triremes with three banks of oars.

sea fight ensued, which resulted in the defeat of Hannibal, who, after a severe struggle, was compelled to take refuge in flight. The Rhodians, after having pursued him for some time, and taken one of his barges, returned to Rhodes, with the glory of having conquered, but not destroyed, the Syrian fleet.

The loss of this battle is ascribed to Apollonius, a royal favourite, who commanded the left wing. This wing being broken, it enabled the whole Rhodian fleet to surround Hannibal's right wing, and thereby secure the victory. It must be recollected, also, that Hannibal was as unskilful in naval, as he was skilful in military affairs; like Philipæmon, his celebrated contemporary, who had been not long before utterly defeated in a naval engagement by Nabis, the Spartan tyrant.

On the defeat of Hannibal, the Rhodian fleet blocked him up in the ports of Pamphylia so closely, that it rendered it impossible for him to do his master the least service. This was a serious loss to Antiochus; for, had Hannibal effected a junction with Polyxenidas, he would, in all probability, have been superior to the combined fleets of Livius, Eumenes, and Eadarnus, and thus have recovered for him the empire of the sea. In this case, the passage of the Roman army across the Hellespont might have been prevented, and the ruin of the Syrian power delayed, if not averted.

Thus thwarted in his movements, Antiochus saw the necessity of preventing the arrival of his most formidable enemy. He sought to draw over the Bithynian monarch to his side; but he failed in this object. The only resource now left, therefore, was in his fleet; which, though deprived of the expected reinforcement from the Cilician coast, by the blockade of Hannibal, he still thought might be a match for the Roman, deprived of the Rhodian fleet, which he imagined wholly occupied off Patara, and of that of Eumenes, which had sailed to the Hellespont, to wait over the Roman legions. Polyxenidas was consequently ordered to go and engage with Æmilius, at all hazards, whilst he himself marched with his land forces to Notium, a small town on the coast, five miles from Ephesus, and two from Colophon, to which it belonged.

Having arrived at Notium, Antiochus went and invested Colophon, which was one of the most considerable cities of Ionia, situated on the coast, at the foot, and on the slope of Mount Gallestus, and which had long been troublesome to his fleet, in giving notice to the Romans of its movements. As he expected, the Colophians sent immediate advice of their danger to Æmilius, desiring his aid against an enemy they had drawn upon themselves by their fidelity to Rome. The measures of the Roman admiral were broken by this message, as he had previously determined to sail to the Hellespont with the first fair wind, and assist the disembarkation of the Scipios, who were at the head of the legions.

Before Æmilius attacked Antiochus, he resolved to touch at Chios, the great depot of the Romans, in order to take in provisions. From thence he sailed to Teos, a city on the south side of the peninsula of Clasmene, and the birth-place of the poet Anacreon, and Hecateus, the

historian. His object in visiting Teos was to compel the Teians to deliver up 5000 hogheads of wine, which he was informed they had promised the king of Syria, or to capture and demolish their city.

Being relieved from the blockade by these movements of the Roman admiral, Polyxenidas sailed out in quest of his adversary. He found him in the harbour of Teos, and he sheltered his own fleet under the islet of Macris two days, hoping to surprise Æmilius in his passage from Teos to Colophon. Æmilius, however, being informed that the Syrian fleet waited for him at Macris, left Teos, and steered his course towards that islet, with his ships drawn up in order of battle.

As Polyxenidas had orders to engage the Romans, he embraced the opportunity, and attacked them with great resolution. But his efforts were unavailing. The Rhodians had then invented a kind of fire-ships, which struck great terror into the Syrian fleet. Cauldrons, full of combustible materials, were hung out at their prows, so that none of the enemy's ships durst approach them. These fell on the Syrian galleys, struck their beaks into them, and at the same time set them on fire. The Syrian galleys left their ranks and crowded round them, to discharge their arrows, darts, and javelins against their crews. This was a fatal error. The Roman ships, sailing into the vacant spaces left by the Syrians, disordered their whole fleet. It was in vain that Polyxenidas encouraged his men; the left wing being put into confusion, fled precipitately, and the right, in which Polyxenidas was stationed, being galled by the Rhodian fire-ships, followed the example.

The accounts of the Syrian loss on this occasion vary. But whatever was the amount, it proved a death-blow to the hopes of Antiochus, of ever performing any great action by sea; while at the same time, the passage was now open for the Roman army. Astonished by the intelligence, Antiochus immediately raised the siege of Colophon, and retired to Sardis, and then to his son-in-law, Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia, where he assembled all his land forces, in order to oppose the Romans, who were now arrived at the Thracian Chersonesus.

The withdrawal of his forces out of Lysimachia, and the other cities of the Hellespont, was a great error on the part of Antiochus. Lysimachia being very strongly fortified, might have sustained a long siege, perhaps till the winter was far advanced, which would have greatly incommoded the enemy, by the want of provisions and forage, and during that interval he might have taken measures for an accommodation with the Romans. Besides, the precipitate manner in which he recalled these troops, left them no time to secure their ammunition and provisions, of both which he had prepared a considerable quantity in those cities. By this means, when the Romans entered them, they found ammunition and provisions in such abundance, that they seemed to have been prepared for their express service; while the passage of the Hellespont was left undisputed by this untoward evacuation.

Historians are unanimous in their censure of the conduct of Antiochus on this occasion; look-

ing upon it in the light of blind infatuation. It is an evident instance of what is so frequently mentioned in Holy Writ, that when God is determined to punish and destroy a kingdom, he deprives either the king, his commanders, or counsellors, of counsel, prudence, and courage. Thus the prophet Isaiah threatened the Jews in these words:—

For, behold, the Lord, the Lord of hosts,
Doth take away from Jerusalem and from Judah
The stay and the staff,
The whole stay of bread, and the whole stay of water,
The mighty man, and the man of war,
The judge, and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient,
The captain of fifty, and the honourable man,
And the counsellor, and the cunning artificer, and the eloquent orator.—Isa. li. 1-3.

It is remarkable that Antiochus himself complained of his fate when he withdrew his forces from Lysimachia, in these words: "I know not what god has infatuated me; but every thing happens contrary to my expectations. Heaven persecutes me; and what can I infer from all this, but that my ruin approaches?" The pagan historian, also, says expressly, and enforces it by repetition, that "God took away the king's judgment, and overthrew his reason, a punishment that always happens, when men are upon the point of falling into some great calamity." This is what David besought God to do with regard to Abithophel, the counsellor of Absalom. "O Lord, I pray thee, turn the counsel of Abithophel into foolishness," 2 Sam. xv. 31. His prayer was answered: "And Absalom and all the men of Israel said, The counsel of Hushai the Archite is better than the counsel of Abithophel. For the Lord had appointed to defeat the good counsel of Abithophel, to the intent that the Lord might bring evil upon Absalom," 2 Sam. xvii. 14. Notwithstanding the scoffs of the sceptical, the affairs of mankind are not left to the control of blind chance, but are all directed by a superintending Providence. Empires and kingdoms are under the direction of an Almighty Being: they rise into power, and fall into decay according to his holy will and pleasure. Not less so are the affairs of individuals under the guidance of Heaven. This is a cheering reflection for the Christian, which the lip of Truth has uttered: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father. But the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows," Matt. x. 29-31. See also Luke xii. 6.

The Romans at length passed into Asia. After halting at Troy, which they considered their primitive country, they passed on to Abydos. Antiochus was alarmed, and he resolved to send an embassy to them, to propose conditions of peace. Heracleides of Byzantium was placed at the head of this embassy, and he was charged to declare the readiness of Antiochus to deliver up to the Romans the cities of Lampascus, Smyrna, and Alexandria; to evacuate all places in Ionia and Æolis, as the Romans had demanded; and to pay half the expense which Rome had incurred in bringing the war into Asia.

Heracleides was charged to address himself, in the first place, to Scipio Africanus, to conciliate his favour, and when he found him disposed to hearken to his proposals, to assure him that Antiochus was ready to restore him his son, whom he had recently captured as he was going in a boat from Chalcis to Oream, without ransom; that all the king of Syria's treasures were at his service; and that he was willing even to share his dominions with him. This was ill-judged policy. Finding Antiochus so cowardly, the Romans were only the more inexorable. They replied, that a peace would not be granted to Antiochus upon any other terms than the following: 1. That since Antiochus had drawn the war upon himself, he should defray the whole expenses of it. 2. That he should restore liberty in general to all the Greek cities in Asia; and, 3. That to prevent all future hostilities, he should relinquish all Asia on this side mount Taurus. Antiochus thought that the Romans could not have prescribed more humiliating conditions had they conquered him, and such a peace appeared to him as calamitous as the most fatal war. He then turned all his thoughts to the necessary preparations for opposing the enemy, and preventing his further progress. But it was the contest of weakness with strength, of ignorance with knowledge, and the issue was therefore certain, so far as human certainties extend.

Having taken this resolution, Antiochus encamped near Thyatira in Lydia, where he assembled all his forces. On the other hand, the Romans advanced to Flura, near the mouth of the Cæcus. In a few days, Antiochus moved from Thyatira, and leaving the river Hermus between him and the Romans, encamped near Magnesia, within reach of mount Sipylus. He was followed thither by the Romans, and a dreadful battle was fought, in which Antiochus was utterly overthrown, notwithstanding his army was numerically superior to that of the Romans. It is said that he lost 50,000 foot and 4000 horse in this struggle, with 1500 prisoners; while in the consular army there were but 300 foot and twenty-five horse killed: whereby the victory was considered a prodigy to all nations both of the east and the west. It is probable, however, that the number slain is much exaggerated.

On his defeat, Antiochus retired to Sardis with the remnant of his forces. From Sardis he marched to rejoin his son Seleucus, who had fled to Apamea. As for the consul, he took advantage of the defeat and flight of Antiochus, and made himself master of all the neighbouring countries. Thyatira, Magnesia, Trallia, Magnesia in Caria, Alabanda, all Lydia, and even Ephesus itself, highly favoured as it had been by the vanquished monarch, declared for the Romans. Finally, the consul took the road to Sardis, which opened its gates at his approach.

While the consular army was at Sardis, Antiochus sent Antipater, his brother's son, with Zeuxis, who had been governor of Lydia and Phrygia, to sue for peace. They were directed chiefly to treat with the elder Scipio, of whose clemency Antiochus entertained a high opinion. Accordingly, on their arrival at Sardis, they resorted to him, and were by him presented to the consul. A

council was called, which dictated the following conditions of peace: 1. That Antiochus should evacuate Asia Minor; 2. That he should pay to the Romans 15,000 Euboic talents, and to Eumenes 400; and, 3. That Hannibal and some others should be delivered up, and the king's younger son Antiochus be given as an hostage. The ambassadors were directed to sign any terms which might be offered, and therefore these, humiliating as they must have been, were accepted. And thus the power of the Syrian empire was for ever broken. The address of the psalmist to the sons of pride may be well applied as an improvement of this event:

Lift not up your horn on high:
Speak not with a stiff neck.
For promotion cometh neither from the east,
Nor from the west, nor from the south.
But God is the Judge:
He putteth down one, and setteth up another.
For in the hand of the Lord there is a cup,
And the wine is red; it is full of mixture,
And he poureth out of the same.
But the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall
wring them out, and drink them.—*Ps. lxxv. 5-8*

Antiochus drank of this cup through the instrumentality of the Romans: it was reserved for them in after ages.

This peace being ratified by the Conscrip Fathers at Rome, with such additions and alterations as they thought proper to make, and all Asia on this side mount Taurus delivered into the power of the Romans, the Greek cities were by them restored to their liberty, the provinces of Caria and Lydia given to the Rhodians, and all the rest that had belonged to Antiochus bestowed upon Eumenes. The loss of the surrendered countries, says Heeren, was a consequence of this peace, less disadvantageous to the Syrian kings than the use made of it by the conquerors. By adding the greatest part of the ceded territories to those of the kings of Pergamus, the Romans raised up alongside of their enemy a rival whom they might, at their own will, use as a political engine against him. Rome took care likewise that the stipulated sum should be paid by instalments in twelve years, to the end that Syria might be kept in a permanent state of dependence.

By the original treaty, Scipio stipulated that Antiochus should pay 15,000 Euboic talents. This was one of the points altered by the Conscrip Fathers. They condemned him to pay 15,000 Attic talents, which was a material addition to the sum first imposed. According to Arbuthnot's calculation, 15,000 Euboic talents, at the rate of sixty mine, or 193l. 15s. per talent, was equal to 2,916,250l. sterling; whereas 15,000 Attic talents, of eighty mine, or 258l. 8s. 8d. per talent, amounted to 3,876,500l. sterling, nearly a million of pounds sterling more. Besides this, the sum of 400 talents, which he was bound to pay to Eumenes, was augmented to 477, namely, 127 for the corn he received from Attalus, and 350 to be paid Eumenes in five years. If these talents were also Attic, their value would amount collectively to 123,376l. 17s. sterling, which added to the 15,000 Attic talents, very nearly make 4,000,000l. sterling. As Heeren intimates, Antiochus was to pay 1000 of these talents annually, or 258,433l. 6s. 8d. for twelve years to Rome.

The other 3000 were already paid, namely, 500 to the consul, at the signing of the preliminary treaty, and 2500 at the signing of the definitive treaty.

To depress Antiochus still more, the Roman senate bound him over to deliver up all his elephants, and train up no more for war. He was also to deliver up all his galleys of war to the Romans, to have no more than ten such at sea, which should be only triremes, or vessels of thirty oars. And even these were not to be allowed to sail beyond the promontories of Calycadnus and Sarpedon, unless for the purpose of bringing money, ambassadors, or hostages to Rome. He was not, moreover, to raise mercenaries in any of the countries belonging to Rome or her allies, or receive volunteers from thence. Finally, if any of the allies made war upon him, he was to have the right of defending himself; but he was to retain none of the cities, or take them into friendship, or draw them over to his side by corruption: all disputes were to be decided by feat of arms alone. Such were the chief articles of this humiliating treaty; a treaty by which Antiochus was permitted to defend himself, after the Romans had first shorn him of all power! So fond is man of displaying power over his brother man.

Antiochus did not long survive his fall. Disappointed of all those schemes of conquest and glory in which he had indulged so long and so madly, says Aurelius Victor, and conscious of his utter inability to retrieve his fallen condition, he returned to Antioch, and gave himself up to gross sensuality and debauchery, as the last remaining source of enjoyment. Having lost all sense of honour in the deep abyss of his political degradation, and unable to bear with equanimity his misfortunes, like many in similar circumstances, he sought solace from grief in the enjoyments of the table. Heated with wine, at one of these entertainments, he struck and abused one of his guests, who killed him in the quarrel. This was in 187 a.c., in the fifty-second year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

By ancient historians, Antiochus is commended for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree which he enacted, giving his subjects permission, and even commanding them not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws, shows that he possessed a love of justice. Till the fiftieth year of his age, he behaved with a courage and prudence that gained him the title of The Great; but after that age, he declined in the wisdom of his conduct and his application to business, and all his affairs were proportionably unsuccessful. His conduct in his struggle with Rome; the contempt in which he held the wise counsels of Hannibal; and the ignominious peace he was compelled to accept, obscured effectually the brighter page of his previous history.

The exploits and misfortunes of Antiochus were minutely foretold by the prophet Daniel, chap. xi. The first nine verses of this remarkable chapter have been noticed in the History of the Egyptians, where the kings of the north and south, or Syria and Egypt, are described as uniting their families by marriage. Antiochus Theos

repudiated his wife, Laodice, (by whom he had issue, Seleucus Callinicus, to whose sons and descendants the remainder of the prophecy refers,) to marry Berenice, the daughter of Ptolemy. As the reader peruses it, he would do well to refer back to the events of the reign of Antiochus the Great, that his faith may be strengthened in the truth of Holy Writ. After describing this marriage and its immediate consequences, the prophet continues:

"But his sons [Seleucus Ceraunus, and Antiochus the Great, the sons of Callinicus] shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and one [of them, Antiochus the Great] shall certainly come, and overflow, [into Syria], and pass through: then shall he return, [the next year,] and be stirred up, [unarching,] even to his fortress, [the frontier towns of Egypt.] And the king of the south [Ptolemy Philopater] shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth [the third year] and fight with him, even with the king of the north, [Antiochus:] and he [Antiochus] shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his [Ptolemy's] hand, [at the battle of Raphia.] And when he hath taken away the multitude, [of the Syrians,] his [Ptolemy's] heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many ten thousands [of his own subjects:] but he shall not be strengthened by it. For the king of the north [Antiochus] shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years [twelve] with a great army and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south, [particularly the Macedonians:] also the robbers of thy people [the Jews, Samaritans, etc.] shall exult themselves [or affect independence] to establish the vision, [or bring on the predicted calamities:] but they shall fall, [by Scopus.] So the king of the north [Antiochus] shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: and the arms of the south [Scopas, etc.] shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand. But he [Antiochus] that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him: and he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed. He shall also set his face to enter with the strength of his whole kingdom, [into Raphia,] and upright ones with him, [to make an agreement with Ptolemy Epiphanes:] and he [Antiochus] shall give him [Ptolemy Epiphanes, in marriage] the daughter of women, [Cleopatra,] corrupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him, [but for her husband, Ptolemy Epiphanes, contrary to his will.] After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, [westward,] and shall take many: but a [Roman] prince for his own behalf [and to support his allies] shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him. Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land, [Antioch, in his flight eastward:] but he shall stumble and fall, [in that city,] and not be found." [he shall meet with an unexpected and violent death,] Dan. xi. 10-19.

Thus beautifully does this prediction of the

holy prophet Daniel harmonize with the distant events to which it refers. Verily, the pages of antiquity form a beautiful commentary upon the word of God when thus brought together. They demonstrate its truth in lines which the malice of infidels can never erase: undesignedly, indeed, but no less faithfully.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE UNION BETWEEN THE SELEUCIDÆ AND THE ROMANS, TILL THE FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE LATTER.

SELEUCUS PHILOPATER.

SELEUCUS IV., surnamed Philopater, the eldest son of Antiochus the Great, succeeded to the throne of his father, and the obligations under which he lay to the Romans. He reigned eleven years and a few months: but his name is not celebrated in history in consequence of the subject state to which the Syrian empire had been reduced by the Romans. He was, indeed, no more than a tax-gatherer for them, as foretold by the prophet Daniel:

"Then shall [Philopater] stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom: but within few days [or years] he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle," [but by domestic treason,] Dan. xi. 20.

Seleucus Philopater reigned during the pontificate of Onias III., when Jerusalem was inhabited with peace, and the laws obeyed, because of the godliness of this high priest and his hatred of wickedness. The author of the book of Maccabees says, that Seleucus himself, out of his own revenues, bore all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices. Upon the information of Simon, however, (who was made governor of the temple, and who had quarrelled with the high priest,) that the treasury of Jerusalem was exceedingly rich, and abundantly more than sufficient to supply the sacrifices, the king, who was straitened for money to pay the Roman tribute, sent his treasurer, Heliodorus, to seize and bring him the money. It would appear, from the author before mentioned, that Seleucus failed in this sacrilegious attempt; and it is certain that he was soon murdered by his ambitious and wicked treasurer, Heliodorus, who usurped the kingdom.

Heliodorus did not long enjoy his usurpation. At the time of the death of Seleucus Philopater, his younger brother, Antiochus, who had been exchanged as a hostage, for his son Demetrius, at Rome, was then on his way home, at Athens. Antiochus had sufficient address to ingratiate himself with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and to prevail on him to expel the usurper, and place him on the throne; and with the Syrians and Romans, to suffer him to reign in exclusion of the rightful heir, young Demetrius.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

On the accession of Antiochus, B.C. 175, he

was styled Epiphanes, signifying "illustrious," but from the wild and disgraceful freaks and excesses into which he ran, combined with the utmost profusion and extravagance, to support his interests with his subjects and the Romans, he was nicknamed Epimanes, "the madman." This latter appellation is remarkably conformable to his Scripture title of "a vile person," given him by the prophet Daniel. Jerome says that he was a most lewd prince, and Polybius, Philarchus, Livy, and Diodorus Siculus, confirm the statement.

The first act of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes was to depose Onias III., whose sacred office he sold for 440 talents of silver, about 85,000 pounds sterling, to his younger brother, Jason, who assumed a Greek name, Jason; and who gave him 150 more for license to erect a place of exercise at Jerusalem for the youth of the city, according to the pagan customs of the Greeks. Jason, however, did not long enjoy his ill-gotten dignity. Three years after, he was supplanted by his younger brother, Onias IV., or Menelaus, who gave Antiochus 300 talents more for the office than Jason had given. Jason fled into the country of the Ammonites. Meanwhile, Menelaus stole some golden vessels out of the temple, and sold them at Tyre and the neighbouring cities, and when reproved by his brother, the exiled Onias, he prevailed on Andronicus, the king's deputy at Antioch, to destroy him: for which act Andronicus was slain on the same spot by Antiochus. These facts are derived from the book of Maccabees, and confirmed by Josephus, except that concerning the sale of the pontificate, which, nevertheless, from the character of the parties concerned, appears to be true.

Upon the accession of Ptolemy Philometer, his nephew, to the throne of Egypt, Antiochus sent ambassadors to assist at the coronation. These ambassadors discovered that the ministers of the young king meant to renew their master's claim to the provinces of Cælo-Syria and Palestine, which had long been a subject of verbal dispute. Antiochus denied the claim, and, despising the youth of Ptolemy, repeatedly invaded Egypt. In his first expedition, A.C. 171, as he was on his way, he received a bribe to acquit Menelaus of the charge of sacrilege. Afterwards, he gained a victory over the Egyptians near Mount Cassius and Pelusium. Next year, A.C. 170, he completely defeated the Egyptian army, took Philometer prisoner, and subdued the whole country, except the capital, Alexandria. Antiochus went on a third expedition, A.C. 169, and laid siege to Alexandria, where the Egyptians had proclaimed the younger brother of Philometer king, under the name of Euergetes II., nicknamed, afterwards, Physcon, from his corpulency. In opposition to Euergetes II., Antiochus left Philometer at Memphis, as titular sovereign, and also a strong garrison in Pelusium. The brothers, however, coalesced against their unnatural uncle, and sent an embassy to Rome, imploring protection. This brought on a fourth invasion, A.C. 168; but when Antiochus was at Eleusine, near Alexandria, he was met by the Roman ambassadors, at the head of whom was Popilius Lenæus, who put a

final stop to his proceedings. See the History of the Egyptians.

While Antiochus was employed in his second invasion of Egypt, having heard a rumour of his death, Jason collected together a band of miscreants, with whom he surprised Jerusalem, massacred the citizens, drove Menelaus, his brother, into the castle, and possessed himself of the principality. He was expelled, however, a second time, and perished miserably, at length, in the strange land of Lacedæmonia. Antiochus, conceiving that Judea had revolted, returned in great wrath from Egypt, took the city by assault, destroyed 80,000 persons during a massacre of three days, plundered the temple of all its treasures, vessels, and golden ornaments, and carried away 1800 talents, about 400,000 pounds sterling, to Antioch.

Antiochus renewed his ravages of the city of Jerusalem, after his disgraceful repulse by the Roman ambassadors. He sent Apollonius, his general, with 22,000 men, to vent his fury upon its inhabitants. Apollonius, who was also "chief collector of tribute," coming in appearance peaceably to Jerusalem, slew a great multitude of men, sold the women and children for captives, and then fortified the city of David, on Mount Zion, for a citadel, "to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary unto Israel."

In his mad rage, Antiochus next issued a decree for establishing the Grecian idolatry throughout his dominions. Jew and Gentile were alike enjoined to conform to his religion, worship his idols, and follow the strange laws of the land, under pain of death. In the course of the same year, A.C. 168, about six months after the capture of the city, the temple of Jerusalem was dedicated to Jupiter Olympius; and, by the consent of the Samaritans, the temple on Mount Gerizim to Jupiter Xenius, "the defender of strangers." "The abomination of desolation" was set up on the altar of the Lord at Jerusalem, on the 15th day of the ninth month, Cisleu; and on the 25th of the same month, sacrifices were offered upon the idol altar, built beside the altar of God, so celebrated in Holy Writ. Idol altars, also, were erected on every side throughout the cities of Judea, on which the king's commissioners enforced obedience to the edict. An old Athenian minister, well versed in all the heathenish rites, was sent to Jerusalem to see that they were duly executed. Ultimately, it appears that Antiochus came into Palestine himself to see that his orders were obeyed; and the history of the Maccabees relates that he commanded and superintended the most horrible tortures of the recusants. Particular mention is made of the martyrdom of Eleazer, in his ninetieth year, for refusing to eat swine's flesh; and of the heroic matron, and her seven sons, who set the regal madman at defiance.

The Jews had never before experienced such a persecution as this. It was the first time, indeed, in which it can be said they were persecuted on account of their religion. During six months, they suffered greatly: at the end of that time, however, God raised up a deliverance for his people in the noble family of the Asmoneans, Mattathias and his sons.

Mattathias was the son of John, the son of Simeon, the son of Asanoneas. He was a priest of the course of Jehoiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses appointed by David, 1 Chron. xxiv. 7, descended from Phineas, the son of Eleazar, the older branch of the family of Aaron. He had five sons, whose names were Johanan, Simon, Judas called Maccabeus, Eleazer, and Jonathan.

Mattathias was one of the principal inhabitants of Modin, a town near the sea shore, about a mile from Joppa, or Jaffa, and four miles from Lydda, or Diospolis. To this city a royal officer, named Apelles, was sent to enforce the edict. With fair promises, he endeavoured to induce Mattathias, as a leading man in Modin, to set the example of sacrificing to the idol. The undaunted priest, however, repelled his offers with indignation and abhorrence, and with a loud voice, in the hearing of the assembly, proclaimed his refusal to sacrifice.

At this juncture, a certain Jew passed towards the altar with the intention of sacrificing, when Mattathias, in obedience to the law, struck him down as a rebel against Jehovah. This was the commencement of a great war. Mattathias and his sons, assisted by the citizens, rushed upon the commissioner and his retinue, slew them on the spot, and tore down the idolatrous altar. Alive to the consequences of his bold act, Mattathias proclaimed throughout the city, "Whoever is zealous for the law, and a maintainer of the covenant, let him follow me." Having made this proclamation, Mattathias and his five sons, with four others, fled to the mountains of Judea, where they were soon joined by many Jews, who were determined to maintain the religion of their fathers.

Scrupulously adhering to the law of the sabbath, in opposition to the loose principles of those who had joined the Greeks, these confederate Jews held it to be imperative to abstain from the use of arms on that day. In consequence of this, a thousand persons, who had taken refuge in a large cave near Jerusalem, allowed themselves to be slaughtered without resistance. This event opened the eyes of Mattathias and his adherents, who, after mature deliberation, determined that it was both lawful and their duty to stand on their defence on the sabbath day; although they still thought themselves bound to refrain from being the assailants on that day.

Being joined by a gallant band of Asideans, or "Volunteers, wholly devoted to the law," and by others that fled from the sword of persecution, Mattathias, emerging from his concealment, went throughout the country, and pulled down the altars, and pursued the proud persecutors. He also circumcised the children, and slew the apostate Jews and the officers appointed to execute the decree of Antiochus, and recovered many of the copies of the law which the oppressors had taken away. While employed in this work, the heroic priest died. A.C. 167.

Before his death, Mattathias appointed his third and bravest son, Judas, to be military leader; associating Simon, his second and most prudent son, with him as counsellor. Judas is supposed to have derived his celebrated surname

of Maccabeus, from a cabalistical word formed of M.B.C.L., the initial letters of the Hebrew text, *Mi Chamosh Babilus Jakob*, "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?" Exod. xv. 11. These letters might have been displayed on his standard, like the S.P.Q.R. for *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, on the ensigns of the Romans.*

The first enterprise of Judas and his little band was against Apollonia, whom he defeated and slew, and took his sword, with which he afterwards fought all his life long. His next exploit was the defeat of Seron, a Syrian general, with a large host of Grecising Jews and apostate Samaritans, near Bethoron. On meeting this host, Judas encouraged his company with these words: "With the God of heaven it is all one to deliver with a great multitude or a small company;" adding, emphatically, "We fight for our lives and our laws."

Enraged at the success of Judas Maccabeus, whose fame had spread through all the neighbouring nations, Antiochus formed large plans of vengeance; but finding these checked by the exhausted state of his treasury, he resolved to proceed into the eastern provinces to recruit his finances, he having squandered away his wealth, and the Armenians and Persians being in arrears with their tribute, and on the eve of revolt. Before he went, he appointed his kinsman, Lysias, regent of all the western provinces from the Euphrates to Egypt, and commissioned him to raise and march an army to extirpate the Jews, and to plant a foreign colony in their room.

Acting upon this commission, the next year, A.C. 166, Lysias sent a great army into Judea under the command of Nicanor and Gorgias. So confident were they of victory, that Nicanor proclaimed a sale of the captive Jews beforehand, at the rate of ninety for a talent, or about two pounds sterling per head. This drew a crowd of merchants from the sea coast to the Syrian camp at Emmaus, near Jerusalem, to make a cheap purchase of slaves, according to the practice of the times. Under these circumstances, Judas and his party assembled at Maspeh, or Mizpeh, that ancient place of concourse, where they fasted and prayed; after which, in obedience to the law, he dismissed all such of his men as had, in the course of the preceding year, built houses, betrothed wives, or were planting vineyards, or were fearful. This act of faith reduced his small army from 6000 to 3000 men.

Deeming it superfluous to employ their whole force against so small an army, Gorgias, one of the Syrian generals, with a chosen body of troops, 5000 foot and 1000 horse, marched by night to surprise Judas. That vigilant commander, however, was apprised of the design, and determined to take advantage of the separation of the two generals. He marched early in

* This is the most general opinion; but there are others who think that it is derived from the Hebrew term *Maccabeh*, which signifies "hid," and which would thereby be a contemptuous epithet bestowed upon them by their adversaries, because they concealed themselves in caves and rocks; or from the word *Makabeh*, signifying a cavern, and so they might be called "caverners," or those who lurked in caverns. By others the appellation is derived from the verb *maceh*, to wound; from *macah*, to perforate; and from *kabeh*, to supplant.

the evening, and fell by night upon the camp of Nicanor; by which movement he put the whole camp of his adversary into confusion. Three thousand Syrians were slain, many soldiers and slave dealers made prisoners, and their tents were set on fire. Early in the morning, Gorgias, returning from his abortive expedition to Mizpeh, beheld the Syrian camp in flames, which threw his followers into such a panic that they fled. Judas pursued them in their flight, and with such vigour, that 9000 of their enemies were destroyed that day, and many more wounded. Nicanor fled, in the disguise of a slave, to Antioch, declaring that a mighty God had fought for the Jews. After the victory, the Jews spoiled the enemy's camp, in which they found great quantities of gold and silver, including the money brought by the slave merchants. They celebrated the victory by a feast of thanksgiving.

Immediately after, the Jews defeated another Syrian army under Timotheus and Bacchides, slew a great many men, reduced several strong holds, and then divided the united spoils with the maimed, the orphans, the widows, and the aged.

During the next year, B.C. 165, Lysias assembled another large army, and marched himself to invade Judea in the south. He entered Idumea, which was now confined to the region west and south-west of the Asphaltic Lake, which had in former ages belonged to the tribes of Simeon and Judah, but after the captivity, when it lay desolate, had been occupied by the Edomites, from Arabia Petraea, the ancient Edom, who made Hebron their capital, and rebuilt on their northern frontier the strong fortress of Bethsura, which had been originally built by Rehoboam. At this advantageous post Lysias encamped, and was encountered by Judas with only 10,000 men, who gained a most important victory, slaying 5000 men on the spot, and dispersing the rest. Observing that the Jews fought like men determined to conquer or die, Lysias did not venture a renewal of the engagement, but retired to Antioch, designing to bring an overwhelming force next year.

During this disastrous war which he had kindled in the west, Antiochus was little more successful in the east. Having departed from Antioch, his capital, he crossed Mount Taurus, and entering Armenia, defeated Artaxias and took him prisoner. From Armenia he hastened into Persia, in order to oblige the natives of that rich province to pay the arrears of their yearly tribute. Being informed that the city of Elymais was renowned for its wealth, and that immense sums were lodged in its celebrated temple, he hastened thither, eager for the plunder. He was, however, repulsed with the greatest ignominy, and compelled to retire to Ecbatana, in Media.

While at Ecbatana, Antiochus received the news of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus, and he instantly set out from Media, swelling with rage, and breathing forth ruin and destruction on the inhabitants of Jerusalem. As he was hastening onwards, near Babylonia, other messengers brought him an account of the defeat of Lysias, and informed him that Judas had re-

taken the temple, thrown down the images and altars which he had erected, and restored the ancient worship of the Jews. This exasperated him still more, and being impatient to reach Antioch, that he might from thence march in person against the Jews, he ordered his charioteer to drive with the utmost speed, vowing that he would extirpate the whole nation. But while his mouth uttered his purposes of vengeance, he was smitten with sore and remediless torments in his inner parts. Still, on he went; until he fell from his chariot, and suffered from the fall. He was then carried on a litter; but his disease acquired such a loathsome character, that he became an abhorrence both to himself and attendants. He was at length obliged to halt at a town called Tabas, situated somewhere in the range of Zagros, to the south-west of Ecbatana, on the direct road from that place to the Tigris and Babylon, where he died in great agony. Before he expired, he was led to perceive that the hand of God had smitten him, and to acknowledge that his barbarities and sacrileges were justly punished by the torments which he endured, and by the death which lay before him. B.C. 164.

The leading occurrences of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes are thus foretold by the prophet Daniel, in his continuation:

"And in his [Seleucus Philopater's] estate shall stand up a vile person, [Antiochus Epiphanes,] to whom they [the Syrians, who set up Heli-odorus] shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries, [to Eumenes, king of Pergamus, the Syrians, and the Romans.] And with the arms of a flood shall they [Heli-odorus and the Syrians] be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant, [the Jewish high priest Onias III., deposed by him.]

"And after the league made with him [Ptolemy Philometer, his nephew, king of Egypt] he shall work deceitfully: for he shall come up, and shall become strong [in Phœnicia] with a small people, [or retinue.] He shall enter peaceably even upon the fittest places of the province, [Phœnicia:] and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers, [or, he shall outdo them in donations:] he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: [he had collected plunder and his revenues to bestow upon the Phœnicians, in order to attach them to his interest:] yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, [of Egypt.] even for a [convenient] time.

"And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south [Ptolemy Philometer] with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they [Antiochus and his counsellors] shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat [Eubœus, the tutor of Ptolemy, and Macrus, governor of Cyprus] shall destroy him, [so that Ptolemy shall be taken prisoner,] and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain. And both these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief, [to each other,] and they shall speak lies at one table,

[Antiochus shall pretend to restore the crown to Ptolemy, and Ptolemy shall pretend to oppose his brother Physcon, set up by the Egyptians on his captivity:] but it shall not prosper, [the war shall not cease on either side:] for yet the end shall be at the time appointed. Then shall he [Antiochus] return into his land with great riches, [having overrun Egypt, except Alexandria:] and his heart shall be against the holy covenant, [or, the Jewish temple and religion:] and he shall do exploits, [he shall plunder the temple of Jerusalem, etc.,] and return to his own land.

"At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south, [Egypt:] but it [his coming] shall not be as the former, or as the latter. For the ships of Chittim [or, the Romans] shall come against him, [with ambassadors from Rome, commanding him to desist, which he did with much pusillanimity:] therefore he shall be grieved, and return, [towards Syria,] and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant, [with the apostate Menelaus and his party, to set up the Grecian idolatry.] And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, [that is, the morning and evening sacrifice of the two lambs,] and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate, [even the altar, statue, and worship of the Olympian Jupiter, in the sanctuary.] And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall be [Antiochus] corrupt by flatteries: but the people [such as the aged Eleazar, the Hebrew matron and her seven sons, with other Jews] that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits. And they that understand among the people [Mattathias and his sons] shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days. Now when they shall fall, they shall be helped with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. [the followers of Mattathias and Judas shall first be few, and afterwards increase.] And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed," [the sufferings and the death of those who steadfastly refuse to obey the king's decree shall be their glory and their triumph,] Dan. xi. 31—35. See also Dan. viii. 9—12, where Antiochus is represented as a little horn, branching out of one of the four horns of the Grecian monarchy: a horn which waxed exceeding great towards the south, [Egypt,] and the pleasant land, [Palestine:] a horn which made war against God's chosen people, prevailed against them even till he took the holy city, defiled the temple, set up the abomination of desolation, and took away the daily sacrifice: in which respect, Antiochus Epiphanes was a type of the great anti-Christian king of the seventh chapter, and of the king in the thirty-sixth verse of the eleventh chapter to the thirty-ninth, who will be revealed by time, the great chronicler of events. It is conjectured, and the hypothesis is maintained by most recent commentators, that this anti-Christian king, of whom Epiphanes may be considered a type, is

the Mohammedan power. This is very probable: for on that hill, where once incense and a pure offering was paid to the God of all grace, mercy, and peace, a Mohammedan mosque has for ages been erected. If this be correct, therefore, it is the downfall of the faith of Mohammed that will usher in the glorious era of the millennium, for the dawn of which all Christians should unite in fervent prayer.

These prophecies of Daniel, says Dr. Hales, foretelling the sufferings and persecutions of the Jews, from Alexander's successors in Syria and Egypt till the end of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, during a disastrous period of 160 years, are, if possible, more surprising and astonishing than even his grand prophetic period of 2300 years, and the several successions of empire, or the four temporal kingdoms, that were to precede the spiritual kingdom of God upon earth. The magnificence of the whole scheme, comprising the fortunes of all mankind, seems to be an object suitable to the OMNISCIENT GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE, calculated to excite awe and admiration; but the minuteness of detail exhibited in this part exceeds that of any existing history of those times. The prophecy is really more concise and comprehensive, and yet more circumstantial and complete, than any in history. No one historian has related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time and place, as the prophet; so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jew and Christian, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. And if the authors who wrote of these times were all extant, or all entire, (neither of which is the case,) we should unquestionably have still greater reason to be astonished at the consummate exactness of the prophecy. Truly,

From God all human actions take their springs,
The rise of empires, and the fall of kings!
See the vast theatre of time displayed,
While o'er the arena succeeding heroes tread!
With pomp, the shining images succeed,
What leaders triumph! and what monarchs bleed!
Perform the parts his providence assigned,
Their pride, their passions, to his ends inclined:
Awhile they glitter in the face of day,
Then at his nod the phantoms pass away;
No traces left of all the busy scene,
But that remembrance says, "The things have been."
Notes.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR.

Antiochus, surnamed Eupator, "well fathered," the son of Epiphanes, then a child of nine years of age, was set up for king by Lynceus, who had been appointed his guardian, B.C. 164, in opposition to Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopater, who had been an hostage at Rome ever since the death of his father, and who was now in the flower of his age, and an aspiring genius. The accession of Antiochus Eupator was sanctioned by the Romans; for although Demetrius failed not to urge his claims upon the attention of the senate, that sage body decided that it was more for the interests of Rome that a minor should occupy the throne of Syria, than the ardent and able Demetrius. Acting upon this unjust line of policy, they sent three experienced

persons to give law to Syria, under pretence of assisting and advising the youthful monarch.

The reign of Antiochus Eupator was brief and turbulent, and his end unfortunate. At the commencement of it, Lysias renewed the war against the Maccabees, with a considerable body of foot, eighty elephants, and a body of cavalry. He laid siege to Bethsura, but was repulsed by Judas, with the loss of many men, while his whole army was dispersed. This defeat convinced Lysias that the Jews were aided by an Almighty power, which he could not withstand. He therefore offered them peace, on the condition of their being loyal to the state. To this the Jews agreed, and Lysias issued a decree, in the name of the king, which allowed them the free exercise of their own customs and worship, and permitted them to live according to their own laws. The apostate high priest, Menelaus, who had been all this time with the Syrians, and had exerted himself in promoting this peace, was sent back to be reinstated in his pontificate.

This peace, however, was of short continuance. The Jews were again molested by the governors of the Syrian provinces, and by the neighbouring nations, the Joppites, Jamnites, Arabians, and Idumeans, all of whom Judas successively subdued.

During this period, the citadel on Mount Zion, garrisoned by Syrians and renegade Jews, continued to be a source of annoyance to the temple worship, which at length proved so intolerable, that Judas besieged it, after his return from the defeat of Gorgias, governor of Idumea. Some of the besieged, however, forcing their way through in a sally, hastened to the court of Antioch, and complained of the continued hostility of the Jews to the Syrian government, as evinced by this attempt upon the Syrian garrison. Provoked at this intelligence, the king assembled a large army of 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and thirty-two elephants, and with Lysias marched to Idumea, and besieged Bethsura. Judas quitted the citadel, advanced to attack the king's army on the way, and slew about 600 men; but finding the Syrian army too strong, he desisted from the attack, and retreated; and Bethsura soon after surrendered for want of provisions, it being a sabbatical year of rest to the land, B. C. 163. The Syrians next proceeded to Jerusalem, which must have shared the same fate, had not the young king and his guardian been recalled by a civil war at home, commenced by Philip, who had been appointed regent by Antiochus Epiphanes before his death, to the exclusion of Lysias, whose ill success in his wars with the Jews had sapped the monarch's favour towards him. When this intelligence reached the camp, the king and council hastily concluded a peace with the Jews on the former terms, that they should be allowed to live according to their own laws. The siege was then broken up; but the treaty was violated by the Syrians, in the demolition of the strong walls of the mount on which the temple was erected.

The royal army now marched against Philip, who had taken possession of Antioch, the capital of Syria. Philip was defeated and slain; but another enemy soon appeared, still more formidable. This was Demetrius, whose claim to the crown of Syria had been thwarted by the Roman

senate. Demetrius was not allowed even to depart from Rome, on the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Subsequently, however, acting upon the advice of his friend Polybius, the historian, he made his escape from Rome, and landed with only eight friends and their servants at Tripolis, in Phœnicia. Here he had the art to persuade the people that his enterprise was sanctioned by the Romans; under which persuasion he was joined by several, with whom he advanced towards Antioch. On his arrival at the capital, the army declared for him, and secured the persons of Antiochus Eupator and Lysias, whom, as a proof of their sincerity, they brought to Demetrius; but he said, "Let me not see their faces," on which hint they were slain by the soldiers, B. C. 162.

DEMETRIUS SOTER.

On assuming the crown, the first act of Demetrius was, to get himself acknowledged at Rome, on which all now depended. In this he succeeded. During the preceding year, one of the Roman ambassadors, named Octavius, had been slain, while enforcing the treaty of Antiochus the Great, by destroying all the elephants, and all but twelve ships of war. Demetrius, with the view of obtaining the favour of the Romans, sent the murderer to Rome, together with a present of a crown of gold. The present was accepted by the senate; but they dismissed the murderer, resolving to take some future occasion of making the whole Syrian empire responsible for the act. At the same time, they gave Demetrius proofs of a perfect reconciliation.

As soon as Demetrius was established on the throne of Syria, he delivered the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heracleides, whom Antiochus Epiphanes had raised to great honours; the former being governor, and the latter treasurer of the province of Babylon. Demetrius caused Timarchus to be put to death, and banished Heracleides, for which the Babylonians, with gross adulation, gave him the title of Soter, or Saviour.

After this, Demetrius, at the instigation of Alcimus, who, on the death of Menelaus, had been appointed high-priest of the Jews, but had been expelled, renewed the war with that nation. He re-appointed Alcimus as high-priest, and sent a considerable military force, under the command of Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, to reinstate him, and to take vengeance upon those whom Alcimus had represented as equally the enemies of himself and king. As Bacchides entered the country with professions of peace, many Jews, relying thereon, put themselves in his power, and were treacherously slain. After this, Bacchides reinstated Alcimus, and intrusting the province to his charge, and leaving a force which he deemed sufficient to protect him, he returned to Demetrius.

Judas, who had not appeared in the field against Bacchides, came forward after he withdrew, and Alcimus was again expelled, and he again repaired with his complaints to the king. On this second complaint, Demetrius, resolving on the utter destruction of the Maccabees, sent a large army into Judea, under the command of the same

Nicanor whom Judas had defeated five years before. At first, he endeavoured to ensnare the Jewish chief with friendly professions; but failing in this, hostilities commenced, and a battle was fought at Capharsalama, in which Nicanor was defeated. He was then forced to seek refuge in the castle of Mount Zion, until some reinforcements, for which he sent, should arrive from Syria. These were supplied, and he then hazarded another battle, which led to the same results. *A.C.* 160.

Having heard of the conquests of the Romans, and the controlling power which they exercised in the affairs of western Asia and Egypt, Judas took the opportunity of the respite which the latter victory afforded him, of sending an embassy to Rome, to solicit an alliance with them, and therewith protection from the Syrian government. According to their systematic scheme of subjugation, the Roman senate granted liberty to those who were under foreign dominion, that they might detach them from their rulers, and afterwards put their own yoke upon the shoulders of those whom they thus favoured. The Jewish ambassadors were therefore graciously received, and an offensive and defensive alliance was made with the Jews. A letter, also, was immediately after written to Demetrius, commanding him to desist from persecuting them, and threatening him with war if he persisted. Before the ambassadors returned, however, or this letter had been received, Judas had fallen in a furious conflict with Barchides, whom, with Alcimus, the Syrian monarch had sent to avenge the defeat of Nicanor.

The death of Judas was followed by a merciless persecution of his adherents; whereupon they elected his younger brother, the valiant Jonathan, to be their prince and leader. Barchides, hearing this, sought to slay Jonathan, and a struggle was maintained between these two leaders, till the year, *A.C.* 158, when the sword ceased from Israel. Barchides accepted proposals of peace from Jonathan, exchanged prisoners, swore to molest him no more, and then returned into Syria.

Soon after, Demetrius turned his arms against Cappadocia, and set up a pretender to the crown, Orofernes, in opposition to Ariarthes, the youthful monarch of that country. By this act, he drew upon himself the enmity of the kings of Egypt and Pergamus, which finally ended in his own destruction.

After this impolitic movement, about *A.C.* 154, Demetrius retired to a new palace which he had built near Antioch, and there abandoned himself to luxury and pleasure. All business and all care were banished from his thoughts, whereby arose great administrative abuses, leading to discontents and conspiracies, which were fostered by different neighbouring kings, and especially by Ptolemy Philometer, king of Egypt; Attalus, king of Pergamus; and Ariarthes, king of Cappadocia. These kings availed themselves of the services of Heracleides, who had been banished by Demetrius, and who had since lived at Rhodes. Heracleides, at their instigation, persuaded a young man of obscure birth, named Balas, to announce himself as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and as such to lay claim to the throne of Syria. As

soon as he had been sufficiently tutored, Balas laid claim to the crown, and he was sent by these kings to Rome, together with a true daughter of Antiochus, to obtain a recognition of his claims from the Conscript Fathers. Although this age body soon detected the imposture, having never forgiven Demetrius for his flight from Rome and his assumption of the throne of his ancestors, they made a decree empowering the impostor to raise forces for the recovery of the kingdom.

Balas now assumed the name of Alexander, and the title of king of Syria. He also levied troops, and sailed to Ptolemais, now Acre, in Palestine, where he was joined by numbers who had become disaffected to Demetrius.

Demetrius was now roused from his lethargy, and came forth from his disgraceful retreat. The competition proved highly advantageous to the Jews; the rivals vying with each other who should purchase their assistance by honours and immunities. Demetrius appointed Jonathan his general in Judea, and empowered him to levy forces, and furnish them with arms, as auxiliaries, and restored the hostages in the citadel, whom Jonathan delivered to their parents. On the other hand, Balas appointed Jonathan high-priest, and sent him a purple robe and crown, as ethnarch, or prince of Judea. Hearing this, Demetrius resolved to oust Balas. He offered Jonathan a release from tribute, customs on salt, and crown taxes; the addition of the three governments of Apherema, Lydda, and Ramathem in Samaria, and the government of Galilee, to that of Judea; the freedom of the holy city, and exemption of its borders from tithes and tributes; the restoration of all captives that had been carried out of the land of Judea, from all parts of the kingdom of Syria, with remission of their tribute, and even of their cattle; and immunity and toleration for all the Jews within the realm to celebrate their festivals, sabbaths, new moons, and solemn days, without molestation or hindrance; and, in return, he required an enrolment of 30,000 Jews, to be paid by the crown, and to serve in the garrisons and places of trust, with liberty to live according to their own laws. He also offered the seaport of Ptolemais, with its territory, as a free gift to the temple of the sanctuary; a remission of the 5000 shekels of silver, which had been annually paid to the king out of the revenues of the temple; to make the temple itself an asylum for debtors to the king, or for any other matter; and to pay the expenses of repairing and fortifying Jerusalem, and the temple mount, out of the royal treasury. The extravagant generosity of these offers made Jonathan and the patriots suspicious of their sincerity, and, mindful of the wrongs Demetrius had inflicted upon them, they agreed to espouse the cause of Alexander.

Next year, *A.C.* 152, the rival kings took the field with their armies, and Demetrius, who lacked neither courage nor conduct in the field of battle, gained a victory over his opponent; but Alexander, in the ensuing year, *A.C.* 151, being supported by the confederate kings and the Romans, was more successful. Demetrius was defeated and slain, and the successful impostor ascended the throne of Syria.

ALEXANDER BALAS.

In order to establish himself upon the throne, Alexander sought and obtained the hand of Cleopatra, daughter of Philometer, king of Egypt, in marriage. He met her at Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated with great pomp and rejoicings.

But Alexander, when established in the kingdom, fell into the same fatal excesses as his predecessor. He abandoned the cares of government to his favourite, Ammonius, that he might enjoy a luxurious life undisturbed. Ammonius showed himself a tyrant. He slew Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and the unfortunate widow of Perseus, king of Macedonia, and Antigonus, a son of Demetrius. But there still lived in Cnidus, in Crete, two sons of Demetrius, namely, Demetrius and Antiochus, whence Alexander was not secure on the throne of Syria.

When Ammonius had made himself and Alexander odious to the Syrians, B. C. 148, young Demetrius landed at Cilicia, and soon collected a great army, with which to assert his right to the crown. He also gained over Apollonius, governor of Cæle-Syria, to his interest, whose first proof of attachment to his new master was the invasion of Judea, which adhered to Alexander. Jonathan came down from the mountains into the plain of the coast, and after jaking Joppa before his eyes, defeated Apollonius with severe loss. Jonathan then subdued Ashdod, and Ascalon opened her gates to the conqueror. For this essential service Alexander rewarded Jonathan with a golden clasp, or buckle, such as the royal family only might wear, and bestowed upon him the territory of Ekron.

When Demetrius invaded Syria, Alexander shut himself up in his capital, Antioch, and applied for succour to his friend and father-in-law, Ptolemy Philometer, who accordingly brought a considerable army and fleet to his assistance, B. C. 147. Ptolemy entered Syria; but having discovered a plot formed against his life, by the favourite Ammonius, and Balas refusing to deliver him up, Ptolemy took away his daughter Cleopatra, and bestowed her on Demetrius, whose cause he thenceforth espoused. This decided the contest. The citizens continued against Ammonius, and slew him, and Alexander Balas only avoided a similar fate by flight.

The Syrians now offered the crown to Ptolemy Philometer, but he refused it; and upon his intercession, it was placed on the head of Demetrius. B. C. 146.

DEMETRIUS Nicator.

When Alexander Balas fled from Antioch, he retired to Cilicia; from whence, having assembled a numerous army, he advanced to Antioch, to dispute the throne with Demetrius. He was met in the neighbourhood of that city by Demetrius and Ptolemy, and an engagement ensued, in which Alexander was vanquished, and the throne thereby established to his competitor. Alexander fled into Arabia; but his host, the emir Zabdiel, treacherously slew him, and sent his head to the king of Egypt, who died himself the third day after, of the wounds he had received. It was from the victory gained over

Alexander, that Demetrius derived his surname, *Nicator*, or "the Conqueror."

Being established on the throne of Syria, Demetrius chose Laethenes, the Cretan friend with whom he had found an asylum, and whom he considered as a father, his prime minister. This was an unwise measure; for Laethenes was both imprudent and inexperienced, and therefore unfit to be at the helm of a state. His first false step was the massacre of the Egyptian soldiers, whom Ptolemy had left to assist in garrisoning the fortresses in the maritime towns; these being put to death by their Syrian associates, the rest of the Egyptian army returned to Egypt, refusing to support Demetrius. After this, at the instigation of Laethenes, a strict search was made for those who had been adverse to Demetrius or his father, in the late conflict, and they were all put to death. Deeming himself secure, Demetrius, by a false economy, disbanded the greatest part of his army, retaining in his pay only his Cretan band, and some other mercenaries; thereby weakening the stability of his throne.

In the meanwhile, Jonathan besieged the citadel of Jerusalem, which the Syrians and apostate Jews still held in their possession. Complaint of this operation having reached Demetrius, he cited Jonathan to Ptolemais to answer for his conduct. Jonathan obeyed the summons, but left orders that the siege should be vigorously prosecuted in his absence. He took with him rich presents for the king and his ministers, by which he so won the favour of Demetrius, that he confirmed him in the priesthood, with all his other honours, and also ratified the offers of his father, which Jonathan had once declined for the friendship of Alexander Balas.

As the citadel of Jerusalem still held out, Jonathan applied to Demetrius to withdraw the garrisons from it; and also from Bethsura. Demetrius promised to comply with this request, provided Jonathan would send him a reinforcement to quell a dangerous disturbance which had broken out at Antioch. Jonathan rendered the required services; but when Demetrius deemed himself secure, he repaid his services with ingratitude. He violated his engagements at Ptolemais, demanded taxes, tribute, and tolls as before, and thus alienated the Jews as effectually as his other subjects.

Alexander Balas left a son called Antiochus, whom the Arabian emir, Zabdiel, retained in his hands when he slew the father. At this critical juncture, Diodotus, afterwards denominated Tryphon, the former governor of Antioch under Alexander Balas, went into Arabia and prevailed upon Zabdiel to send the young prince with him to claim the crown of Syria. This scheme was crowned with success. Antiochus was received by the malcontents and disbanding soldiers with joy, and in a battle that ensued, Demetrius was defeated, his elephants taken, and Antioch lost. B. C. 144.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS II.

Antiochus was crowned under the title of *Theos*, which had been borne by a predecessor. As soon as this ceremony was over, Tryphon wrote in his name to invite the co-operation of

Jonathan, and offered in return all the conditions broken by Demetrius, and the appointment of his brother Simon to the royal governorship of the district extending from the mountains between Tyre and Ptolemais to the borders of Egypt. These conditions were accepted, and Jonathan expelled, with the assistance of the Syrian forces, the hostile garrisons from Gaza, Bethsura, and Joppa. The citadel at Jerusalem, however, still held out for Demetrius, and maintained a long siege.

Tryphon had contemplated the advancement of the youthful Antiochus, merely as a means of obtaining the crown of Syria for his own brow. In his judgment, things were now ripe for putting this plan into execution, if Jonathan could be removed. This he soon effected. He invaded Palestine, and had advanced as far as Bethshan, when being intimidated by the appearance of Jonathan with 40,000 men, he pretended that his intentions were peaceable, and that he had entered the country solely with the view of putting him in possession of Ptolemais. The Jewish hero credited his tale, and dismissed his army, except 3000 men, 2000 of whom he left in Galilee, and advanced with the other thousand to take possession of Ptolemais. This was a fatal step. Jonathan had no sooner entered Ptolemais, than the city gates were shut, his men cut in pieces, and himself laden with chains. Soon after, the Jewish hero was put to death by the perfidious Tryphon, together with the young monarch. Tryphon adorned his brows with the blood-stained crown. B. C. 143.

TRYPHON.

On ascending the throne of Syria, Tryphon sought to establish himself thereon by an alliance with Rome. For this purpose, he sent thence a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory. But he was disappointed in his views. The Romans accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be engraved thereon, as though the present came from him.

During this period, Demetrius had been luxuriating in pleasure at Laodicea. At length, however, B. C. 141, being joined by Simon, whom the Jews had placed at their head on the death of Jonathan, and being invited by deputies from the east, he recovered somewhat from his lethargy. He invaded the eastern provinces, which had revolted, with a great army, and was at first successful; but he was at last surprised by Mithridates, a valiant and wise prince, who then reigned over the Parthians, who defeated him, and detained him prisoner during ten years.

During his captivity, Demetrius having married Rhodogune, the sister of the Parthian king, his queen, Cleopatra, who had fled to Seleucia for protection against the usurper, offered the crown of Syria to his brother, Antiochus, afterwards called *Sidetes*, from his passion for hunting, on condition that he would marry her. Antiochus accepted the offer, and assumed the title of king.

As a preparatory measure, Antiochus wrote a letter, next year, B. C. 140, from Cyprus, where he had remained after his brother's accession, to

Simon, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, announcing his intention of coming to recover his father's dominions from Tryphon; and to secure his assistance, he confirmed all the grants of his father, and of his brother, in their full extent, together with the privilege of coining money, a privilege which seemed wanting to complete the secondary independence which the Jewish rulers had by this time attained.

The next year, B. C. 139, Antiochus landed in Syria, to attack Tryphon, whose tyrannies had been such, that on the appearance of his opponent, he was deserted by most of his forces. Thus shorn of power, Tryphon fled to Dora, on the coast of Palestine. Antiochus pursued him thither, but he fled by sea to Orthosia, a maritime town of Phenicia, and from thence to Apamea, where he was captured and put to death.

ANTIOCHUS SIDETES.

Having no rival to contend with, Antiochus *Sidetes* early formed a plan of reducing all the cities of Syria, which, taking advantage of the late troubles, had shaken off the yoke, and made themselves independent. This he accomplished, and elated with success, and forgetting the services of Simon and the Jews against his rival, he broke his engagement with them, reclaimed the citadel of Jerusalem, the cities of Joppa and Gazara, or else to pay 500 talents for each of the latter, and 500 more for the arrears of tribute from those cities beyond the limits of Judea, of which the Jews had gained possession, and on account of ravages committed by them in his dominions. At the same time, Antiochus sent Cendebeus, with a powerful army, to invade Judea; but he was defeated by the Jews, under John Hyrcanus and Judas, the two sons of Simon, and the Syrians were expelled the country.

Defeated in this quarter, and compelled to sign terms of peace, Antiochus prepared to march with a powerful army against Phraates, king of Parthia, under pretence of rescuing his brother, Demetrius Nicator, from captivity; but in reality to recover some provinces recently usurped by the Parthians. At first, Antiochus had great success. He thrice defeated Phraates, and retook Babylon and Media, B. C. 131. The next year, however, the inhabitants of the east, who had been grievously oppressed by his army, taking advantage of their separation while in winter quarters, conspired with the Parthians, and pitilessly massacred Antiochus, with almost his whole army.

After his third defeat, Phraates had set Demetrius at liberty, and sent him with a body of troops, in order to make a diversion in Syria, that Antiochus might be induced to relinquish his enterprise. Upon the news of this massacre, he sent to retake Demetrius; but he had made such speed that he escaped the pursuit, and on his re-appearance in Syria, coupled with the news of the death of his brother, he again recovered his crown. B. C. 130.

SECOND NOTICE OF DEMETRIUS NICATOR.

The first act of Demetrius after his resumption of the crown of Syria, was to march an army into Egypt, at the invitation of Cleopatra

against Ptolemy Physcon. As he was besieging Pelusium, however, he was recalled by the news of a revolt at Antioch, Apamea, and other cities, which he hastened to put down. He was unsuccessful. In order to be revenged upon him for his invasion of Egypt, Ptolemy Physcon fomented the revolt by setting up an impostor against him, called Alexander Zebina, who was the son of a broker at Alexandria. A battle was fought, in which Demetrius was defeated, and soon after he was slain at Tyre, whither he resorted for refuge, by the treacherous governor. B.C. 126.

On the flight of Demetrius, his rival, Alexander Zebina, put on the crown of Syria; but he did not obtain the whole of the kingdom, as part was retained by Cleopatra, widow of the two last brother kings, and Alexander Balas.

ALEXANDER ZEBINA.

The ensuing history of the Seleucidæ, observes Heeren, is a picture of civil wars, family feuds, and deeds of horror, such as are scarcely to be paralleled. One of the leading actors in these events was Cleopatra. Seleucus, her eldest son, had been proclaimed king by her, that her cause might be strengthened; but when, in the twentieth year of his age, B.C. 124, he manifested a desire to reign, she slew him with a javelin by her own hands.

Alexander Zebina strengthened his cause by an alliance with John Hyrcanus, who availed himself of the troubles in Syria to confirm his independence, and enlarge his dominion. Zebina, however, could not long maintain his position. Refusing to do homage to Ptolemy Physcon for the crown of Syria, that monarch came to an agreement with Cleopatra, his niece, gave his daughter Tryphena in marriage to her son Antiochus, surnamed Grypus, or "hook-nosed," and sent an army into Syria to drive Zebina from his throne. A battle was fought, in which Zebina was defeated, and ultimately he fell into the hands of Ptolemy, by whom he was put to death.

By the issue of this battle, Cleopatra became mistress of all Syria. B.C. 120.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS.

The youngest son of Cleopatra, Antiochus Grypus, was now nominally seated on the throne. Soon after, finding that Grypus was also disposed to claim the power as well as the name of king, Cleopatra prepared poison for him; but having been forewarned of her design, the young king compelled her to drink the potion herself, which put an end to her wicked career.

During eight years, after the death of his mother, Antiochus Grypus reigned in peace. At the end of that time, a half-brother, whom his mother had borne to Antiochus Sidetes, and who had been brought up at Cyzicus on the Propontis, whence his name Antiochus Cysicienus, appeared as a competitor for the crown; and after various conflicts, the brothers agreed, in B.C. 112, to divide the empire between them.

It was during this struggle that Tryphena, wife of Grypus, demanded and obtained the murder of her sister, Cleopatra, wife of Antiochus Cy-

zicienus, as related in the History of the Egyptians.

ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS AND ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS.

In virtue of this division of the empire, Antiochus Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus Cysicienus at Damascus, having for his portion Cælo-Syria and Phenicia.

In this peaceful interval, the brothers abandoned themselves to those evil excesses in which the fallen nature of man delights. During the period of their licentiousness, and the preceding storm of war, John Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, increased his power to such an extent, that he became one of the most powerful princes of his age. Judea, Galilee, Samaria, with many frontier places in the neighbouring countries, owned his sway. When the conqueror besieged Samaria, Antiochus Cysicienus marched to its relief; but he was met on the way by a detachment of the Jewish army under the command of Aristobulus, and totally routed, which victory raised the glory of the Asamonean princes to its height.

The peace between Antiochus Grypus and his brother, Antiochus Cysicienus, was not of long continuance. They again flew to arms, and while they were struggling for sole empire, Tyre, Sidon, Ptolemais, and Gaza, shook off the Syrian yoke; while Theodorus caused himself to be acknowledged sovereign of Gadara and Amathus, and Zolius possessed himself of Dora and Straton's Tower, with other places and towns.

During these distractions, B.C. 97, Grypus was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his vassals, after having reigned twenty-five years. He left five sons, Seleucus Nicator, the eldest, by whom he was succeeded; Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucharis; and Antiochus Dionysius.

SELEUCUS Nicator II. AND ANTIOCHUS CYZICENUS.

On the death of his brother Grypus, Antiochus Cysicienus seized Antioch, and redoubled his efforts to possess himself of the whole empire. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many strong cities, maintained himself against his uncle, and supported his rights. He met him in battle, defeated him, took him prisoner, and put him to death.

Seleucus now entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria. But it soon slipped away from him. Antiochus Eusebes, son of Cysicienus, who made his escape from Antioch when Seleucus entered, retired to Aradus, in Phenicia, where he caused himself to be proclaimed king. From thence, B.C. 93, he marched at the head of a large army, engaged Seleucus, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and abandon the rest to the conqueror.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES.

The cause of the fugitive prince, Seleucus, was at first espoused by the Mopsuestians with much zeal; but Seleucus having burdened them with taxes, they revolted, and investing the

palace in which he resided, set fire to it, and he and all his attendants perished in the flames.

Upon the death of Seleucus, his twin brothers, Antiochus and Philip, led all the troops they could collect against Mopsuestia, took it by assault, put all the inhabitants to the sword, and razed it to the ground. On their return, however, they were encountered by Eusebes, on the banks of the Orontes, and their forces defeated. Antiochus perished in attempting to swim over the Orontes on horseback; but Philip, having made a judicious retreat, and kept his forces together, was enabled yet to dispute empire with Eusebes.

The better to establish himself upon the throne of Damascus, Eusebes had married Selene, the widow of Grypus. This gave offence to Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, whose wife she had been till compelled by his mother, Cleopatra, to divorce her; and that prince sent to Cnidus, for Demetrius Eucharæ, the fourth son of Grypus, and made him king of Damascus. Neither Philip nor Eusebes were at liberty to oppose the new king, being engaged in war against each other. Philip, however, daily gained strength, and at length defeated Eusebes, obliging him to quit Syria, and take refuge among the Parthians, by which victory the Syrian empire was divided between Philip and Demetrius Eucharæ.

PHILIP AND DEMETRIUS EUCHARÆ.

The brothers commenced their reign in peace; but peace was of short duration. Demetrius, ambitious of possessing the whole empire, raised an army, and chased his brother from the throne of Antioch. He fled to Straton, who was lord of Beroza, now Aleppo, and who, with the assistance of Zizus, an Arabian king, and the Parthian Mithridates, revenged the wrongs done to Philip. In a battle fought with Demetrius, he was taken prisoner, and sent as a present to the king of Parthia, in whose dominions he died.

After this victory, Philip resumed his rule at Antioch. But peace was not for him. Eusebes, probably supported by the Parthian king, invaded the Syrian provinces bordering on Parthia, and quickly overran them. Philip hastened to oppose him; but while he was thus engaged in the north, a new rival appeared in the south. Antiochus Dionysius, brother of Philip, and the youngest of the five sons of Grypus, seized on Cælo-Syria, and chose Damascus for the seat of empire.

PHILIP AND ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS.

On ascending the throne, Antiochus Dionysius engaged in a war with Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, leaving his dominions at the mercy of Philip, who, by the treachery of Milesius, commander of the castle, made himself master of Damascus. Milesius expected a large reward for his treachery, and being disappointed, the first time Philip left the city he shut the gates against him, and kept the place for Dionysius, and delivered it up to him on his return out of Arabia. Philip then retired to Antioch, and Antiochus returned to renew the war in Arabia.

In this second expedition, Antiochus Dionysius led his army along the coasts of Palestine.

Alexander Janneus, now high priest, could not regard his approach with composure; whence, to intercept his march, he dug an intrenchment from Chabarabab, afterwards Antipatras, to the sea, about sixteen miles, and he provided it with a wall and wooden towers, and garrisoned it with soldiers. But Antiochus burned the towers, forced his way through the garrison, and marched into Arabia, where he perished.

On the death of Antiochus, the Damascenes invited to the throne the very Arabian emir with whom they had been at war. This new king undertook an expedition against Alexander Janneus, whom he defeated at Adida; but a treaty was afterwards concluded, and he retired from Judea.

At length, the Syrians grew weary of the continual and ruinous contests of the Seleucidian princes, and in order to get rid of them, they offered the crown of Syria to Tigranes, king of Armenia, which was accepted. *a.c.* 84.

TIGRANES.

When Tigranes took possession of the country, Philip fled, and Antiochus Eusebes withdrew to Cilicia, where he lived in obscurity until his death. Selene, wife of Eusebes, however, remained Ptolemais, with part of Cælo-Syria and Phenicia, where she brought up her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus Cybiastætes. On the death of Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, Selene put in her claim to the crown, and sent her two sons to Rome to propitiate the senate in her favour. Being disappointed in her aim, she endeavoured to enlarge her dominions in Syria, and prevailed upon many cities to revolt from Tigranes. This produced a war. Tigranes entered Syria at the head of a large army, and having compelled Selene to shut herself up in Ptolemais, he laid siege to that place, reduced it, and captured Selene, and put her to death.

After this victory, Tigranes ruled over Syria in peace till the great war of the Romans in Asia Minor, against Mithridates, king of Pontus. Tigranes was early involved in this war, and in *a.c.* 69, he was compelled to withdraw his forces, to contend with the Romans nearer home.

ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS.

The withdrawal of the forces of Tigranes from Syria, gave Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Selene and Antiochus Eusebes, an opportunity of seizing the government; and having contracted an alliance with Lucullus, the Roman general, he contrived to retain a part of the empire, until the arrival of Pompey in the east, *a.c.* 65. Antiochus Asiaticus humbly sued to be confirmed in his kingdom; but Pompey refused, on the pretext that he was unable to defend the country against the Jews and Arabs, and that the Romans having overcome Tigranes, Syria belonged to Rome by right of conquest. His dominions, therefore, together with Phenicia, became a Roman province.

Thus, in the person of Antiochus Asiaticus, was deposed the last of a regal dynasty, descended from Seleucus Nicator, which had ruled Syria for 247 years; that is, from *a.c.* 312, to *a.c.* 65.

"Power to the oppressors of the world is given,
A might of which they dream not. Oh! the curse,
To be the awakener of diviner thoughts,
Father and founder of exalted deeds;
And, to whole nations bound in servile straits,
The liberal donor of capacities
More than heroic! this to be, nor yet
Have sense of one unnatural wish, nor yet
Deserve the least return of human thanks;
Winning no recompense but deadly hate
With pity mixed, astonishment with scorn!"

So Providence is served; but,

The forked weapon of the skies can send
Illumination into deep, dark holds,
Which the mild sunbeam hath not power to pierce.
WORDSWORTH.

These lines are strikingly illustrative of the history of the Seleucidæ. Power and empire were given unto this dynasty over their fellow men, above that of the surrounding nations. Their horn of power, branching out of the broken horn of Alexander, was stronger than that of its three competitors, representing Thrace, Egypt, and Macedonia. The eastern world owned their sway, kings bowed down to them, and cities arose at their command. But there their glory ceases. Mankind were to them but

instruments to serve their ambition and their evil passions. Had the Seleucidæ been a race of able and enlightened princes, they might have diffused the lights of literature, arts, and science, over the regions of the east, and dispelled the gloom of ignorance with which it has ever been covered. But such was not their character. Throughout their whole history, war and the din of war rings its awful sounds in the ears of the reader. Jew and Gentile, strangers and their own subjects, were alike, in turn, the objects of their pursuit in the field of battle. Nor were their nearest kindred forgotten in this destruction. Their latter history affords a sickening picture of human nature. It was truly a house divided against itself. At length, their subjects, burning with deadly hatred towards their race, spurned them from the throne with scorn. Providence was on their side. Events were so marvellously brought about, that by a sudden and easy transition, their empire passed into the hands of others. That great and terrible wild beast with iron teeth and ten horns, Rome, rampant for empire, seized upon Syria as lawful prey.

"Verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth," *Psa. lviii. 11.*

THE HISTORY OF THE PARTHIANS.

THE COUNTRY AND CITIES OF PARTHIA.

PARTHIA, called by Strabo and Arrian Parthya, originally comprised a small and mountainous country south-east of the Caspian Sea, between Hyrcania and Aria; but the name was frequently applied to the countries included in the latter Parthian empire. This empire was divided into satrapies, eighteen of which are enumerated, and it comprised likewise several small kingdoms, which preserved their own rulers, only that they were tributary, such as Persia.

It is difficult to define the boundaries of Parthia Proper, as they differed at various times. In the days of Strabo, Parthia extended on the west as far as Rhagæ and the Tapari, to the Caspian passes, and included the districts of Komisene (Kumis) and Choaræne (Khvar.) According to Pliny, it was bounded on the east by the Arii; on the south by the Carmani and Ariani; on the west by the Pratire; and on the north by the Hyrcani.

The chief city of Parthia was Heratompyles, so called because of its hundred gates, or because all the roads in the Parthian dominions entered here. Quintus Curtius says, that it was founded by the Greeks; but the name, which is Greek, is probably only a translation of a native word. This was the metropolis of the empire, and the place where the first kings resided; but after they had made themselves masters of Assyria, they passed the winter at Ctesiphon, a town on the eastern bank of the Tigris, a little below Seleucia, and the summer at Ecbatana, in Hyrcania.

In the days of the glory of the Persian empire, Parthia was one of its provinces. By Herodotus the Parthians are classed in the sixteenth satrapy, along with the Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Arians; that is, the people of Khovarsam, Samarcand, and Herat. He does not, however, mention the particular province which these Parthians inhabited. See the History of the Persians.

THE ORIGIN, GOVERNMENT, ETC., OF THE PARTHIANS.

The origin of the Parthians has long been a matter of dispute among the learned, the name

Parthia and Parthians being unknown to Asiatic historians. European writers generally consider them as Scythian exiles, and assert that the term, in the ancient Scythian language, is significant of their wandering. Amongst these writers may be enumerated the authors of the Ancient Universal History, Ferguson, Rennel, Pinkerton, Gibbon, Bochart, and Heeren. None of these, however, have been able to trace the etymology of the word; and if they had, it might still remain a question, whether that appellation was assumed by the Parthians, or given them as a term of reproach by their Scythian neighbours.

Both ancient and modern authors differ greatly as to the particular tribe of Scythians to which the Parthians belonged. The authors of the Ancient Universal History say, that they were Gomerians, or Celts; others will have them to have been originally Dahæ; others, Getae, or Massagetae, who were the eastern, or Asiatic Scythians; while Jornandes says they were Goths, and Heeren hints, that their origin was probably Tartarian. Strabo says, that Arsaces, the first Parthian king who revolted from Antiochus Theos, was a Scythian of the tribe of the Parni Dahæ, who dwelt on the south-east angle of the Caspian Sea, adjacent to Hyrcania; and yet, in another place of his geography, he asserts, that the Parthians who dwelt upon the banks of the Tigris were formerly called Carduchi.

The practice of the Parthian horsemen, shooting their arrows backwards with unerring aim, while in full flight from a pursuing foe, is deemed, by Dr. Forster, a decisive evidence that they were descended from the warriors of Scythia. This is refuted by Rennel, who says, that the practice was as much Persian as Parthian, as may be gathered from the Anabasis of Xenophon, although it be very commonly referred to the Parthians alone; perhaps because it was so fatally experienced by the Roman army under Crassus. The Roman poets, who could never forget the fatal consequences of this method of discharging their arrows, frequently allude to it in their pages. Thus Virgil says,

With backward bows the Parthians shall be there,
And, spurring from the fight, confess their fear.
Gæsaræ 111.

And Horace:

The Roman dreads the Parthian's speed,
His flying war and backward road;
While death, unheralded, sweeps away
The world, his everlasting way.

By this latter poet, the Parthians are called Medes:

Nor let the Median with unpunished pride,
Beyond his bounds, O Caesar, dare to ride.

In another ode he calls them Persians:

Already the fierce Mede (or Persian) his arms reverts,
Which wide extend the imperial sway,
And bid the unwilling world obey:
The haughty Indian owns his fears,
And Scythians, doubtful of their doom,
Await the dread resolves of Rome.

After all the learned dust that has been scattered abroad on this question, it would appear that the Parthians were not derived from a distant country. There is nothing in their manners, customs, religion, military discipline, or titles of the Parthian sovereigns, that can lead to the supposition that they were of Scythian descent. All these they possessed in common with the Median and Persian tribes, who previously to them had the ruling power in Persia. They were, in fact, one of those numerous tribes which had from time immemorial dwelt in that extensive region. The very sense, says an eminent critic in geography, in which Strabo calls the Parthians Carduchians, is the same in which, in modern times, the Scotch, Welsh, and Irish, are often called English, after the inhabitants of the largest country; and that geographer places Parthia, and the people so called, in the same place where Herodotus had placed them four centuries before. No facts, sufficiently satisfactory, have yet been adduced to prove that the Parthians were originally a Scythian clan, so that they may be safely classed among the indigenous natives of Eerai, or Persia, in its largest acceptation.

The Romans represent the sovereigns of the Parthians as exceedingly proud and haughty, assuming the title of king of kings, like the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs before them. The same title was also assumed by the Sassanian monarchs; and, indeed, the title has been always used by the sovereigns of Persia of every dynasty. At the present day, the title of "Shah in Shah," or king of kings, is assumed by the sovereigns of that country. Both Greek and Roman writers accuse the Parthian monarchs of demanding and receiving divine honours. Thus, in allusion to the order which is maintained in a community of bees by mere instinct, Virgil says,

Not Egypt, India, Parthia, Media, more
With servile awe their idol king adore.

GEORGE IV.

These authors, however, forget that their own sovereigns and rulers sometimes claimed similar honours, and that they were commonly admitted into heaven, according to their mythology, as soon as dead, and ranked among the gods!

* This refers to Cesar.

The government of the Parthians was in every respect the same as that of the Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, and Persians—absolute and despotic in the highest degree. Their whole conduct was answerable to the lofty titles they assumed; for, not satisfied with the respect due to majesty, they obliged all those whom they deigned to honour with an interview, to kiss the threshold, on their first entering the palace; to prostrate themselves before them, with their faces on the ground; and to acknowledge their majesty with some offering, as though they appeared, says Dio, before the great Jupiter.

The constitution of the Parthians, says Heeren, was monarchical-aristocratic, something like that of the Poles, in the period of the Jagellons. At the king's side sat a supreme state council, (*senatus*, in all probability what was called the *magistratus*), who had the power of deposing the king, and the privilege, it is supposed, of confirming his accession previous to the ceremony of coronation performed by the field-marshal (*avarsas*.) The right of succession was only so far determined as belonging to the house of the Arsacides: the many pretenders to which this uncertainty gave rise produced factions and domestic wars, doubly injurious to the empire when fomented and shared by foreigners. Success did not accompany the arms of Rome herself against Parthia, until she had discovered the art of raising her own parties within the kingdom itself, by leading her support to pretenders.

The religion of the Parthians was the same with that of the Persians. The sun, alike with the fire their own hands kindled, were the objects of their adoration. They believed that those who fell in battle enjoyed perpetual happiness; a belief that stimulated them to the deadly strife of war, and that tended to smother the kinder feelings of humanity. They were strict observers of their word, thinking it highly dishonourable to violate their engagements, or to deceive. In this respect, they deserve our imitation; for truth is the bond of union, and the basis of human happiness. Without this virtue, there is no reliance upon language, no confidence in friendship, no security in promises and oaths. A Christian poet says:

Seize upon truth, where'er 'tis found,
Amongst your friends, amongst your foes,
On Christian, or on heathen ground:
The flower's divine where'er it grows.—WATTS.

That was a wise saying of Aristotle: We gain nothing by lying, but the disadvantage of not being credited when we speak the truth. Christians are more especially bound to practise this virtue: "Wherefore putting away lying," says the apostle Paul to the Ephesian converts, and to us also, "speak every man truth with his neighbour;" and he adds, as a reason for adopting this holy line of conduct, emphatically, "for we are members one of another," Eph. iv. 25. Reader, in all thy actions, adopt this golden rule.

The Parthians were a very warlike people, and they were esteemed the best horsemen and archers in the world; to which allusion has already been made. The consul Crassus, when being told by an astrologer that his expeditions

against the Parthians would prove unsuccessful, by reason of the ominous aspect of the constellation Scorpio, humorously replied, that he did not fear Scorpio, but Sagittarius, or the Archer. To their exercises of horsemanship and archery, the air and country greatly contributed, for the dry air, as Dio observes, seasoned their bows, and their plains afforded scope for training horses. From the age of twenty to fifty, they were all obliged to learn the military exercises, and to be ready at a short warning to take the field.

There is one remarkable fact noticed by the Roman historians respecting the Parthian armies; namely, the use of drums. They did not use trumpets, like other nations, but large hollow vessels of brass, covered with skins, such as our kettledrums, which, being beat with hammers, yielded a warlike sound.

The Parthians were so engrossed in the fearful art of war, that they utterly neglected agriculture, navigation, commerce, and the useful arts. On this subject, Heeren remarks: "With regard to Asiatic commerce, the Parthian supremacy was of importance, inasmuch as it interrupted the direct intercourse between the western and eastern countries; it being a maxim of the Parthians, not to grant a passage through their country to any stranger. The destruction of the trade occurs in the third period of the empire, being a natural result of the many wars with Rome, and the distrust thence ensuing. The East India trade, in consequence, took another road, through Palmyra and Alexandria, which were indebted to it for their splendour and prosperity. It is probable that this was the reason why excessive luxury took less hold on the Parthians than on the other ruling nations of Asia, notwithstanding their predilection for Grecian manners and literature, at that time generally prevalent throughout the east."

THE KINGDOM OF THE PARTHIANS.

ARSACES, OR ARSHAK, OR ARSHEK.

Arsaces was the founder of the Parthian monarchy. According to some oriental writers, he was of the royal Persian race of the Arheménides, and a descendant of Darius Codomannus; according to others, by birth a Parthian. Strabo says, that he was the king of the Dahie before the revolt of Parthia; and Syncellus, that he was a nobleman of Bactria.

It has been seen in the History of the Seleucids, that Arsaces revolted from the rule of the Syrian monarchs, and established himself on the throne of Parthia. It is from this epoch that the Parthians reckoned the recovery of their liberty, and hence the commencement of the Parthian empire is dated B.C. 229.

After this, Arsaces reduced Hyrcania, and some of the neighbouring provinces, and was slain, at last, after seven years' reign, according to Khondemir, in a battle with Ariarthes IV., king of Cappadocia. B.C. 222. He was succeeded by a son of the same name.

ARSACES, OR ARSHAK II.

Arsaces II. carried on a fierce war with An-

tiochus the Great, king of Syria, who at length relinquished to him the provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania, on the condition of assisting him to recover the rest. (See the History of the Seleucids, page 107.) He died B.C. 196, and was succeeded by his son.

PHRAPATIUS, OR SCHADOUR, OR PAGESHAKI HUYSEK,

concerning whom nothing more is known than that he reigned fifteen years, and left three sons behind him, namely, Phraates, Mithridates, and Artabanus. Phrapatius bequeathed his crown to his eldest son, Phraates. B.C. 180.

PHRAATES, OR BABARAN, OR FIROUZ.

Phraates is said to have reduced the Mardians, one of the most warlike nations of the east, who lived unsubdued till the days of Alexander. He also reduced other Median tribes. He died B.C. 168, after a reign of twelve years.

Phraates left many children; but having the welfare of the kingdom at heart, he bequeathed the crown to his brother, who had given many instances of wisdom, probity, and courage.

MITHRIDATES, OR FIROUZ.

Mithridates reduced the Bactrians, Persians, Medes, Elamites, and extended his dominions into India, even beyond the conquests of Alexander. He also defeated, and took Demetrius Nicator, king of Syria, prisoner, B.C. 141, and obtained possession of Mesopotamia and Babylonia; so that he became master of all the provinces between the Euphrates and the Ganges.

The reign of Mithridates is usually considered as the summit of Parthian grandeur; and he excelled not less as a statesman and legislator, than as a warrior. But neither his wisdom nor his valour could ward off the blow of the irresistible conqueror, death. He died B.C. 131, bequeathing his crown to his son Phraates, or Firoouz.

PHRAATES, OR FIROUZ II.

Immediately after the accession of Phraates, his kingdom was invaded by Antiochus Sidetes, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius from captivity. Sidetes was at first successful, and stripped Phraates of all the conquests in the late reign, and confined him to the circumscribed limits of the first Parthian kingdom. Afterwards, however, Phraates retrieved his affairs, and cut off Sidetes with his army. See the History of the Seleucids, page 125.

Flushed with this victory, Phraates resolved to invade Syria; but while he was making the necessary preparations, he became involved in a war at home with his Scythian neighbours. He had called this people to his assistance against Sidetes; but that prince being overcome, he refused to pay them for their services. Enraged at his conduct, the Scythians fell upon his country, and committed the most fearful ravages on every hand. In order to strengthen himself against so powerful an enemy, Phraates took into his service all the Greek mercenaries who had been made prisoners at the overthrow of Sidetes. This was a fatal measure. The Greeks had been treated by the Parthians with great barbarity during their captivity, and resolved to revenge them-

selves upon that people. Accordingly, in the first engagement, they went over to the Scythians in a body, and in conjunction with them they destroyed the Parthian army, killed Phraates, and desolated his dominions. A. C. 122.

Having satiated their revenge, both the Greeks and Scythians returned to their own countries.

ARTABANUS, OR ARDEVAN.

Artabanus, or Ardevan, uncle of the deceased monarch, took possession of the crown; but he was slain also, not many days after, by a Scythian tribe of the Thogarians.

Artabanus was succeeded by his son.

PACORUS.

Pacorus, hearing of the exploits of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Sylla, then, about A. C. 93, in Cappadocia, whither he had been sent by the Roman senate, to reinstate Ariobarzanes in his kingdom, after he had been dethroned by Tigranes, king of Armenia. The Parthians, though the most warlike and wealthy nation in Asia, were at that time little known to the Romans: Sylla was, therefore, overjoyed at the circumstance of receiving ambassadors from so gallant a nation. In his audience, he affected great state. Assuming the middle seat of honour, he placed Ariobarzanes on his right hand, and the Parthian ambassador on his left. This gave offence to Parthian majesty. (On the return of the ambassador, Pacorus caused him to be beheaded, for degrading the dignity of the Parthian monarch to a Roman prætor. Notwithstanding, he renewed the alliance with Lucullus, another Roman prætor, about A. C. 69.

Pacorus reigned during a period of fifty-three years; he died A. C. 68, and his son ascended the throne.

PHRAATES III., OR, KHOSROU.

In the beginning of his reign, Phraates espoused the cause of Tigranes, son of Tigranes the Great, king of Armenia. He gave him his daughter in marriage, and, invading Armenia, laid siege to Artaxata on his behalf; but when Pompey approached, about A. C. 66, he deemed it advisable to renew with him the alliance which his father had made at first with Sylla, and afterwards with Lucullus.

Phraates was murdered, after a reign of twelve years, by his own sons Orodes and Mithridates, A. C. 56.

ORODES.

The elder brother first took possession of the throne, but he was soon expelled by Mithridates, his brother, and partner in crime.

MITHRIDATES II.

The reign of Mithridates was brief. He rendered himself odious by his cruelties, and was in his turn obliged to abandon the kingdom, and take shelter with Gabinius, governor of Syria.

SECOND NOTICE OF ORODES.

On the flight of Mithridates, Orodes was re-placed on the throne by the *sarena*, or general-

issimo of the Parthian troops. Gabinius was persuaded to undertake the restoration of Mithridates; but after he had passed the Euphrates, being offered a princely sum to restore Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, the corrupt governor abandoned Mithridates. Rendered desperate by his misfortunes, Mithridates collected what forces he could, and retired into Seleucia, where he was besieged by his brother Orodes, who forced him to surrender, and cruelly put him to death, being himself an eye-witness of his execution.

Soon after his re-establishment on the throne, A. C. 54, Orodes was unexpectedly invaded, in a time of profound peace, by the Roman prætor Crassus, through motives of the most sordid avarice. Having crossed the Euphrates by a bridge of boats, Crassus entered the Parthian territories, and commenced hostilities. Having made no preparations for their defence, the Parthians were easily driven out of all Mesopotamia. But there his conquests ended. By some strange blunder, instead of pursuing his career, Crassus re-passed the Euphrates in the beginning of the autumn, leaving only 7000 foot and 1000 horse to garrison the places he had taken: he put his army into winter quarters in Syria. This hasty retreat gave the Parthians time to recover from their terror, and to collect forces for their defence.

The issue of this unjust invasion of Parthia was most disastrous to the invader. In the next campaign, A. C. 53, Crassus, with his son and the greatest part of his army, were destroyed at Carrhae, in Mesopotamia, chiefly by the policy of the *sarena*, or generalissimo of the Parthian forces. It is said that the Romans lost 20,000 men killed, and 10,000 who were taken prisoners in this campaign. These prisoners continued in captivity among the Parthians, and contracting marriages, became identified with them, as may be learned from Horace. Deploring the degeneracy of his country, he says,

O name of country, once how sacred deem'd!
O sad reverse of manners, once esteem'd!
While Rome her ancient majesty maintain'd,
And in his capitol while Jove imperial reign'd,
Could they to foreign spouses meekly yield
Whom Crassus led with honour to the field?
They have to their barbarian lords allied,
Grown old in hostile arms beneath a tyrant's pride.

Dion Cassius, an experienced soldier and judicious historian, observes on this campaign of Crassus, that the Roman army were either ignorant of what ought to be done, or unable to execute it; adding, that they seemed to be blinded and persecuted by some divinity, who disabled them from using their understandings or their arms. The Divinity whose power was thus visible to this heathen writer was, doubtless, the one true God, who revenged thereby the sacrilegious plunder and profanation of his holy temple; an act which Crassus had committed in his march towards Parthia.

When the battle of Carrhae was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, celebrating the nuptials of Pacorus, his son, with a daughter of the king of Armenia. He was overjoyed at receiving the head of his foe Crassus, and at hearing of the overthrow of the Roman forces. But his good

fortune led him into crime. Under the influence of envy, he believed himself eclipsed by the lustre of the *serena*, and ungratefully put him to death soon after, placing Pacorus, his favourite son, at the head of the army, in his stead. So true it is, that in every age and nation

With false is just proportion envy grows :
The man that makes a character makes foes.—Yours.

Orodes was punished for his crime by a succession of adverse events. He invaded Syria unsuccessfully, which was saved by the bravery of Cicero and Cassius; and Ventidius, the lieutenant of Antony, in A.C. 38, defeated the Parthian army, slew Pacorus, the king's son, and thereby fully revenged the death of Crassus and the Roman army, who fell fifteen years before, and on the same day of the year.

In proportion as Orodes had been elated at the overthrow of Crassus, so was he cast down at the defeat and death of his son Pacorus. He could rejoice at the death of an enemy, and mock at the blood-stained corpse; but when the arrow of death smote one dear unto him, he felt the deadly pang of separation. For some time, reason held but a doubtful sway over his actions; but at length the gloom wore away, and he associated Phraates, his eldest son, with him in the kingdom.

Phraates was a monster of iniquity. He no sooner saw himself vested with sovereign authority, than he caused all his brothers by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be put to death. Orodes resenting this, Phraates attempted his life also, by poison; and this failing, he caused him to be stifled in his bed. A.C. 36.

PHRAATES IV., OR KHORROU II.

The crimes which Phraates committed before his sole sovereignty formed but part of a fearful tragedy. Having ascended the throne, he despatched all his brothers, thirty in number. He exercised the same cruelty, also, over the nobility, and even slew his own son, lest the discontented Parthians should place him on the throne. His conduct was so oppressive, and the lives of his subjects rendered so precarious, that many of the nobles quitted the kingdom, and put themselves under the protection of Antony, in Syria.

Among these Parthian refugees, was one Monesia, a man of great distinction, who, having gained the confidence of Antony, prevailed upon him to engage in a war with Phraates. The Roman general invaded Media, with design to reduce that country first, and from thence invade Parthia. But he was unsuccessful. After penetrating 300 miles into the country, he was compelled to retreat before the forces of Phraates, who cut off great numbers in their flight, and at length defeated them in a pitched battle on the borders of Armenia, with a loss little inferior to that of Crassus. A.C. 35.

After this victory, Phraates reduced all Media and Armenia, restoring Artaxias, the son of Artabanus, to the throne of the latter kingdom, who had been driven from it by Antony. But the triumphs of Phraates were momentary. Elated with success, he oppressed his subjects more cruelly than heretofore, whence the Parthian

nobility conspired against him, and placed Tiridates, one of their own body, on the throne.

These occurrences took place in the year, A.C. 31; but the next year Phraates returned into Parthia with a large army, defeated his rival, and recovered his crown. Tiridates retired into Syria, where Augustus found him after the death of Antony, and was solicited by him to lend his assistance against Phraates. At the same time, ambassadors arrived from Phraates to solicit the assistance of Augustus against his rival. Augustus received them both in a friendly manner, without intending to assist either. His policy was purely Roman. He sought rather to incense them against each other with fair promises, and thereby weaken the power and strength of that formidable empire. With this view, he gave Tiridates leave to continue in Syria till he should be able to contend with his rival; accepting from him a son of Phraates, who had fallen into his hands.

Having collected a number of forces, Tiridates returned into Parthia, and once more chased Phraates from his throne. Phraates had recourse to the Scythians, who reinstated him in his kingdom, and supported him in it with a great army. Tiridates, with his conjuncture, now fled to Rome, to implore the assistance of Augustus. He offered to hold the kingdom as a vassal of Rome. It is probable that Tiridates would have succeeded in his designs; but he was prevented by Phraates. Hearing that Tiridates had fled to Rome, he despatched ambassadors there also, and by agreeing to restore the Roman captives and standards that had been taken from Crassus and Antony, he averted the threatened blow. He gave also four of his sons to Augustus, as hostages for the performance of the conditions required, through dread of his subjects deserting him in a fresh Roman war, rather than through terror of the name of Augustus, as Justin reports, and Horace sings, in a fulsome panegyric of that ruler:

"Who shall the faithless Parthian dread,
The freezing armies of the north?
Or the fierce youth, to battle bred,
Whom horrid Germany brings forth?
Who shall regard the war of cruel Spain,
If Cesar live secure—if Cesar reign?"

"Safe in his vineyard tills the hind,
Weds to the widow'd elm his vine,
Till the sun sets his hill behind,
Then hastens joyful to his wine,
And in his gayer hour of mirth implores
Thy godhead to protect and bless his stores."

"To thee he chants the sacred song,
To thee the rich libation pours;
Thee, placed his household gods among,
With solemn daily prayer adores;
So Castor and great Hercules of old
Were with her gods by grateful Greece enroll'd."

The Parthians, in their base compliances to majesty, never exceeded this Roman adulation.

Freed from the danger of a Roman invasion, Phraates deemed himself secure. But vengeance pursued and overtook him in his own family—that family which he had desolated. His illegitimate son, Phraates, was placed on the throne by his ambitious mother, Thermusa, after having administered poison to the guilty monarch. A.D. 4.

Dr. Hales observes that Phraates, whom he designates as a monster of cruelty, was contem-

porary with Herod the Great, whom he resembled in this trait of his character. He had given an asylum at Seleucia to the venerable and unfortunate Hyrcanus, king of Judæa, in his exile. When Herod sent an embassy to Phraates, to permit Hyrcanus to return to Jerusalem, the Parthian king tried to dissuade him from going home; but in vain: he returned, and was sacrificed some time after to the wicked policy of the Idumean.

The author of the *Sebtarikh*, notices that the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ, was born during the reign of Phraates, which period was thus eminently signalized by such cruel tyrants: an event which the oppressed world might have hailed in the language of the angels who stooped from heaven to announce it to the shepherds in the fields of Bethlehem: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men," Luke ii. 14.

PHRAATES.

Phraates had scarcely taken his seat upon the throne of Parthia, when the Parthians drove him from it into banishment, and placed Orodes II. thereon in his stead.

ORODES II.

Orodes was generally hated for his cruel and savage temper, and, after reigning during the space of eleven years, he was destroyed at a banquet. A.D. 15.

On the death of Orodes, the Parthians sent ambassadors to Rome, entreating Augustus to send one of the sons of Phraates to rule over them. The emperor readily despatched Vonones, or Narses.

VONONES, OR NARSES.

This prince was received with every demonstration of joy; but as he affected the Roman manners and dress, the Parthians soon grew weary of him, and invited Artabanus, king of Media, who was likewise of the house of Arsaces, to take possession of the crown, with which invitation he readily complied. A.D. 18.

ARTABANUS, OR ARDEVAN II.

In coming to take possession of his new crown, Artabanus was met on the frontiers by Vonones, and defeated; but he raised a second army, and obtained a complete victory over his rival, who retired successively to Armenia, Syria, and Cilicia, in which latter country he was finally killed by a Roman soldier.

Artabanus followed the line of policy which so many of the Parthian kings had recently adopted to their own destruction—that of cruelty. His removal was therefore soon resolved upon. Some of the Parthian nobility sent privately to Rome for Phraates, one of the hostages who had been delivered to Augustus. The deputies represented, that the Parthians were ripe for insurrection, and that a descendant of Arsaces, supported by Rome, and seen on the banks of the Euphrates, would occasion an immediate revolt. Tiberius, who had succeeded Augustus, was glad of an opportunity of raising new disturbances in Parthia, and he immediately despatched Phraates to recover his father's kingdom; but that prince, on his arrival in Syria, was cut off by death.

Tiberius did not abandon the enterprise. He set up Tiridates, another prince of the royal family, and wrote to Mithridates Iberus, requesting him to invade Armenia with his brother Pharasmanes, king of Iberia, and by that means to draw Artabanus out of his own kingdom. This plan was successful. Artabanus hastened into Armenia to defend that part of his dominions, but was twice defeated, and he was at length obliged to take refuge among the Carmanians and Hyrcanians.

Upon the retreat of Artabanus, Vitellius, governor of Syria, advanced with his legions to the banks of the Euphrates; and, having crossed that river on a bridge of boats, caused Tiridates to be proclaimed king of Parthia.

TIRIDATES.

The new monarch was welcomed by the Parthian nobility, and Vitellius repossessed the Euphrates with his legions, and retired into Syria. He was, however, no sooner gone, than Phraates and Hiero, two Parthian nobles, out of envy to Tiridates' minister, Abdageses, recalled Artabanus, and with the aid of the Scythians, Dahæ, and Sacæ, re-established him on the throne. Tiridates first retired into Mesopotamia, with the intention of raising forces sufficient to contest the crown; but he was abandoned by those he led thither, and was compelled to retire into Syria.

SECOND NOTICE OF ARTABANUS, OR ARDEVAN II.

Had Artabanus been wise, it is probable that he might now have retained the throne of Parthia in peace. Renewing his cruelties, however, his subjects once more conspired against him, and compelled him to take refuge in the dominions of Izates, king of the Adiabeniens. Izates entertained him hospitably, and by his intercession reinstated him on the throne of Parthia, after he had, by solemn oath, promised to forgive those who had taken up arms against him. This second lesson was effectual to his reformation. From this time he governed his subjects with equity and moderation, and, after a reign of thirty years, he died, leaving behind him seven sons. By his will, Artabanus appointed Bardanes, his second son, to succeed him. A.D. 48.

BARDANES.

Bardanes was an ungrateful monster. Forgetful of the obligations his family owed to Izates, he made war upon that prince, because he refused to assist him in a war with the Romans. This ingratitude was resented by the Parthian nobility. Incensed thereby, they rose in arms against him and slew him, and raised Gotarzes to the throne, in opposition to Meherdates, grandson of Phraates, whose cause was advocated by a party among the Parthian nobility. A.D. 47.

GOTARZES.

Gotarzes commenced his reign in cruelty. He grievously oppressed those who adhered to Meherdates, which caused them to look to Rome for succour. A deputation was sent privately to the emperor Claudius, soliciting him to send Meherdates to reign over them. Claudius readily complied with their request, and having exhorted

Meherdates to govern with equity and moderation, he dismissed him, and wrote to Caius Cassius, governor of Syria, enjoining him to attend the young prince to the banks of the Euphrates.

Agreeably to his instructions, Cassius drew together his legions, and marched with him to Zeugma, where the river was then fordable. At this place he encamped, and being joined by Abgarus, king of Edessa, and many Parthian chiefs, he exhorted Meherdates to execute his design without delay, lest the Parthians should alter their conduct towards him, and join his competitor.

This was sound advice; but it was frustrated by the treachery of Abgarus, who, although he had espoused the interest of Meherdates openly, was secretly attached to Gotarzes. Abgarus detained Meherdates many days, and then prevailed upon him to pass through Armenia, (which, as winter was already commenced, was for the most part covered with snow,) instead of entering Mesopotamia, though he was on the very borders of that country.

As Meherdates came down into the campaign country, wearied with the deep snow, he was met by Carrhane, a leading man among the Parthians, at the head of some reinforcements. Thence he crossed the Tigris, passed through the country of the Adiabeniens, and made himself master of Nineveh and the strong castle of Arbela. But here his successes ended. Having offered sacrifices on Mount Samblus, to the gods of the place, especially to Hercules, Gotarzes came and encamped in the plain, with the river Carræ between him and Meherdates. While encamped before each other, Abgarus, king of the Edessans, went over to Gotarzes, and his example was followed by many others; so that when the armies joined issue, Meherdates was easily overthrown. He himself was taken prisoner, and Gotarzes directed his ears to be cut off, in contempt of the Romans.

Gotarzes did not long survive his victory. He died soon after, and was succeeded by Vonones, at that time governor of Media.

VONONES II.

The reign of Vonones was brief and inglorious, whence no records are left of it by ancient historians. He was succeeded in his kingdom, A.D. 50, by Vologeses, son of Gotarzes, according to Josephus; and of Vonones, according to Tacitus.

VOLOGESSES.

In the beginning of his reign, Vologeses invaded Armenia, and made himself master of Artaxata and Tigranocerta, the two chief cities of that kingdom. Rhadamistus, an Iberian usurper, then upon the throne of Armenia, fled before him, and upon his retreat Vologeses declared his brother, Tiridates, king of that country. This led to a war with the Romans. Domitius Corbulo, charged by Nero with the defence of Armenia, expelled Tiridates, and placed Tigranes, a Cappadocian, on the throne in his stead. Incensed at this, Vologeses collected a great army, for the purpose of making a descent on the Roman provinces. In this, however, he was thwarted, chiefly by the activity of Corbulo, and he was compelled to humble him-

self to Nero, upon which the ancient alliance of the two empires was renewed.

From this time, no mention is made of Vologeses till about A.D. 68, when he made an offer of assisting Vespasian in the Jewish war with an army of 40,000 cavalry. Vespasian declined the offer, but renewed the ancient treaties with the Parthians, dismissed the ambassadors, loaded with presents, and maintained, during the reign of Vologeses, a good understanding with the Parthians.

Being disengaged from all foreign and domestic wars, Vologeses commenced building a city, which he called after his own name, Vologeseerta, or "the city of Vologeses;" but death prevented him from completing the work. He died A.D. 69, and was succeeded by his son Artabanus.

ARTABANUS III.

In opposition to Vespasian, this new monarch of Parthia espoused the cause of the counterfeit Nero; but the emperor did not deem it prudent to resent the affront, the kingdom of Parthia being in a flourishing condition, and the Roman provinces weakened by a recent irruption of the Alani, a barbarous people of Scythia, inhabiting the countries adjacent to the river Tanais.

Artabanus formed a design of invading Armenia; but he died before he could put it into execution. A.D. 77.

PACORUS II.

Pacorus II., the son of Artabanus, succeeded to the throne, and during a long reign, preserved a strict friendship with the Romans; whence he was enabled to improve the internal condition of the Parthian empire. He died A.D. 107, and was succeeded by Chosroes.

CHOSROES, OR KHOSRU.

On ascending the throne, Chosroes invaded Armenia, expelled Exadares, who had been appointed king of that country by the emperor Trajan, and placed his eldest son, Parthamasiris, on the throne in his stead. As this was an open violation of the treaties subsisting between the two empires, a war was commenced by Trajan, in which Chosroes lost the richest provinces of the Parthian empire; but Trajan dying immediately after his conquests, his successor, Adrian, voluntarily relinquished all the provinces beyond the Euphrates, withdrew the Roman garrisons from Mesopotamia, and concluded a peace, which Chosroes faithfully observed during the remainder of his reign. He died A.D. 166, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Vologeses.

VOLOGESSES II.

In the reign of Vologesses II., the Alani invaded Media, then subject to the Parthians, and committed great devastations; but they were prevailed upon, with rich presents, sent them by Vologeses, to return home.

Vologeses, in his turn, invaded Armenia and Syria, in the reign of Antoninus Pius; but the Romans made a severe retaliation under Statius Priscus in Armenia, and Cassius, in connexion with Martinus Verna, in the Parthian territories; so that he was finally compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Rome, on condition of not

being molested in the eastern provinces beyond the Euphrates, which was the common boundary of the two empires.

These are the only two leading events recorded of the reign of Vologeses II. Soon after peace was concluded, he was carried off by death. A.D. 194.

VOLOGESIS III.

This prince was the nephew of the preceding monarch. He espoused the cause of Niger, the rival of the emperor Severus, which involved him in a war with Rome. Severus overran the Parthian dominions, and captured Ctesiphon; but he had no sooner recrossed the Euphrates, than Vologeses recovered all the provinces, except Mesopotamia, which Severus had reduced.

Soon after, Vologeses was engaged in a war, destructive to his subjects, with his brother Artabanus, who, encouraged by some of the nobility, attempted to rob him of his crown. Vologeses gained several victories over his brother and rebellious subjects; but he died before he could bring this civil war to a conclusion. A.D. 216.

ARTABANUS IV.

This prince, who had a numerous army at his command, seized the throne on his brother's death, in utter disregard of the better claim which Tiridates, his elder brother, had to the honour.

After his accession, Artabanus was drawn into a war with the Romans by the treachery of Caracalla, who sent an embassy desiring his daughter in marriage. Pleased with the alliance, Artabanus readily agreed, and went to meet him with the chief of the nobility and his best troops, all unarmed. But Caracalla perfidiously fell upon the peaceable multitude, and massacred and took many of them prisoners. Artabanus escaped, and in revenge raised a mighty army, and carried war and devastation into Syria. He was met by Macrinus, A.D. 217, after the assassination of Caracalla, with a mighty army also, and the two armies contended with each other for two days with great fury, without any decisive advantage on either side. At length, when Artabanus was going to renew the battle on the third day, declaring he would continue it till the Parthians or Romans were utterly destroyed, Macrinus sent a herald to inform him that Caracalla, the object of his indignation, was dead, and to propose peace. The Parthian king readily agreed to this proposal, on the restoration of the prisoners so treacherously taken, and repayment of his expenses in the war.

But the term of the Parthian empire was drawing to a close. The flower of the Parthian army being destroyed in this struggle with the Romans, Artaxerxes, a gallant Persian, encouraged his countrymen to seize this opportunity of shaking off the Parthian yoke. Upon the news of this revolt, Artabanus marched with speed to suppress it. A battle ensued, which is said to have continued for three successive days, when the Parthians were defeated, and Artabanus taken and put to death.

By the issue of this battle, the Parthian empire was subverted: the Parthians became vassals to a nation which had before ruled over them, but

which had been subject to them during the space of 454 years; namely, from A.C. 279, to A.D. 226. See the History of the Persians.

"Where is the flame

Which the vain-glorious might of the earth
Seek to eternize! Oh! the faintest sound
From time's light foot-fall, the minutest wave
That swells the flood of ages, whelms in nothing
The unsubstantial bubble. Ay, to-day
Stern is the tyrant's mandate, red the gaze
That flashes desolation, strong the arm
That scatters multitudes. To-morrow comes!
That mandate is a thunder peal that died
In ages past; that gaze, a transient flash
On which the midnight closed; and on that arm
The worm has made his meal."

Mighty as the Parthian empire was, time has long borne it away upon the bosom of its ever-flowing stream. The pride and the strength of its monarchs have long mingled with the dust of the earth. Tyrants as they were, the sterner tyrant death has long laid them prostrate by his irresistible stroke. Of what avail, then, were their deadly struggles for power and empire? Of what value the glittering crown which they oft sought to obtain or defend in the field of battle? Could they arise from the sleep of death to answer these questions, with the curled lip of scorn they would, doubtless, mock at human grandeur, and exclaim, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit."

This brief history of the Parthians presents a fearful picture of human action to the gaze of the Christian reader. He therein sees to what an awful degree his species have departed from his Maker. Made holy, and upright, and lovely as are the angels of heaven, they fell from that lofty height, and became base, and even demoniac. One constant struggle for power and dominion over his species has been the leading feature of mankind in all ages. To obtain this, they have been well pleased to view the carnage of the battle field: they have exulted over the slaughter of tens of thousands. Even now the demon of war rages in the earth! Even now, the sword is ready to leap from the scabbard to renew the carnage of the battle field! Even now, the nature of man is the same as in the days of old! But not all mankind are ready to go out to battle. There are those who, washed in the blood of the Redeemer, and sanctified by the grace of God's Holy Spirit, know what is due to man as a brother.

Eternal Spirit! universal God!

Power inaccessible to human thought,
Save by degrees and steps which thou hast deigned
To furnish—

Accomplish thou their number; and conclude
Time's weary course! Or if, by thy decree,
The consummation that will come by stealth
Be yet far distant, let thy word prevail,
Oh! let thy word prevail, to take away
The sting of human nature. Spread the law,
As it is written in thy holy book.
Throughout all lands: let every nation hear
The high behest, and every heart obey;
Both for the love of purity, and hope
Which it affords, to such as do thy will
And persevere in good, that they shall rise,
To have a nearer view of thee, in heaven.
Father of good! this prayer in bounty grant,
In mercy grant it to thy wretched sons.
Then, not till then, shall persecution cease
And cruel war expire. The way is marked,
The guide appointed, and the ransom paid.

WORDSWORTH.



ANCIENT HISTORY.

FROM

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHORITIES.

HISTORY

THE CARTHAGINIANS.

WITH A MAP.

LONDON:
THE RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY;

Instituted 1799.

SOLD AT THE DEPOSITORY, 56, PATERNOSTER ROW, AND 65, ST. PAUL'S CHURCHYARD,
AND BY THE BOOKSELLERS.

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ANCIENT HISTORY.

FROM

ROLLIN, AND OTHER AUTHORITIES

THE HISTORY OF THE CARTHAGINIANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF CARTHAGE.

CARTHAGE, called by the Greeks *Carthago*, an ancient city and state, and long the rival of Rome, was a colony of the Tyrians, and was probably built about 100 years before Rome. Authors, however, differ very much with regard to the era of the foundation of Carthage. There appears to have been an older Phœnician settlement on the spot, which, according to Appian and others, was founded before the siege of Troy, and hence it is that the confusion has arisen concerning the age of Carthage.

Most ancient writers agree in following a tradition, that Carthage was founded by Lînea, or Dido, whose husband being murdered by his brother-in-law, Pygmalion, king of Tyre, fled with a numerous body of citizens, and landed on a peninsula on the coast of Africa, between Tunis and Utica, which were older Phœnician colonies. Dido purchased, or agreed to pay rent for a piece of ground, whereon to build a town, which was called Betsura, or Boursa, that is, "the castle;" a name which the Greeks altered into *Byrsa*, "a hide." The name of *Byrsa*, and probably the shape of the peninsula, which resembled an ox hide, gave rise to the classical fable of the manner in which the Labyans were cheated out of their ground, and which reads thus: Dido purchased of the natives for her intended settlement, only so much land as an ox hide would encompass. This request was thought too moderate to be denied. But it was only a trick; for she cut the hide into the smallest things; and with them encompassed a large tract of land, on which she built a city, called *Byrsa*, from the hide. But this is ridiculous, as it would lead to the conclusion that the Phœnicians and Carthaginians spoke Greek, or that the Punic language was of Greek origin.

As the town increased, the inhabitants excavated a port, which was called *Cothos*, and which became a great maritime and commercial

emporium. This port was built, according to Dionysius and Velleius Paterculus, about sixty years before Rome, or 813 B.C. The *Magara*, or *Magalia*, which resembled a large suburb with fine gardens, probably owed its name to the first Phœnician habitations, called in the language of the country *Magar*, or *Magalia*. The whole was called Carthage, a name which Bochart and others deduce from two oriental words, *Charia Hadatta*, "the new city;" Dr. Hyde, from *Chadri Hanacha*, "the chamber of rest," or "palace of repose;" and Servius, whose opinion seems the most correct, from *Charta*, a city in the vicinity of Tyre, to the monarchy of which Dido bore a near relation, and from whence she came. This very city is called by Cedrenus, *Chartica*, or *Chartaca*, that is, *Charta Aca*, or *Charta Ace*, the city of *Acce*, *Aca*, or *Ace*, a famous maritime city of Phœnicia, near Tyre, in the portion of the tribe of Asher. It is now called *St. Jean d'Acce*, and is famous for the several sieges it has undergone, as in the time of Richard the Lion-hearted, who took it after a long and vigorous defence. It was again taken from the Christians by Beldocdar, the Mameluke sultan of Egypt, being the last town possessed in Palestine by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. In more modern times, it sustained a siege by that fierce scourge of mankind, the French emperor, who was there defeated by the English. It was subsequently captured by the English, and is now subject to the British crown.

The intercourse of the Carthaginians with their mother country, Tyre, seems to have been closely and constantly maintained. They sent thither, every year, regularly, a ship freighted with presents, as a quit-rent, or acknowledgment, paid to their ancient abode; and they never failed to transmit thither also the first fruits of their revenues, and the tithes of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, one of the principal deities of both Tyre and Carthage, and known among the Hebrews under the name of Baal. We read in Josephus, moreover,

that the Carthaginians sent assistance to the Tyrians, when besieged by the king of Babylon, about 600 years B.C.; and afterwards, when Tyre was besieged and captured by Alexander the Great, 332 B.C., they afforded a refuge to, and entertained hospitably, some of their fellow-countrymen. To this bond of union, indeed, there is an allusion in the prophecies of Ezekiel. That prophet, predicting the overthrow of Tyre, in order to show how great its ruin would be, says of the states around:—

"Then all the princes of the sea shall come down from their thrones,
And lay away their robes, and put off their brodered garments:
They shall clothe themselves with trembling;
They shall sit upon the ground,
And shall tremble at every moment,
And be astonished at thee.
And they shall take up a lamentation for thee, and say to thee,
How art thou destroyed, that wast inhabited of seafaring men.
The ruined city, which wast strong in the sea,
She and her inhabitants,
Which cause their terror to be on all that haunt it!"

ESAI. XLVI. 16, 17.

The princes of the sea, and the merchants here spoken of, refer to those of Sidon, Carthage, and other maritime cities that traded, and were in alliance with Tyre.

Of the early history of Carthage, during more than three centuries, very little is known, except that it became a great commercial and maritime, and, to a considerable extent, an agricultural country.

In order to show how great it was, and to make the subsequent part of the history clear to the reader, we shall now notice the form of the government of Carthage.

THE GOVERNMENT OF CARTHAGE.

The government of Carthage was considered by the ancients as founded upon principles of consummate wisdom. Aristotle, indeed, ranks this republic in the number of those that were held in the greatest esteem, and which were deserving to be copied by others. He grounds his opinion on this fact: that, from the foundation of Carthage to his days, a period of five hundred years and upwards, the state had undergone no very great change, either from the civil broils of its citizens, or the usurpation of tyrants. "The people," he says, "continued within the limits assigned them, without any noted act of sedition, and the government did not become tyrannical." And this is the more remarkable, because mixed governments, such as that of Carthage, where the power was divided betwixt the nobles and the people, are subject to two inconveniences: either of degenerating into an abuse of liberty by the seditions of the populace, as frequently happened in Athens, and in all the Grecian republics; or into opposition to the public liberty, by the tyranny of the nobles, as in Athens, Syracuse, Corinth, Thebes, and even Rome itself, under Sylla and Cesar. It is therefore no mean praise of Carthage, to state, that it had found out the art, by the wisdom of its laws, and the harmony of the different parts of the government, to shun, during so long a period, two

rocks that are so dangerous, and on which other governments have foundered. But perhaps the harmony which existed in the Carthaginian republic may be partly ascribed, also, to the good temper of the people; for history discloses the fact, that well-regulated governments have been often disturbed by the evil-disposed, while on the other hand, tyrannical governments have existed for a long period in security, through the peaceable disposition of communities. The flourishing condition of Carthage may likewise have had a tendency to preserve peace; for men who were constantly growing wealthy, as the Carthaginians were, are seldom disposed to faction and strife, lest they should suffer thereby a reverse of their good fortune.

The great prosperity which the Carthaginians enjoyed is well described by Diodorus in his account of Agathocles' progress. He says, "The territory through which Agathocles led his army, after they had landed, was covered with gardens and plantations, everywhere intersected by canals, by which they were plentifully watered. A continual succession of landed estates was seen adorned with elegant buildings, which displayed the opulence of their proprietors. These dwellings were furnished with everything necessary for the use of man, their owners having accumulated immense stores during the long peace. The lands were planted with vines, palms, and other fruit-trees. On one side were meadows filled with flocks and herds, while on the lower grounds troops of brood mares were pastured. The whole prospect displayed the opulence of the inhabitants: the highest rank of Carthaginians had possessions here, and vied with one another in pomp and luxury." Polybius draws a similar picture of the country around Carthage, in his narration of the invasion of it by the Romans under Regulus. Men, therefore, who enjoyed such high prosperity, could have had but little to have induced them to disturb a government which insured them such blessings.

On the origin of the government of Carthage, Heeren remarks:—"The government of Carthage was the work of time and circumstances. An express legislation by which the rights and relations of the constitutional authorities were defined, is nowhere mentioned. And if we consider this rightly, it will immediately appear, that nothing was more firmly established or accurately determined in the Carthaginian constitution than in the Roman: consequently the government could not come to maturity at once. Probably, therefore, the constitution was perfected by degrees, chiefly by internal broils, of which some slight traces are found in the early history of the state; custom and usage was the sanction which made it legal. A monarchical government is usually given to Carthage at its foundation; this afterwards became changed, we know not how, nor when, into a republic. That this really happened is stated, though only incidentally, by Aristotle. This opinion, however, only rests upon an uncertain tradition respecting a queen Dido, who is generally supposed to have been a princess of unlimited authority. But, without doubt, Carthage adopted, after the custom of all the colonies of ancient times, the constitution of her parent state; and notwithstanding she might

themselves give herself what were called kings, yet this government was by no means despotic."

Like that of Sparta and Rome, the government of Carthage, as a republic, originally united three different authorities, which counterpoised and mutually animated each other. These authorities were that of two supreme magistrates, called *suffetes*, that of the senate, and that of the people. Afterwards there were added the tribunal of the Hundred, which had great influence in the republic; and some civil officers, who were endowed with a power like that of the censors of Rome, to inspect the manners of the citizens, but of whom little beyond the comparison referred to is known.

Concerning the *suffetes*, or kings, as they are called by Greek writers, Selden and Rochart say, that they were the Hebrew *shophetim* *sufetim*, judges, or supreme magistrates. A late elegant writer has also observed,—"It is remarkable that the Carthaginians, who were descended from the Tyrians, and spoke Hebrew, called their chief magistrate by the same name: but the Latins, who had no *sk*, as the Hebrews and Carthaginians had, and as we and the Germans have, wrote the word with a sharp *s*, and adding a Latin termination, denominated them *suffetes*."

If this etymology be correct—and there appears no reason to doubt it—there is a great probability that these Carthaginian *suffetes* resembled the old Israelitish judges, who ruled that people from the time of Joshua to the election of Saul, their first monarch. These judges were denominated *shophetim*, and the Hebrews always called the book of Judges by that term *shophetim* being the plural of *shophet*, a judge. Now this very government flourished in the immediate vicinity of the Canaanites and Phenicians, it may therefore be naturally inferred that the Carthaginians borrowed their *suffetes* from Tyre, or immediately from the Hebrews themselves, with whose government they must have been well acquainted. If from the Tyrians, these latter, probably, received their knowledge of them from the Hebrews. Such magistrates, it is certain, were found in Tyre after the destruction of the old city by Nebuchadnezzar. One person only was invested with the supreme power amongst the Hebrews, during the days of the judges, as was also the practice at Tyre; it is therefore reasonable to suppose, that the same was the case at Carthage. Justin, indeed, called Hanno, who was a *suffete*, the prince of Carthage; Cornelius Nepos designated him prætor; and Gellius styled him dictator. Festus has also observed that the *sufes*, or, according to its Carthaginian pronunciation, *sufet*, was the supreme magistrate of Carthage.

All that is known positively respecting the *suffetes*, is, that they were elected from the principal families; that they had the highest place in the senate, before whom they laid the subjects to be discussed; that they presided in all debates on matters of importance; that their authority was not confined to the city, inasmuch as they sometimes had the command of the armies like the Roman consuls; and that on the whole they possessed a high degree of power and influence. Aristotle compares them with the Spartan kings, and Polybius with the Roman consuls, whence it

is highly probable that two reigned at one time; but this is not expressly stated by any contemporary writer, and those of later date sometimes speak only of one *suffete*, which might lead to a contrary supposition: at the same time this is not conclusive that there was not also a second. An uncertainty, likewise, exists respecting the duration of their office. Cornelius Nepos draws an analogy between them and the Roman consuls in this respect, whence it is generally believed that they were elected annually; but the name of kings, by which the Greeks distinguished them, rather indicates that their office was for life; and Aristotle, in comparing them with the Spartan kings, finds only this one difference of importance between them—that in Sparta the dignity was hereditary, whilst in Carthage it depended upon election, which would lead to the same conclusion. In like manner, a similar inference may be drawn from Polybius, who calls Hanno the "son of king Bomilcar," which would convey the idea that Bomilcar was king for life. Cicero, moreover, compares the kings of Carthage with those of Rome, and contrasts them with the magistrates afterwards annually elected by the Romans, which would convey the notion that the office of the *suffetes* of Carthage was for life; notwithstanding, there is no definite statement in any author to that effect, sufficient to render the testimony of Cornelius Nepos invalid. Concerning some of the kings of Carthage, Diodorus remarks, that "they ruled according to law." It is uncertain whether this expression refers to the legitimacy of their power, or its restriction by law, or whether it has reference to the king who administered affairs at home, as opposed to the one who commanded the armies abroad.

The senate appears to have been a numerous body composed of the principal citizens, venerable on account of their age, and exalted by their birth, their riches, and, above all, their merit. The chief authority was vested in this body, and they were the soul of the public deliberations. Their number is not definitely stated, but it must have been considerable, since the tribunal of the Hundred were at one period selected from their body to form a separate assembly.

Respecting the internal organization of the senate—whether it was merely a chosen body of the citizens renewed from time to time, or a permanent assembly—whether it was in the power of every citizen to take a seat in it—and finally, by whom the senators were elected, no distinct mention is made by the writers of antiquity. That the senate was a permanent assembly, having its numbers filled up as the old members died, seems clear, however, as otherwise it could not have acquired the solidity which secured it the government of the republic. Polybius, also, compares it with the Roman senate, and Aristotle with the Spartan, both of which were permanent assemblies. But whether the senate of Carthage filled up its own body, when vacancies in its numbers occurred; whether having filled certain offices opened an entrance into it as in Rome; or whether the people had the power to elect new members, no satisfactory information can be given.

The duties of the Carthaginian senate appear

to have been of the same nature and extent as those of the Romans. All business relating to foreign affairs was under its management; official reports were delivered to it by the *suffetes*, who presided; it gave audience to foreign ambassadors; it deliberated upon all matters of state; and it determined upon peace and war; although, as a matter of form, the question was sometimes laid before the people. Aristotle says, that so long as its decisions agreed with that of the *suffetes* its power was unlimited, and that in this case it alone had the power of deciding whether the matter should be laid before the people. The same authority says, that when these two branches of the government could not agree, or when there was a division among the senators, then, and then only, it was left for the people to determine. This regulation was happily adapted to crush factions, produce harmony, and enforce and confirm good counsels; such an assembly being extremely jealous of its authority, and not easily prevailed upon to let it pass into other hands. Polybius adduces a memorable instance of this. When, after the loss of the battle fought in Africa at the close of the second Punic war, the conditions of peace offered by the victors were read in the senate, one of the senators opposed them with great warmth; but Hannibal, representing that, as the safety of the republic lay at stake, it was of the utmost importance for the senators to be unanimous in their resolutions, to prevent such a debate from coming before the people, the opposing senator yielded, and Hannibal carried his point. This, doubtless, laid the foundation of the power of the senate, and exalted its authority. Polybius observes in another place, that, whilst the senate had the administration of affairs, the state was governed with great wisdom, and was successful in its varied enterprises.

As late as the time of Aristotle—from 384 to 322 B.C.—the government of Carthage was carried on solely by the senate. But the aspect of affairs changed after that period. The people having become insolent by their wealth and conquests, and forgetting that these blessings were the fruits of the prudent conduct of the senate, were desirous of sharing in the government, whence they arrogated to themselves almost the whole power. From that period cabal and faction ruled the state, to which cause Polybius chiefly ascribes the ruin of Carthage. It is probable, however, that the aristocratic policy of the Carthaginian government would have found means to have avoided such a consummation, had not the internal shocks been assisted by violence from without. The war of the Carthaginians with the Romans, indeed, may be pronounced the prime cause of the downfall of Carthage; for, apart from its ravages, it produced a change in the internal conditions of the state which no political skill could remedy. Moreover, the all-dissolving hand of time was observable in the overthrow of Carthage, for nothing on this earth is enduring. States may flourish even for ages; but there is a period to their prosperity awarded to them by Him who sitteth in the heavens, and governs all mundane affairs at his pleasure.

Concerning that section of the community

which ruled Carthage in its palmy state, Herodian remarks:—"If we take hereditary nobility in the stricter sense of the word—that is, if we understand by it a number of families who, by their birth alone, had an exclusive right to the administration of government, such as was possessed by the patricians in the early days of Rome, and by the *nobili* in Venice—there remains no proof that such an hereditary nobility with hereditary rights existed in Carthage. But there are many degrees between so powerful an aristocracy as this and complete political equality: and although there may be no evidence of an hereditary nobility in Carthage similar to the one here described, yet it may, on the other side, be very easily proved that a perfect political equality was still farther distant. From the want of a fixed constitution, with its fundamental laws reduced to writing, everything had here been effected by circumstances and relations to which time and place had given birth. In a rich commercial city, wealth had naturally the greatest influence. As in Carthage the magisterial office conferred honour without revenue, and as it, nevertheless, must have brought with it a great expense; it follows, of course, that it could only be administered by the opulent. Rich families, therefore, although they might have no hereditary claim, procured one by their wealth, which was not less valid while it lasted. Riches, however, were not always alone sufficient. 'The magistrates of Carthage,' says Aristotle, 'were chosen on account of their property, their worth, and their popularity.' The latter was essential, as the elections in Carthage depended in a great measure on the people. Authority flowed from personal superiority of every description. Birth might assist in obtaining it, but could not give it alone. Even noble families, if they sunk into poverty, lost it. But of all qualifications, none would be so powerful in a conquering state as military renown; and even from the scanty remains of Carthaginian history which are left, we may gather sufficient evidence to prove, that it was chiefly at the beginning of what may be called the Period of Conquest, that great and noble families raised themselves to such a pitch as to excite the jealousy of the state.

"It was not, therefore, so much a real hereditary nobility that composed the aristocracy of Carthage, as a number of *optimate families*. The number of these families cannot now be ascertained with anything like certainty; it could not always have been the same; but it is evident that sometimes a single family maintained, for a long period, so high a degree of authority, that the generals and principal magistrates were taken chiefly from it. The house of Mago, the first conquerors in Sicily and Sardinia, affords a striking example of this. From the genealogy of this house, so far as it can now be collected from the fragments which remain of ancient writers, it is clear that for at least four generations—a full century, if not more—it gave generals to Carthage; and even the repeated misfortunes of some of its members did not take from it this privilege."

It seems certain, however, that though the power and influence of these ruling families

were great, that Carthage was never solely governed by an aristocracy, and that its government always contained a mixture of democracy; but this democracy was very limited, as appears from the same author's remarks on the rights of the people: he says,—"The rights which they possessed were exercised, as we learn from many examples, in their public assemblies; of the internal organisation of which we however know nothing, as we are altogether ignorant of the way in which the people, or citizens, were divided and classed. Even respecting the extent of their rights, we can only give probabilities. We only know for certain, that whatever was brought before the people, was first deliberated upon in the senate; how otherwise could the aristocracy have maintained their authority? What, however, was brought before the people we cannot precisely determine. The principal question is, what part had the people in the election of magistrates? Many of these, kings and generals in particular, we know were elected; and, so far as we can judge from single examples, the nomination was first made in the senate, and afterwards brought to the people for their confirmation. Although the election, therefore, was not entirely in the hands of the people, they nevertheless acted a principal part in them. This important right kept the leading families in a continual dependence on the people, whose favours they could not do without. But in a state so rich as Carthage these elections would easily produce bribery, which, even in the time of Aristotle, was become so common, that he expressly says, 'the highest offices in Carthage were bought and sold.'

"Besides this, another right which was enjoyed by the people, as we can affirm with certainty on the testimony of Aristotle, was that of deciding in all cases upon which the senate and kings could not agree; and when these were brought before them, they not only possessed the power of adopting or rejecting them, but also of deliberating upon them, as every one was at liberty to attack or defend them. Lastly, we find many examples of state affairs of high importance, such as declarations of war and treaties of peace, being brought before the people for their sanction, after having been discussed by the senate, although this does not seem to have been absolutely necessary."

Concerning the tribunal of the Hundred, called by Greek writers, *Gerusia*, Aristotle says:—"The Carthaginians had a body of one hundred and four magistrates, similar to the Ephori of Sparta, but selected with greater discernment from among the most worthy; and that the kings and *Gerusia* of Carthage resembled the kings and the Ephori of Sparta in their respective offices." But there was this difference between the Ephori and the *Gerusia*, or the tribunal of the Hundred; namely, that the former consisted of five members only, who continued in office but a year, while the latter consisted of one hundred members and upwards, and their office was perpetual.

Justin gives this account of the origin of the *Gerusia*. He says:—"When the house of Mago became dangerous to the state, an hundred judges were chosen from among the senators,

who, upon the return of generals from the war, should demand an account of their transactions, that they thereby being kept in awe, should so conduct themselves in their command in the war, as to have regard to the laws and judicature of the state." It is clear from this passage that the Hundred were selected from the more extensive assembly of the senate, and that the number of its members was a determinate one. As regards the internal organisation of this council, however, there is very little information. According to Aristotle, its members discharged the duties of their office without fee or reward. The same authority says that they were elected by the *pentarchia*, or Councils of Five, which seem to have resembled the Council of Ten at Venice, for when there was a vacancy in their number it could be filled up by none but themselves, and they had the control of the many, and managed the most important affairs of the government. Aristotle says that there were several *pentarchia*, each of them composed of five members, as the name implies, that the members continued in office for a long time, as it was necessary that they should hold some office before they could be elected into a *pentarchia*, and that they retained their previous office after they ceased to belong to that body. It would seem, however, that only one council of five acted at one time, and that they were selected from the tribunal of the Hundred, and possessed a jurisdiction superior to that of the rest. It was, in the modern sense of the term, a committee to which various, and, indeed, the most important branches of the government, as the administration of finance, etc., were intrusted. The meaning of Aristotle, therefore, may be, when he states that they must have held some office before they were elected into a *pentarchia*, and that they retained office after they ceased to belong to that body, that they must have been members of the *Gerusia* before their election, and still continued members of the *Gerusia* after the expiration of their term in the *pentarchia*.

Though the council of one hundred, as before stated, is generally said to have consisted of only an hundred members, yet there were in reality one hundred and four. Niebuhr thus explains how this number was fixed. He says:—"In the Roman number of three hundred, there is a reference to the days in the ten months of the cyclic year; in that of the Attic houses to those in the solar year of twelve months. The numbers in the political institutions of antiquity were never arbitrary; when we find an unusual one, we are, with reason, curious to make out its meaning. It is from a like reference that I would explain the singular number of the Council of One Hundred and Four at Carthage. This is twice the number of the weeks in a year. Such a distribution of time, wholly independent of the celebration of the sabbath, would seem to have been common to the Phenicians with their neighbours, and to have been the basis of a political division, as the months were among the Greeks and Romans. In no nation is such a scheme more probable than in that which raised altars to the year and the month, and paid divine honours to them, as to other abstractions. This is related of the inhabitants of Gades."

On the structure of the Council of the Hundred, Heeren remarks:—"The subsequent history of Carthage sufficiently shows that it remained a permanent assembly, as does also the severity, and often cruelty, with which it treated unsuccessful commanders, who sometimes chose rather to lay violent hands upon themselves, than submit to its rigour. This assembly was, from its first formation, a high court of judicature and state tribunal; and to it was confided the care of maintaining the existing government. An institution such as this is quite in the spirit of an aristocratical republic, in which a comprehensive system of police is the main support of the government; it is, however, too apt to degenerate into espionage and tyranny, as did the Council of Ten, and the state inquiry connected with it, at Venice. The influence of individual members of an aristocracy, especially when invested with military command, soon excites the jealousy of the other rulers; such a tribunal as this, therefore, is not so much raised against the people as against the aristocracy itself. It is likewise easy to comprehend how an institution like this would go beyond the purpose for which it was originally designed; and, as a natural consequence, that the most important affairs of state would ere long be first transacted in it. This is corroborated by the testimony of Aristotle, who calls the Council of the Hundred the highest tribunal in the state. It is true that he does not expressly say that this council was the same as the Gerusia; nor, on the other hand, does he contradict it; and it seems, therefore, rather to follow from the expression just cited that it was, as we cannot see in what sense a centumvirate like this could have stood superior to the Gerusia. But the formidable power necessarily under the command of a state tribunal of this kind, elevated as it is above all that is great and powerful, and what is almost inseparable from it in whatever form it may appear, even though its primary institution may be merely to repress luxury, the erecting itself into a censorship of public morals, would render it frequently dangerous to that liberty which it is its peculiar duty to respect. This was the course which affairs took in Carthage. During the flourishing periods of the republic, the council certainly answered the end for which it was designed—the prevention of domestic revolutions in the state. Only two attempts of this kind are known to us, both of which failed; and the great and permanent solidity which is universally ascribed to the Carthaginian government was in some measure owing to this institution."

In his account of the capture of New Carthage by Scipio, Polybius distinguishes two orders of magistrates established in Old Carthage; for he says, that among the prisoners taken at New Carthage were two magistrates, belonging to the body or assembly of old men; that is, the Council of the Hundred. Livy mentions only the fifteen senators; but in another place he mentions the "old men," and says, that they formed the most venerable council of the government, and had great authority in the senate.

Establishments, though constituted with the greatest wisdom, and the most just harmony of parts, have frequently degenerated into disorder

and licentiousness. Thus it was with the tribunal of the Hundred. These judges, who, by the lawful execution of their power, were a terror to transgressors, abusing their authority, became in the lapse of time so many petty tyrants. This is verified in the history of Hannibal, who, during his praetorship, after his return to Africa, employed all his influence to remove this abuse, and made the authority of this assembly annual, about two hundred years from its first establishment.

Although the Council of One Hundred is here, as it is generally by historians, identified with that mentioned by Aristotle as consisting of an hundred and four members, mention must not be omitted that Heeren concludes that they were two separate bodies. In writing concerning the courts of judicature at Carthage, he remarks:—"Respecting the constitution of these courts we have indeed little information, as Aristotle, our only authority, is here so very concise. He names expressly one of these bodies, that of the Hundred and Four, which we must be careful to distinguish from that of the Hundred, with which it is often confounded, although the difference is accurately marked. He compares it with the Ephori of Sparta, and points out only this difference, that the latter were chosen from all classes of the people, while the Hundred and Four were selected from among the more powerful citizens. That this also was an aristocratic principle requires no proof; nor that the great dissimilarity in their number must have arisen from the great difference in the populousness of the two cities. From its being compared with the Ephori, it is also plain that this board was a superior court for the decision of civil suits. As to its other powers we can offer little more than conjecture. It is probable that this board contained several subdivisions or sections, to which the examination of certain classes of law-suits was intrusted, and that the sentence was afterwards pronounced in full assembly. Whether, however, to this full assembly, besides the Hundred and Four, all the remaining magistrates of Carthage belonged, admits of doubt."

Arnold also distinguishes the Council of One Hundred from that of the tribunal of the One Hundred and Four. He thus speaks of the former:—"The Hundred, or the elders, were chosen for life from the members of the great council, but not by the votes of the council at large. On the contrary, they were chosen by certain bodies which Aristotle calls *pentarchiai*, or commissions of five, and which formed so many close corporations, filling up their own vacancies. This is nearly all the information which we possess on the subject; for Aristotle only adds, that these commissions had great and various powers, and that their members remained longer in office than the ordinary magistrates, inasmuch as they exercised an authority both before and after their regular term of magistracy. The most probable conjecture is, that the more important branches of the public administration were, as we should say, put in commission, and vested in boards of five members; that the treasury would be intrusted to the commission of five; the care of public manners and morals,

the censor's office at Rome, would be given to another commission; the police, perhaps, to another; the navy to another, and so on. Nothing would hinder these commissioners from being members of the great council, and nothing could hinder them, therefore, from electing themselves also to fill up vacancies in the council of elders; in fact, we are expressly told, that the treasurer's, or *quæstor's* office led regularly to a seat amongst the Hundred; and thus the same men being often members at one and the same time of one, or perhaps more, of these administrative commissions and of the great council, and also of the council of elders, we can understand what Aristotle means when he says, that it was a favourite practice of the Carthaginians to invest the same person with several offices together."

The rank of a general at Carthage was next to that of the *suffetes*, or king. In their elections, as in the election of the *suffetes*, respect was paid to the two qualifications of rank and wealth, which proves the dignity of the office. Sometimes the *suffetes* united the dignity of king and general; but, when this was the case, the command was expressly conferred upon them, and at the close of the campaign their powers expired. Examples are likewise found of generals being made kings during their command; but at the same time there were many generals who were not kings. Sometimes foreign expeditions, apart from war, were entrusted to the *suffetes*; for Hanno, who is expressly called king of the Carthaginians, undertook a voyage for the establishment of colonies on the western coast of Africa.

Concerning the election, power, and responsibility of the generals of Carthage, Heeren remarks:—"The election of generals according to regular order first took place in the *Gensia*, and afterwards was brought before the senate and people. If the army took upon themselves to nominate one of their commanders, it must only be considered an exception to the rule; and even in this case their nomination required the sanction of the senate and people. It was not unusual for several generals to be appointed when several armies were in the field. The power of the Carthaginian generals does not appear to have been at all times the same. We have examples of unlimited authority being given them; and probably even the title of general was conferred, as that of *imperator*, in the higher sense among the Romans. At other times commissioners were delegated by the *Gensia* from their own body to attend the generals; and in their name, jointly with that of the generals, public affairs were transacted; though, perhaps, the power of the commander in military matters still remained unfettered. But the high responsibility of the latter, at their return, made circumspection necessary; and therefore we often see them, before decisive undertakings, calling the other commanders to a council of war."

Livy speaks of pretors among the Carthaginians; but this seems to have occurred only once, and that was when Hannibal, after the war with Rome, was placed at the head of the state. The same authority also speaks of *quæstors*, who seem to have been in close connexion with the *Gensia*, and had the management of all

matters relating to the finances. It is probable that a *quæstor* was the chief of the *peritrochy* which conducted the affairs of the treasury.

Concerning the administration of justice in Carthage, but little is known. There were, however, certain magistrates who were elected by the people, and who, according to Aristotle, sometimes resorted to bribery in order to obtain office. It also appears that all lawsuits were decided by these magistrates, and that there were regular courts in which they administered justice. Concerning the choice of magistrates, Aristotle observes, that the qualities required were wealth, personal character, merits, and popularity; which shows that the people had a real power in the elections, although they were proposed by the senate.

Aristotle speaks of dinners given by various societies in Carthage, which probably resembled our clubs, in which political questions were discussed. Livy also speaks of their political *circuli*, clubs, or *certria*, as they are now called in the French language.

This is the sum of our information respecting the constitution of the government of the republic of Carthage. Had Aristotle's work on Constitutions not been lost, we should probably have had a much more ample detail concerning it. There are observations in that author's writings, however, concerning two defects in the government; and there is some brief information concerning the policy of the government, which may throw some additional light on the subject.

The first of these defects was, the investing the same person with different employments. This was considered at Carthage as a proof of rare merit; but Aristotle speaks of it as highly prejudicial to the public welfare. He says:—"A man possessed but of one employment is much more capable of acquitting himself well in the execution of it, because affairs are then examined with greater care, and sooner despatched. Thus, we never see, either by sea or land, the same officer commanding two different bodies, or the same pilot steering two ships. Besides, the welfare of the state requires that places and preferments should be divided, in order to excite emulation and reward merit; whereas the bestowing them on one man too often dazzles him by so distinguishing a preference, and always fills others with jealousy and contempt."

The second fault noticed by this author, in the government of Carthage, was, that, in order for a man to attain the first posts, a certain income was required, besides merit and noble birth; by which means, poverty might exclude persons of the most exalted merit. "Then," he says, "as virtue is wholly disregarded, and money all-powerful, the admiration and desire of bribes seize and corrupt the whole community; and when magistrates and judges are obliged to pay large sums for their employment, they conclude they have a right to reimburse themselves." This latter charge must be understood of the presents that were given in order to procure the votes of the electors; a practice, according to Polybius, very common at Carthage, where, he says, nothing was reputed infamous that was accompanied by gain, and where money was openly employed to obtain the dignities

of the state. The great rock on which the constitution of Carthage split, indeed, was the too powerful influence of wealth in procuring the highest offices of the state, and what was closely connected with this degenerating practice, the accumulation of many offices in one person. But, as Heron observes, the ties by which the state was knit together, were too strong for the effects to be felt instantaneously. It was a mighty fabric, and time was required to effect its overthrow.

In concluding this section, it may be observed, that some historians have drawn a parallel between Carthage and England. This is mere flattery, and is, moreover, a very superficial view of both states. Carthage never had a compact territory, with an homogeneous population, like Great Britain. Its armies were almost wholly composed of mercenaries; and there are, also, numerous other discrepancies between the policy and the institutions of the two countries, which the attentive reader of these pages cannot fail to notice. The Christian reader, more especially, will observe, that he is reading of a nation whose institutions were founded on pagan principles, while in his own country they are professedly established on the foundation of Christianity; and while he observes this, he will bless the Giver of all good for his superior advantages, and exclaim with the psalmist:—

"The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places;
Yea, I have a goodly heritage."

PSA. xvi. 6.

CHAPTER II.

THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE FROM THE PERIOD OF ITS EARLY CONQUESTS TO THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

It is stated in the preceding chapter, that little is known of the early history of Carthage during more than three centuries, except that it became a great commercial, maritime, and agricultural country. After this period, however, about A.C. 510, it is brought under our notice as an eminent political state, ever grasping at dominion. The ambitious Carthaginians, ignorant of their moral duties, and unblessed with that lovely spirit of Christianity, which embraces all mankind in its affections, and teaches us to do unto others as we would they should do unto us, carried war into, and extended their conquests in Europe; they invaded Sardinia, made themselves masters of a great part of Sicily, and reduced to subjection almost the whole of Spain; they likewise sent out powerful colonies into many quarters of the world, and they enjoyed the empire of the seas for more than 600 years; they, finally, formed a state able, by her wealth, armies, and fleets, to dispute pre-eminence with the greatest empires in the world.

The first war waged by the Carthaginians, were to free themselves from the annual tribute which they had engaged to pay the Africans for the territory which had been ceded to them. This conduct does them no honour, as the settlement was granted them upon this condition. But they were not successful on this occasion. The

Africans had justice on their side, and the war was terminated by the payment of the tribute.

After this, the Carthaginians carried their arms against the Moors and Numidians, and, being emboldened by the conquests they obtained over those nations, they would no longer pay the tribute which gave them so much assistance, and possessed themselves of a great part of the north of Africa.

About this time there arose a dispute between Carthage and Cyrene—a powerful city situate on the Mediterranean, and which was built by Battus, about 630 years A.C.—on the subject of their respective limits. To settle this dispute, it is said by some writers, that it was agreed on each side, that two young men should set out at the same instant from either city, and that the place of their meeting should be the common boundary of both states. The Carthaginians (these were two brothers named Phileni) made the most haste; and their antagonists, pretending that foul play had been used, and that the two brothers had set out before the time appointed, refused to adhere to the agreement, unless the two brothers, to remove all suspicion of unfair dealing, would consent to be buried alive in the place where they had met. They acquiesced in the proposal; and the Carthaginians erected on that spot two altars to their memories, and from that time the place was called the Altars of the Phileni, and served as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire, which extended from thence to the pillars of Hercules, or the Straits of Gibraltar.

This story, however, bears upon the face of it all the marks of improbability. The contending parties are said to have set out from their respective capitals, Carthage and Cyrene, and met at the place where the altars afterwards stood. Now Rennel, in his *Memoir of the Geography of Herodotus*, says, that these were situate about seven-ninths of the road from Carthage to Cyrene. It is more reasonable, therefore, to suppose, that they mutually set out at the opposite extremes of the disputed territory, and not from their respective capitals.

Concerning the extent of the empire of the Carthaginians, we are told by Strabo, that they possessed 300 cities in Africa before the commencement of the third Punic war; and that at the time of Hannibal's expedition into Italy, their African dominions extended from the columns of Hercules to the Phœnician altars on the boundaries of Cyrenaica, a space of 2000 English miles. According to Dr. Shaw, who was a most accurate geographer, it appears to have been 1420 geographical, or 1636 British miles, thus:—

	Geograph. Miles.
From Tangi, or Tanguier, to the river Meiva, or Mulloodah	200
Ditto, to the eastern bank of the river Chimalah or Shelli	220
Ditto, to the river of Ampaga, or city of Ciris	143
Ditto, to Laribus by Thersene, or Tishah	130
Ditto, to Carthage	70
Ditto, to Kairwan, dum vius Augusti	75
Ditto, to Tanage, or river of Kabon, in the Lesser Syria	110
Ditto, to Tripoli, the western Tripoli	125
Ditto, to Lepcis Magna, or Lihia, in the Greater Syria	115
Ditto, to the bottom of the Greater Syria, whence the Phœnician altars are supposed to have stood	200

Total ... 1420

This was the whole extent of African territory subject to Carthaginian sway. The real territory of Carthage appears to have extended southwards as far as the lake Tritonis, and westward somewhat beyond the frontiers of the present state of Tunis. There were, however, in this tract of territory, several old Phœnician colonies along the coast, which appear to have stood in the relation of allies to Carthage, each retaining their own government. We instance Utica, Leptis, Hippos, and Hadrumetum.

The first foreign conquest attempted by the Carthaginians seems to have been that of Sardinia; but history does not inform us exactly either of the time when the Carthaginians entered Sardinia, or of the manner in which they obtained possession of it. The conquest was first attempted by one Malchus, perhaps Meloë, who failed; and it was renewed by Hannibal, and Hamilcar. Hannibal, of whom it is said that he had been eleven times general, fell in battle in Sardinia, but his brother Hamilcar succeeded in reducing part of the island, where the Carthaginians built the colonies of Caralis, now called Cagliari, and Salsi. The conquest made in this island, which is separated from Corsica only by a strait of about three leagues in breadth, was of great use to the Carthaginians during their wars, inasmuch as it supplied them with provisions.*

The Carthaginians seized likewise on the Balearic isles, now called Majorca and Minorca. Port Mahon, in the latter island, was so called from Mago, a Carthaginian general, who first made use of, and fortified it. This harbour is, at the present day, one of the most convenient in the Mediterranean, or, it has been said, in the world, as a large fleet of line-of-battle ships may ride within it, in seven or eight fathoms water, in perfect security from the wind. The Spaniards say, in allusion to its delightful situation, that, the ports of the Mediterranean are June, July, August, and Port Mahon, thereby signifying that it is more beautiful than any other. This port has, indeed, made the possession of Minorca an object of contention among the maritime nations of Europe during the past century.

From these isles the Carthaginians enlisted the most expert slingers in the world. They slung large stones of above a pound weight, and sometimes threw leaden bullets with such force, that they would pierce the strongest helmets, shields, and cuirasses; and they were so dexterous in their aim, that they scarcely ever missed the mark. The inhabitants of these islands were accustomed from their infancy to handle the sling, for which purpose their mothers placed on the bough of a high tree the piece of bread designed for their children's breakfast, and they were not allowed to eat till they had brought it down with their slings. From this practice, these islands were called *Baleares* and *Gymnasia* by the Greeks, because the inhabitants used to exercise themselves so early in slinging stones. Bochart derives the name of these islands from two Phœnician words, *Baal-jare*, or master of the art of slinging, which strengthens the authority

* It was about this time, 600 a.c., that Darius, according to Justin, sent an embassy to Carthage, requesting assistance against the Greeks, which the Carthaginians refused to furnish.

of Strabo, who says that the inhabitants learned their art from the Phœnicians, who were once their masters. This is rendered very probable, when we consider, that both the Hebrews and Phœnicians excelled in this art.

The next conquests of the Carthaginians were in Spain; but before we enter on the relation of these conquests, it is proper to give our readers some idea of Spain in ancient times.

Spain was divided into three parts, *Boetia*, *Lusitania*, *Tarraconensis*.

Boetia, so called from the river Boetis, the modern Guadalquivir, was the southern division of Spain, and comprehended the present kingdom of Grenada, Andalusia, part of New Castile, and Extremadura. Cadix, called by the ancients Gader and Gadir, is a town situate in a small island of the same name, on the western coast of Andalusia, about nine leagues from Gibraltar. It is well known, that Hercules, having extended his conquests to this place, halted, from the supposition that he had reached the extremity of the world. He here erected two pillars, as monuments of his victories, pursuant to the custom of that age. Boetia was the most fruitful, wealthy, and populous part of Spain. It contained 200 cities, and was inhabited by the Turritani, or Turduli. On the banks of the Boetis stood three large cities; Castulo towards the source; Corduba lower down; and Hispalis, now called Seville.

Lusitania was bounded on the west by the ocean, on the north by the river Durus, or Duero, and on the south by the river Ana, or Guadiana. Between these two rivers is the Tagus. Lusitania was what is now called Portugal, with part of Old and New Castile.

Tarraconensis comprehended the rest of Spain; that is, the kingdoms of Murcia and Valencia, Catalonia, Arragon, Navarre, Biscay, the Asturias, Galicia, the kingdom of Leon, and the greater part of the two Castiles. Tarraco, now Tarragona, a very considerable city, gave its name to this part of Spain. Very near it lay Barcino, or Barcelona. Its name gives rise to the conjecture, that it was built by Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, father of the great Hannibal. The most renowned nations of Tarraconensis were the Celtiberi, beyond the river Iberus, or Ebro; the Cantabri, where Biscay now lies; the Carpetani, whose capital was Toledo; the Oretani, etc.

Spain, abounding with mines of gold and silver, and peopled with a martial race of men, had sufficient to excite both the avarice and ambition of the Carthaginians. They doubtless knew that their Phœnician ancestors, as Diodorus relates, taking advantage of the happy ignorance of the Spaniards, with regard to the immense riches hid in the bowels of their lands, first took from them these treasures in exchange for commodities of little value. They foresaw, also, that if they could once subdue this country, it would furnish them abundantly with well-disciplined troops for the conquest of other nations, as actually occurred in after ages. So wise are the men of this world in their generation, so covetous of wealth and glory. Notwithstanding that they are daily taught the truth of the words of the psalmist, who says—

"Be not then afraid when one is made rich,
When the glory of his house is increased;
For when he dieth he shall carry nothing away:
His glory shall not descend after him."
Prov. xlii. 16, 17;

they seek wealth as the "one thing needful," then die, "like the beasts that perish," "having no hope, and without God in the world."

The occasion of the Carthaginians' first landing in Spain was ostensibly to assist the inhabitants of Cadix, who were invaded by the Spaniards, and who had originally emigrated from Tyre, as well as the people of Utica and Carthage. The success, however, which the Carthaginians met with in this first expedition made them desirous of carrying their conquests into Spain.

It is not exactly known at what period they entered Spain, nor how far they extended their first conquests. It is probable that these were slow in the beginning, as they had to cope with warlike nations, who defended their liberties and homes with great resolution and courage. Strabo observes, that if the Spaniards had formed but one state, and had assisted one another, the Carthaginians could never have accomplished their design. But as every district and people were detached from their neighbours, they were subdued one after another. This circumstance occasioned, on the one hand, the loss of Spain; but on the other it protracted the war, and made the conquest of the country tenfold more difficult. Hence it was, that though Spain was the first province which the Romans invaded on the continent, it was the last they subdued. It was not, indeed, entirely subjected to their power, till it had made a vigorous opposition for upwards of 200 years.

It appears from accounts given by Polybius and Livy of the wars of Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal in Spain, which will be mentioned hereafter, that the arms of the Carthaginians had not made any considerable progress in that country before that period, and that the greater part of Spain was then (B.C. 220) unconquered. In twenty years' time, however, they completed the conquest of almost the whole country; and at the time that Hannibal commenced his expedition to Italy, the lust of empire, which knows no bounds, had carried them over all the western coast of Spain, along the ocean, as far as the Pyrenean hills.

The next foreign conquests of the Carthaginians were in Sicily, concerning the proceedings of which more is known than as to those of Sardinia, or Spain. We shall here relate those which were waged from the reign of Xerxes—who first prompted the Carthaginians to carry their arms into Sicily—till the first Punic war. This period includes nearly 220 years, namely, from about 484 to 264, B.C. At the commencement of these wars, Syracuse, the most considerable as well as most powerful city of Sicily, had invested Gelon, Hiero, and Thrasybulus, three brothers who succeeded one another, with the sovereign power. After their deaths, a democracy, or popular government, was established in that city, and subsisted above sixty years. From this time, the two Dionysii, Timoleon, and Agathocles, bore the sway in Syracuse. Pyrrhus was afterwards invited into Sicily, but he kept possession of it only a few years. Such

was the government of Sicily during the wars which we are about to narrate, and which will throw great light on the subject of the power of the Carthaginians, at the time they engaged in hostilities with the Romans.

Sicily is the largest and most considerable island in the Mediterranean. It is of triangular form, and for that reason was called *Trinacria* and *Triquetra*. The eastern side, which faces the Ionian, or Grecian Sea, extends from Cape Pachynum, or Passaro, to Pelorum, or Il Faro. The most celebrated cities on this coast are Syracuse, Taurominium, and Messina, now called Saragossa, Taormina, and Messina. The northern coast, which looks towards Italy, reaches from Cape Pelorum to Cape Lilybæum. The most noted cities on this coast are Myla, Himera, Panormus, Eryx, Motya, and Lilybæum, the modern Marsala. The southern coast, which lies opposite to Africa, extends from Cape Lilybæum to Pachynum. The most remarkable cities on this coast are Sileuntia, Agrigentum, now called Girgenti, Gela, and Camarina. The island is separated from Italy by a strait which is not more than a mile and a half over, and called the Faro, or strait of Messina, from its contiguity to that city. Strabo says, that the passage from Lilybæum to Africa is 1500 furlongs, that is, about sixty-two leagues; but Rennel has shown that it is not above one third of that distance.

The period at which the Carthaginians first carried their arms into Sicily is not definitely known, but it is supposed to have been about 503 years B.C. All we are certain of, is, that they were already possessed of some part of it at the time that they entered into a treaty with the Romans, 508 years B.C.; the same year that the kings were expelled, and consuls appointed in their places, namely, twenty-eight years before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. This treaty, which is the first mentioned as made between these two nations, speaks of Africa and Sardinia as possessed by the Carthaginians; whereas the conventions with regard to Sicily relate only to those parts of the island which were subject to them. By this treaty it is expressly stipulated, that neither the Romans nor their allies shall sail beyond the Fair Promontory, which was near Carthage; and that such merchants as shall resort to this city for traffic, shall pay only certain duties, which are settled in it.

As the terms of this treaty illustrate the spirit of the Carthaginians and Romans at this period, it is here given entire. It reads thus:—"Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, there shall be peace and alliance upon the following conditions. The Romans and their allies shall not sail beyond the Fair Promontory, (lying north of Carthage, and by some writers called *Promontorium Hermaeum*), unless compelled by bad weather or an enemy. In case they are compelled to sail beyond it, they shall not be allowed to take or purchase anything beyond what may be necessary for refitting their vessels, or for sacrifice, and they shall depart within five days. The merchants that shall offer goods for sale in Sardinia, or in any part of Libya, shall pay no customs, but only the usual fees to the scribe

and order. The public faith shall be a security to the merchant for whatever he shall sell in the possession of such officers. If a Roman land in that part of Sicily belonging to the Carthaginians, he shall suffer neither wrong nor violence. The Carthaginians shall not injure the people of Arden, Laurentium, Circeii, Terracina, or any other people of the Latins, under the Roman jurisdiction; nor shall they possess themselves of any Latin city not yet subject to the Romans. If any one of them should be taken, it shall be given up to the Roman power. The Carthaginians shall not build any fortress in the Latin territory; and if they land there armed they shall not remain there for a night."

It appears by this treaty, that the Carthaginians were careful to exclude the Romans from all countries subject to them, as well as from the knowledge of what was transacting in them; as though they had, even at that time, taken umbrage at the rising power of the Romans, and already harboured in their breasts the sinful emotions of that jealousy and distrust which were one day to burst forth in long and cruel wars, and a mutual hatred and animosity, which nothing could eradicate but the ruin of one of the contending powers. On the other hand, the Romans, even at this early date, exhibited a jealousy of the Carthaginian power, which ripened into fierce hatred as ages rolled onwards.

Some years after the conclusion of this first treaty, about 481 a.c., the Carthaginians made an alliance with Xerxes, the king of Persia. This prince, who aimed at the total extirpation of the Greeks, whom he conceived to be his enemies, thought it would be impossible to succeed in his enterprise, without the assistance of Carthage, whose power was formidable even at that time. The Carthaginians, who ever kept in view their design of seizing upon the remainder of Sicily, greedily embraced the favourable opportunity which now presented itself for its complete reduction. A treaty was therefore concluded, wherein it was agreed, that the Carthaginians were to invade, with all their forces, those Greeks who were settled in Sicily and Italy, while Xerxes should march in person against Greece itself.

The preparations for this war lasted three years, after which time, about 478 years a.c., Hamilcar, the most experienced captain of his age, sailed with a formidable army towards the scene of action. He landed at Palermo, and, after refreshing his troops, marched against Himera, which lay near Palermo, and laid siege to it. Theron, who commanded in it, seeing himself very much straitened, sent to Gelon, who had possessed himself of Syracuse. Gelon flew to his relief with a considerable force, and his arrival infused new courage into the besieged, and from that time they made a vigorous defence.

Orion was an able warrior, and excelled in stratagema. A courier was brought to him, who had been despatched from Selinus, a city of Sicily, with a letter for Hamilcar, to inform him of the day when he might expect the cavalry which he had demanded of them. Gelon drew out an equal number of his own troops, and sent

them from his camp about the time agreed on. In this critical conjuncture, Gelon attacked the Carthaginians with all his forces. They at first made a gallant resistance, but, when the news of their general's death was brought them, and they saw all their fleet on fire, their courage failed, and they fled. A dreadful slaughter ensued: great numbers were slain; and those who escaped, having retired to a place where they were in want of everything, were forced to surrender at discretion.

The Carthaginians, in great reverse of fortune, always lost their courage, and sunk into the opposite extreme. When, therefore, the news was brought to Carthage of the entire defeat of the army, consternation, grief, and despair, threw the whole city into a confused alarm. It was imagined that the enemy was already at the gates, and they immediately sent a deputation to Gelon, by which they desired peace upon any terms. He heard their envoys with great humanity. The victory he had gained, so far from making him haughty and untractable, had only increased his modesty and clemency. He therefore granted them a peace upon these conditions—That they should pay 2000 talents towards the expenses of the war; that they should build two temples, where the treaty of the peace should be deposited, and exposed at all times to public view; and that they should abolish the cruel practice of sacrificing human victims to Melcarth.* The Carthaginians did not think this peace purchased at too high a rate, since it was absolutely necessary to their affairs, and unexpectedly granted. Overjoyed, indeed, at the event, they made a present to Demarata, Gelon's wife, who had favoured its conclusion, of a crown of gold of the value of 100 talents. Gisco, the son of Hamilcar, purporting to the unjust custom among the Carthaginians, of ascribing to the general the ill success of the war, and making him bear the blame of it, was punished for his father's misfortune, and sent into banishment. He passed the remainder of his days in Sicily.

Gelon, on his return to Syracuse, convened the people, and invited all the citizens to appear under arms. He himself entered the assembly unarmed and without his guard, and there gave an account of the whole conduct of his life. His speech met with no other interruption than the public testimonies which were given him of gratitude and admiration. So far from being treated as a tyrant, and the oppressor of his country, he was hailed as its benefactor and deliverer; all with a unanimous voice proclaimed him king, and the crown was bestowed after his death on his two brothers.

After this there was a period of peace of about seventy years' duration, during which time Carthage seems to have reached the highest point of its commercial prosperity. The Carthaginians

* Montesquieu says of this treaty: "The noblest treaty of peace ever mentioned in history is, in my opinion, that which Gelon, king of Syracuse, made with the Carthaginians. He insisted upon their abolishing the custom of sacrificing their children. After having defeated 200,000 Carthaginians, (according to Diodorus, whose statement is probably an exaggeration,) he required a condition that was advantageous only to themselves, or rather, he stipulated in favour of human nature."

now sent out, indeed, according to Ptolemy, two fleets to explore the western coasts of Africa and Europe. The first expedition was commanded by Hanno, a suffete, who took out with him 30,000 colonists of the rural population, whom he distributed in settlements on the western coast of Africa. It is stated in the *Periplus*, or voyage of Hanno, that the first city he founded was Thaumastion, near the pillars of Hercules, probably in the neighbourhood of Marmora. The others were founded a little to the south of the promontory Solms, which Rennel considers to be the same as Cape Cantin, and they were named Karikon-teichos, Gutte, Akra, Melitta, Arambus, and Kerne. The other expedition under Hamilco was sent round the coast of Lusitania, and northwards as far as the Estrymonian Cape, which some suppose to be Cape Finisterre. It would seem that they discovered not only the Fortunate, or Canary Isles, but Madeira also. A large island with rivers and forests is mentioned, the position of which they kept concealed as a state secret, intending it as a place of refuge, in case of some great national catastrophe. This island some suppose to have been a portion of America.

At the end of seventy years, about 410 B.C., a second expedition was sent into Sicily. It had its origin in the following circumstance. After the memorable defeat of the Athenians before Syracuse, where Nicias perished with his whole fleet, the people of Eggeste, who had declared in favour of the Athenians against the Syracusans, fearing their resentment, and being attacked by the inhabitants of Selinus, implored the aid of the Carthaginians, and put themselves and city under their protection. At Carthage, the people debated some time what course it would be proper for them to take, the affair being attended with great difficulties. On the one hand, the Carthaginians were very desirous to possess themselves of a city which would further their ambitious views; on the other, they dreaded the power and forces of Syracuse, which had so lately cut to pieces a numerous army of the Athenians, and had become by this victory more formidable than ever. At length, the lust of empire prevailed, and the Segestans were promised aid.

The conduct of this war was committed to Hannibal, who at that time was invested with the highest dignity of the state, being one of the suffetes. He was grandson to Hamilco—who had been defeated by Gelon, and killed before Himera—and son to Gisco, who had been condemned to exile. Hannibal left Carthage animated with an ardent desire of revenging his family and country, and of wiping away the disgrace of the last defeat. He had a very great army as well as fleet under his command. He landed at a place called the Well of Lilybeum, which gave its name to a city afterwards built on the same spot. His first enterprise was the siege of Selinus. The attack and defence were equally vigorous, but the city, after making a long resistance, was taken by storm, and the plunder of it abandoned to the soldiers. The victor exercised the most wanton cruelties, without showing the least regard to either age or sex. He, however, permitted such inhabitants as had fled, to continue in the city after it had been dismantled;

and to till the fields on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage.

Himera, which was a city in the interior of Sicily, was next besieged and taken, and after being more cruelly treated than Selinus, was entirely razed 344 years after its foundation, and 408 B.C. Hannibal caused 3000 prisoners to undergo every kind of ignominious punishment, and at last murdered them all on the very spot where his grandfather had been slain by Gelon's cavalry; to appease and satisfy his manes by the blood of these unhappy victims.

This circumstance conveys an idea, that the people of Carthage held the notion that the manes, or soul of the departed, asked revenge upon its earthly foes, and this would naturally lead to such a crime as that perpetrated by Hannibal. When we read such lamentable facts in history as these, how ought we to express our gratitude to God, the source of all good, for the right notions imparted to us in the Bible, concerning the soul of man, and for that knowledge which keeps us from imbruing our hands in the blood of our fellow-man, which makes us wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus, and which shows us how just will be their condemnation, who, knowing these things, act as did the ancient heathen, and even with more brutality.

Those inhabitants who survived this calamity established themselves at Therma, near the site of the ancient town, and enriched their new abode with such works of art as they could collect from the wreck.

These expeditions being ended, Hannibal returned to Carthage, on which occasion the whole city came out to meet him, and received him amidst the most joyful acclamations. They were so rejoiced, indeed, at these successes, that they now determined to carry into effect a design which they had ever entertained, of making themselves masters of the whole of Sicily. Accordingly, three years after, they appointed Hannibal their general a second time; and on his pleading his great age, and refusing the command of this war, they gave him for a lieutenant, Imilco, son of Hanno, of the same family. The preparations for this war were proportioned to the great design which the Carthaginians had formed. The number of their forces, according to Timæus, amounted to above sixscore thousand; and, according to Ephorus, to 300,000 men, which shows the uncertainty of these enumerations in ancient history. The enemy, on their side, were prepared to give them a warm reception. The Syracusans had sent to all their allies, in order to levy forces among them; and to all the cities of Sicily, to exhort them to exert themselves vigorously in defence of their liberties.

Aggrigentum expected to feel the first fury of the enemy. This city was (as its sepulchral remains testify at the present day) very rich; and it was also strongly fortified. It was situated, as was Selinus, on that coast of Sicily which faces Africa. Accordingly, Hannibal opened the campaign with the siege of this city. Imagining that it was impregnable, except on one side, he directed his whole force to that quarter. He threw up banks and terraces as high as the walls,

and made use on this occasion, to publish and fragments of the tombs standing round the city, which he had demolished for that purpose. Soon after, the plague infected the army, and swept away a great number of the soldiers, and the general himself. The Carthaginians, as superstitious as they were cruel, interpreted this disaster as a punishment inflicted by the gods, for the injuries done to the dead, whose ghosts, it is said, many fancied they had seen in the night. Consequently, no more tombs were demolished; prayers were ordered to be made; according to the practice of Carthage, a child was sacrificed to Saturn, known in Scripture by the name of Moloch; and many victims were thrown into the sea, in honour of Neptune, the fabulous god of the ocean. The horrid worship of both these idol gods formed a part of the Carthaginian mythology.

The besieged, who at first gained several advantages, were at last so pressed by famine that, all hopes of relief seeming desperate, they resolved to abandon the city. Accordingly, the bulk of the citizens passed the enemy's line in a winter's night, and escaped to Gela, where they received all the comforts they could expect in the deplorable condition to which they were reduced. This event took place 406 years a.c.

In the meantime, Imilco, or Hamilcar, entered the city, and murdered all therein. The plunder was exceedingly great, and such as might be expected from one of the most opulent cities of Sicily. A multitude of paintings, vases, and statues of every kind were found; the citizens having an exquisite taste for the polite arts. Among other curiosities was the famous bull of Phalaris,* which was sent to Carthage.

The siege of Agrigentum lasted eight months. Imilco made his forces take up their winter quarters in it, to give them the necessary refreshment: he left the city, after laying it entirely in ruins, in the beginning of the spring. Afterwards, he besieged Gela, and took it, notwithstanding the succours which were brought by Dionysius the tyrant, who had seized upon the government of Syracuse. Imilco ended the war by a treaty with Dionysius; the conditions of which were, that the Carthaginians, besides their ancient acquisitions in Sicily, should still possess the country of the Sicani, Selinus, Agrigentum, and Himera, as likewise that of Gela and Camarina, with leave for the inhabitants to reside in their respective dismantled cities, on condition of their paying a tribute to Carthage: that the Leontines, the Messenians and all the Sicilians, should retain their own laws, and preserve their liberty and independence; lastly, that the Syracusans, should still continue subject to Dionysius. After this treaty was completed, Imilco returned to Carthage.

Dionysius, in concluding the late peace with the Carthaginians, had no other view than to gain time to establish his new authority, and make the necessary preparations for the war he meditated

against them. Sensible of their formidable power, he used his utmost endeavours to prepare to invade their possessions with success, and his design was seconded by the zeal of his subjects. The fame of Dionysius, the desire he had to distinguish himself, the hope of gain, and the prospect of the rewards which he promised those who should show the greatest talent, invited from all quarters into Sicily the most able artists and workmen at that time in the world. Syracuse became a great workshop; in every part, men were seen making instruments of destruction, and preparing all things necessary for building ships and fitting out fleets.

When all things were ready, and a great number of forces had been collected from different countries, he called the Syracusans together, laid his design before them, and represented to them that the Carthaginians were the professed enemies of Greece; that they had in view the invasion of all Sicily; the subjection of all the Grecian cities; and that, in case their project was not checked, the Syracusans themselves would soon be attacked: that the reason why the Carthaginians did not attempt any enterprise, was owing entirely to the plague among them, which, he observed, was a favourable opportunity of which the Syracusans ought to take advantage.

Though the tyranny and the tyrant were equally odious to Syracuse, yet the hatred the people bore to the Carthaginians prevailed over all other considerations; and every one, guided more by the view of an interested policy than by the dictates of justice, received the speech with applause. Upon this, without the least complaint made, or any declaration of war, Dionysius gave up to the fury of the populace the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians, great numbers of whom resided at that time at Syracuse, and traded on the faith of treaties. The common people ran to their houses, plundered their effects, and pretended they were sufficiently authorised to exercise every ignominy and inflict every kind of punishment on them, for the cruelties they had exercised against the natives of the country. This example of perfidy and inhumanity was followed throughout the whole island of Sicily, and this became the signal of the war declared against them. Dionysius having thus begun to do himself justice, (for such it was termed,) sent deputies to Carthage, demanding for all the Sicilian cities their liberties; declaring that otherwise, all the Carthaginians found in them should be treated as enemies. This news spread a general alarm in Carthage, especially when they reflected on the condition to which they were reduced. They saw themselves in danger of being taken in the net which they had spread for others, and were in fear for the consequences. This event may be dated 397 a.c.

Dionysius opened the campaign with the siege of Motya, which was the magazine of the Carthaginians in Sicily, and he pushed on the siege with so much vigour, that it was impossible for Imilco, the Carthaginian leader, to relieve it.

* This bull was made by Perillus, an ingenious artist of Agrigento, for Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigento. It was so contrived as to put criminals to death by burning them alive, and to make their cries heard in their agonies like the roaring of a bull. When Perillus gave it to Phalaris, the tyrant made the first experiment upon the donor; he caused him to be put to death by lighting a slow fire

under the belly of the bull. After this, many of the subjects of Phalaris perished by the same means; but the tyrant's cruelties did not remain long unavenged; for in the tenth year of his reign, his people revolted, and put him to death in the same manner.

He brought forward his engines, battered the place with his battering-rams, advanced towers to the wall, six stories high, upon wheels, and of an equal height with their houses; and from these he greatly annoyed the besieged with his catapults, engines then recently invented, which hurled with great violence volleys of arrows and stones against the enemy. By these means, the city, after a long and vigorous defence, was taken, and all the inhabitants put to the sword; those excepted who took refuge in the temples. The plunder of it was abandoned to the soldiers; and Dionysius, leaving a strong garrison and a governor in it, returned to Syracuse.

The following year, Imileo, being appointed one of the *suffetes*, returned to Sicily with a far greater army than before. He landed at Palermo, recovered Motya by force, and took several other cities. Animated by these successes, he advanced towards Syracuse, designing to besiege it, marching his infantry by land, whilst his fleet, under the command of Mago, sailed along the coast.

The arrival of Imileo threw the Syracusans into great consternation. About 200 ships laden with the spoils of the enemy, and advancing in good order, entered the great harbour in triumph, being followed by 500 barks. At the same time, the land army, consisting, according to some authors, of 300,000 foot, and to others, which is the more probable account, to 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, was seen marching forward on the other side of the city. Imileo pitched his tent in the very temple of Jupiter; and the rest of the army encamped at twelve furlongs, or about a mile and a half, from the city. Marching up to it, Imileo offered battle to the inhabitants, who declined accepting the challenge, and he retired, not doubting but he should soon be master of the city. For thirty days together he laid waste the neighbourhood about Syracuse, and ruined the whole country. He possessed himself of the suburb of Aoradina, and plundered the temple of Ceres, the goddess of corn, and Proserpine her daughter, whom the ancient heathens supposed to preside over the death of mankind. To fortify his camp, Imileo demolished the very tombs where the dead reposed, including that of Gelon and his wife Demarata.

But these successes were transitory. All the splendour of this anticipated triumph vanished in a moment, and taught mankind, says the ancient historian, that the proudest mortal, blasted sooner or later by a superior power, shall be forced to confess his own weakness. The Almighty, by a fearful dispensation said, Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther. Whilst Imileo, now master of almost all the cities of Sicily, expected to crown his conquests by the reduction of Syracuse, a contagious distemper seized his army, and laid his glory in the dust. It was now the middle of summer, and the heat that year was excessive. The infection began among the Africans, multitudes of whom died without any possibility of their lives being preserved. At first, care was taken to inter the departed; but the number increasing daily, and the infection spreading rapidly, the dead lay unburied, and the sick unassisted. The plague was attended

with very uncommon symptoms, such as violent dysenteries, raging fevers, burning stools, acute pains in every part of the body: the infected were even seized with madness, so that they would fall upon any that came in their way, and tear them to pieces: into such dreadful maladies has sin plunged the human race. Great reason has man, in all ages of the world, to deplore the fall of Adam. We, as Christians, however, may look forward to a day, when the groans of creation shall cease—when the Lord Jesus Christ shall restore all things to their pristine state of holiness and happiness—when there shall be “new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness,” 2 Pet. iii. 13, and a perfect immunity from sorrow.

Dionysius did not suffer so favourable an opportunity for attacking the enemy to escape; and being more than half conquered by the plague, they made but a feeble resistance; their ships were almost all taken or burned. The inhabitants of Syracuse, in general, old men, women, and children, came pouring out of the city to behold an event, which to them appeared miraculous. With hands lifted up to heaven, in their ignorance of the one true God, they thanked the tutelar gods of their city, for having avenged the sanctity of their temples and tombs, which had been so wantonly violated. Night coming on, both parties retired, when Imileo, taking the opportunity of this short suspension of hostilities, sent to Dionysius, requesting leave to carry back with him the small remains of his shattered army, with an offer of 300 talents, about 61,800*l.*, which was all the specie he had then left. This permission could only be obtained for the Carthaginians, with whom Imileo stole away in the night, leaving the rest to the mercy of the conqueror.

Such was the condition in which Imileo, who a few days before had been so proud and haughty, retired from Syracuse. Bitterly bewailing his own fate, and still more that of his country, he accused the gods as the sole authors of his misfortunes. “The enemy,” continued he, “may indeed rejoice at our misery, but have no reason to glory in it. We return victorious over the Syracusans, and are defeated by the plague alone.” His greatest cause of grief, and that which most distressed him, was his having survived so many of his soldiers who had died in arms. “But,” added he, “the sequel shall make it appear whether it is through fear of death, or from the desire of leading back to their native country the miserable remains of my fellow-citizens, that I have survived the loss of so many brave comrades.” Accordingly, on his arrival at Carthage, which he found overwhelmed with grief and despair, he entered his house, shut his doors against the citizens, and even his own children; and then, in compliance with a practice to which the heathens falsely gave the name of courage, he put an end to his life.

But the calamities of Carthage did not stop here. The Africans, who had ever borne an implacable hatred to its inhabitants, were now exasperated to fury because their countrymen had been left behind, and exposed to the wrath of the Syracusans. They therefore sounded the alarm, took up arms, and after seizing upon

Timol, marched onward to Carthage, to the number of more than 300,000 men. This new incident was considered by them as the effect of the wrath of the gods, which punished the guilty even to Carthage, and they gave themselves up for lost. As its inhabitants, especially in all public calamities, carried their superstition to the greatest excess, their first care was to appease the supposed offended gods. Ceres and Proserpine were deities who till that time had never been heard of in Africa. But now, to atone for the outrage which had been offered to them in plundering their temples, magnificent statues were erected to their honour; priests were selected from among the most distinguished families of the city; sacrifices and victims, according to the Greek ritual, (if the term may be used,) were offered up to them; in a word, nothing was omitted which, as they fondly supposed, would appease the angry goddesses. After this, the defence of the city was the next object of their care. Happily for them, however, this numerous army had no leader, but was like a body unformed with a soul. They had no provisions, nor military engines; no discipline nor subordination was seen among them, every man setting himself up for a general, or claiming superiority over the rest. Divisions therefore arose; and the famine increasing daily, they gradually withdrew to their homes, and thus Carthage was delivered from alarm.

The Carthaginians were not discouraged by their late disaster, but continued their attacks on Sicily. Mago, their general, and one of the sufferers, lost a great battle, in which he was slain. The Carthaginian chiefs demanded a peace, which was granted on condition of their evacuating all Sicily, and defraying the expenses of the war. They pretended to accept the terms; but representing that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities, without first obtaining an order from their republic, they obtained so long a truce, as gave them time sufficient for sending to Carthage. They took advantage of this interval to raise and discipline new troops, over which Mago, son of him who had been lately slain, was appointed general. He was very young, but of great abilities and reputation. As soon as he arrived in Sicily, at the expiration of the truce, he gave Dionysius battle, in which Leptines, brother to Dionysius, and one of his generals, was killed, and upwards of 14,000 Syracusans left dead on the field. By this victory the Carthaginians obtained an honourable peace, which left them in possession of all they originally had in Sicily, with the addition of strongholds; they gained, also, a thousand talents, about 206,000*l.*, which were paid to them towards defraying the expenses of the war.

Carthage had, soon after, another calamity to struggle with. The plague spreading, panic, terrors, and violent fits of frenzy, seized the unhappy sufferers; who, rallying out sword in hand, killed or wounded all who came in their way; as though an overruling Providence had ordained that they should perish by that sword which they had so often unjustly turned against their fellow-men. The Africans and Sardinians would very willingly have taken this opportunity to shake off a yoke which was so hateful to

them; but they had not sufficient power to accomplish their desires. Dionysius, with the same view, formed at this time an enterprise in Sicily, which was equally unsuccessful. He died some time after, and was succeeded by his son of the same name.

The first treaty which the Carthaginians concluded with the Romans has already been noticed. There was another, which, according to Orosius, was concluded in the 402nd year of the foundation of Rome, and consequently B.C. 341, and about the time of which we are now speaking. This second treaty was similar to the first, except that the inhabitants of Tyre and Utica were comprehended in it, and joined with the Carthaginians. It reads thus:—

"Between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians, Tyrians, Uticans, and their allies, there shall be peace on the following conditions. The Romans shall not sail in quest of plunder, nor traffic, nor build any city, beyond the Fair Promontory, Mastia, and Tarseium. If the Carthaginians take any Latin city not subject to the Romans, they may reserve to themselves the prisoners, with the rest of the booty, but shall restore the city. If they shall make any captives from a people, allied by written treaty with the Romans, though they may not be subjects of the empire, they shall not bring them into the Roman ports; and in case they do so, the Romans shall be allowed to claim and set them free. The same conditions shall likewise be observed by the Romans. If a Roman land, in search of water or provisions, upon any country that is subject to the Carthaginians, he shall be supplied with what is necessary, and then depart, without offering violence to the friends and allies of Carthage. The breach of these conditions shall not be considered a private injury, but be prosecuted as the public cause of either people. The Romans shall not carry on any trade, or build any city, in Sardinia or Libya; nor shall they even visit these countries, except for the purpose of obtaining provisions, or refitting their ships. If they are driven upon them by storms, they shall depart within five days. In those parts of Sicily which belong to the Carthaginians, and in the city of Carthage, the Romans may expose their goods to sale, and do everything that is permitted to the citizens of the republic. The same indulgence shall be yielded to the Carthaginians at Rome."

After the death of the elder Dionysius, Syracuse was involved in great troubles. Dionysius the younger, who had been expelled, restored himself by force of arms, 347 years B.C., and exercised great cruelties there. One part of the citizens implored the aid of Iocetes, tyrant of the Leontines, and by descent a Syracusan. This seemed a favourable opportunity for the Carthaginians to seize upon all Sicily, and accordingly they sent a large fleet thither. In this extremity, such of the Syracusans as loved their country best, had recourse to the Corinthians, who had often assisted them in their dangers; and were, besides, of all the Grecian nations, the most professed enemies of tyranny, and the most avowed and generous asserters of liberty. This state accordingly sent Timoleon, a man of great merit, who had signalized his zeal for the public

welfare by delivering his country from tyranny, at the expense of his own family. He set sail, 344 years B.C., with only ten ships, and arriving at Lilybæum, eluded by a stratagem the vigilance of the Carthaginians; who, having been informed by Ictes of his voyage, sought to intercept him in his passage to Sicily.

Timoleon had scarcely above 1000 soldiers under his command; and yet, with this handful of men, he marched to the relief of Syracuse. His small army increased as he advanced. The Syracusans were now in despair: they saw the Carthaginians masters of the port, Ictes of the city, and Dionysius of the capital. Happily, on Timoleon's arrival, Dionysius, having no refuge left, put the citadel into his hands, with all his forces, arms, and ammunition, and escaped, by his assistance, to Corinth, 343 years B.C. Timoleon had, by his emissaries, artfully represented to the foreign soldiers, who formed the principal strength of Mago's army, and the greatest part of whom were Greeks, that it was astonishing to see Greeks using their endeavours to make barbarians masters of Sicily, from whence they, in a little time, would pass over into Greece. Could they imagine, he asked, that the Carthaginians were come so far, with no other view than to establish Ictes tyrant of Syracuse? Such discourses being spread among Mago's soldiers, gave him great uneasiness; and, as he wanted a pretence to retire, he was glad to have it believed that his forces were going to betray him. Accordingly, upon this he sailed with his fleet out of the harbour, and steered for Carthage. Ictes, after his departure, could not hold out long against the Corinthians; so that they now obtained possession of the city.

Mago, on his arrival at Carthage, was impeached; but he prevented the execution of the sentence passed upon him by a voluntary death. After this, new forces were levied at Carthage, and a greater and more powerful fleet was sent to Sicily. It consisted of 200 ships of war, besides 1000 transports; and the army amounted to upwards of 70,000 men. They landed at Lilybæum, under the command of Hamilcar and Hannibal, who resolved to attack the Corinthians first. But Timoleon did not wait for the attack; he marched forward to meet them. Such, however, was the consternation of Syracuse, that of all the forces which were in that city, only 3000 Syracusans and 4000 mercenaries followed him; and even of these latter, 1000 deserted upon the march, through fear of the danger they were going to encounter. But Timoleon was not discouraged; exhorting the remainder of his forces to exert themselves for the safety and liberties of their allies, he led them against the enemy, whose rendezvous was on the banks of the little river Crimissus. It appeared, at the first reflection, madness to attack an army so numerous as that of the enemy, with only 4000, or 5000, foot, and 1000 horse; but Timoleon, who knew that bravery conducted by prudence is superior to numbers, relied on the courage of his soldiers, who, knowing the justice of their cause, were resolved to die rather than yield, and demanded with ardour to be led against the enemy. A battle was therefore fought, and the Carthaginians were routed with great slaughter.

Their camp, also, was taken, and with it immense riches, and a great number of prisoners. Timoleon, at the same time that he despatched the news of this victory to Corinth, sent thither the finest arms found among the plunder. He was desirous of having his city applauded and admired by all men, when they should see that Corinth alone, among all the Grecian cities, adorned its temples, not with the spoils of Greece, and offerings dyed in the blood of its citizens, but with those of barbarians, which, by inscriptions, displayed at once the courage and gratitude of those who had won them. The inscriptions imported, "That the Corinthians, and Timoleon their general, after having freed the Greeks settled in Sicily from the Carthaginian yoke, had hung up these arms in their temples, as an eternal acknowledgment of the favour and goodness of the gods."

This was in strict accordance with the practice of the ancients. It was their custom to dedicate to the gods some conspicuous portion of the enemies' spoils; a relic of which is preserved in the European custom of depositing in churches standards captured in war. The armour was, indeed, frequently a votive offering to the idol in whose temple it was placed; that is, when a vow had been made to a particular god, that in the event of a victory the armour of one or more distinguished foes should decorate his temple. Virgil alludes to such decoration of temples in his description of that in which Lætus received the ambassadors of Æneas:—

"Around the posts hung helmets, darts, and spears,
And captive chariots, axes, shields, and bars,
And broken beaks of ships, the trophies of their wars."
Æneid.—DANES.

After this, Timoleon, leaving the mercenary troops in the Carthaginians' territories to destroy them, returned to Syracuse. On his arrival there, he banished the soldiers who had deserted him, taking no other revenge than commanding them to leave Syracuse before sunset. This victory gained by the Corinthians took place 340 years B.C., and was followed by the capture of a great many cities, which obliged the Carthaginians again to sue for peace.

In proportion as the appearance of success made the Carthaginians exert themselves to raise armies by land and sea, and prosperity led them to make an insolent and cruel use of victory; so their courage would fail them in adversity, their hopes of resources vanish, and they would humbly ask quarter of the most inconsiderable enemy, and without sense of shame accept the most mortifying conditions. Those now imposed were—That their territories in Sicily should be limited to the west extremity of the island, the river Halycus, between Selinus and Lilybæum, forming its eastern boundary; that they should give all the natives liberty to retire to Syracuse with their families and effects; and that they should neither continue in alliance, nor hold any correspondence with the tyrants of that city.

About this time, a memorable event, as related by Justin, occurred at Carthage. Hanno, one of its most powerful citizens, formed a design of seizing upon the republic, by destroying the

whole senate. He chose for the execution of this atrocious deed, the day on which his daughter was to be married, on which occasion he designed to invite the senators to an entertainment, and there poison them all. The conspiracy was discovered, but Hanno had such influence, that the government dared not punish him for his crime. The only step they could take was, to curtail the magnificence and the expenses of weddings by an order from the senate. Hanno, seeing his stratagem defeated, resolved to employ open force; and for that purpose he armed all his slaves: he was, however, again discovered; and, to escape punishment, he retired, with a number of armed slaves, to a strongly fortified castle, and there endeavoured, but without success, to engage in his rebellion the Africans, and the king of Mauritania. He was at length taken and carried to Carthage, where he, and his children and relations, though innocent of his crimes, were put to death, without regard, on the part of the Carthaginians, to justice, moderation, or gratitude.

War again broke out between Carthage and Syracuse, about 310 years *b.c.*, when Agathocles was tyrant of the latter city. This Agathocles was a Sicilian of obscure birth and mean fortune; some say that he was the son of a potter. Supported at first by the forces of the Carthaginians, he had invaded the sovereignty of Syracuse, and established himself there as a tyrant. In the infancy of his power, the Carthaginians kept him within bounds; and Hamilcar, their chief, forced him to agree to a treaty which restored tranquillity to Sicily. But he soon outraged the articles of it, and declared war against the Carthaginians themselves, who, under the conduct of Hamilcar, obtained a signal victory over him, *b.c.* 309, near the city and river of Himera, and forced him to shut himself up in Syracuse. The Carthaginians pursued him thither, and laid siege to that important city, the capture of which would have given them possession of all Sicily.

Agathocles, whose forces were far inferior to theirs, and who, moreover, saw himself forsaken by his allies, from their detestation of his cruelty, meditated a design, at once of so daring, and, to all appearance, of so impracticable a nature, that it appears almost incredible. This design was no less than to make Africa the seat of war, and to besiege Carthage, at a time when he could neither defend himself in Sicily, nor sustain the siege of Syracuse. His profound secrecy in the execution is scarcely less wonderful than the design itself. He communicated his thoughts to no one, but contented himself with declaring, that he had found out an infallible way to free the Syracusans from danger; that they had only to endure patiently, for a short time, the inconveniences of a siege; and that those who could not confide in his assurance, might freely depart the city. Only 1600 persons quitted it. He left his brother Antander there, with forces and provisions sufficient for him to make a vigorous and long defence. He set at liberty all slaves who were of age to bear arms, and after obliging them to take an oath, joined them to his forces. He carried with him only fifty talents (about 11,250*l.*) to supply his present wants, well assured that he should find in the enemy's country whatever

was necessary for his subsistence. He therefore set sail with two of his sons, Archagathus and Hernalides, without informing any one whether he intended to direct his course. The Carthaginians, surprised at so unexpected a departure, endeaoured to prevent it; but he eluded their pursuit, and made for the ocean.

Agathocles did not unfold his design till he had landed in Africa. There, assembling his troops, he told them the motives which had prompted him to this expedition. He represented, that the only way to free their country, was to wage war in the territories of their enemies; that he had led them, who were inured to war, and of intrepid dispositions, against enemies who were enervated by ease and luxury; that the natives of the country, oppressed with a yoke of servitude, equally cruel and ignominious, would join them on hearing of their arrival; that the boldness of their attempt would of itself discourage the Carthaginians; in short, that no enterprise could be more advantageous or honourable than this, since the whole wealth of Carthage would become the prey of the victors, whose courage would be praised and admired by all posterity. Pleased with his speech, the soldiers fancied themselves already masters of Carthage, and they received it with the warmest acclamations. One circumstance alone gave them uneasiness, and that was an eclipse of the sun, which occurred as they were setting sail. In those ages, even the most civilized nations understood very little of the extraordinary phenomena of nature, and used to draw from them, by their soothsayers, arbitrary and superstitious conjectures, which frequently would suspend, or hasten, the most important enterprises. Agathocles, however, revived the drooping courage of his soldiers, by assuring them that these eclipses always foretold some instant change; that, therefore, good fortune was taking its leave of Carthage, and coming over to them.

Finding his army in the disposition he wished, Agathocles executed a second enterprise, more daring than the carrying them into Africa: this was, the burning every ship in his fleet. Many reasons determined him to commit this action. He had not one good harbour in Africa, where his ships could remain in safety; and, as the Carthaginians were masters of the sea, they would have possessed themselves of his fleet, which was incapable of making any resistance. He was desirous, also, of placing his soldiers under a necessity of conquering, by leaving them no other refuge than victory. Much courage was necessary to adopt such a resolution. He had already prepared his officers, who were devoted to his service, and received every impression that he gave them. He then came suddenly into the assembly, with a crown upon his head, dressed in a magnificent habit, and with the air of a man who was going to perform some religious ceremony, he thus addressed them:—"When we left Syracuse, and were warmly pursued by the enemy, in this fatal necessity I addressed myself to Ceres and Proserpine, the tutelary divinities of Sicily, and promised, that if they would free us from this imminent danger, I would burn all our ships in their honour, at our first landing here. Aid me, therefore, O soldiers, to discharge

my vow; for the goddesses can easily make us amends for this sacrifice." At the same time, taking a flambeau in his hand, he hastily led the way on board his own ship, and set it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were cheerfully followed by the soldiers. The trumpets sounded from every quarter, and the whole army echoed with joyful shouts and acclamations. The fleet was soon consumed. But the soldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on the action; they had been hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardour, and when they recovered their reason, and surveyed in their minds the vast extent of ocean which separated them from their own country, and saw themselves in that of the enemy, without resources, or means of escape, a melancholy silence succeeded the transports of joy and acclamations.

Agathocles, however, left them no time for reflection. He marched his army towards a place called the Great City, which was part of the domain of Carthage. The country through which they proceeded afforded the most delicious and agreeable prospect in the world. On either side were meadows watered by beautiful streams, and covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle; country seats built with extraordinary magnificence; avenues planted with olive and all sorts of fruit trees; and gardens of vast extent, kept with an elegance which delighted the eye. This prospect reanimated the soldiers. They marched, full of courage, to the Great City, which they took sword in hand, and enriched themselves with the plunder, which was entirely abandoned to them. Tunis made as little resistance; and this city was not far from Carthage.

The Carthaginians were in great alarm when it was known that the enemy was in the country, advancing by hasty marches; for they concluded that their army before Syracuse had been defeated, and their fleet lost. The people ran in disorder to the great square, whilst the senate assembled in haste, and deliberated on the best means of preserving the city. They had no army in readiness, and their danger did not permit them to wait the arrival of those forces which might be raised in the country, and among the allies. It was, therefore, resolved to arm the citizens; and the number of the forces thus levied amounted to 40,000 foot, 1000 horse, and 2000 armed chariots. Hanno and Bomilear, though divided betwixt themselves by family quarrels, were, however, joined in the command of these troops. They marched immediately to meet the enemy, and, on meeting them, drew up their forces in order of battle. Agathocles had, at most, but 13,000 or 14,000 soldiers, and many of them lacked arms. The signal was given, and a fearful conflict ensued. Hanno, with his sacred cohort, the flower of the Carthaginian forces, long sustained the fury of the Greeks, and sometimes disordered their ranks, but, overwhelmed at length with a shower of stones, and covered with wounds, he fell dead upon the field. Bomilear might have changed the face of things, but he had private and personal reasons why he should not obtain a victory for his country; and, therefore, he perditionally retired, leaving the palm of victory to Agathocles. After pursuing the enemy some time, Agathocles returned and

plundered the Carthaginian camp, where he found many thousand manacles, with which the Carthaginians had furnished themselves, in the firm persuasion of taking many prisoners. The result of this victory was, the capture of several strongholds, and the defection of many of the natives of the country, who joined the victor.

This was the first deadly thrust at the power of Carthage, whose weak point being thus discovered, the example was afterwards followed by the Romans. This is observable in a speech which Scipio made before the Roman senate. In reply to Fabius, who ascribed his design of making Africa the seat of war to temerity, he instanced this example of Agathocles in favour of his enterprise, and to show, that frequently there is no other way of escaping from an inveterate enemy, than by carrying war into his own country; and that men are sometimes more courageous, when acting upon the offensive, than when they stand upon the defensive.

While the Carthaginians were thus attacked by their enemies, B.C. 331, ambassadors arrived from Tyre, who came to implore their succour against Alexander the Great, who was upon the point of taking their city, which he had long besieged. The extremity to which the Tyrians were reduced, touched the Carthaginians as sensibly as their own danger. Though they were unable to relieve, they at least thought it their duty to comfort them; and for this purpose they deputed thirty of their principal citizens to express their grief that they could not, by reason of the state of their own affairs, spare them any troops. The Tyrians, though disappointed of the only hope they had left, did not, however, despond; they committed their wives, children, and the aged to the care of these deputies; and thus, being delivered from all inquietude with reference to persons who were dearer to them than any thing in the world, they thought only of making a resolute defence, prepared for the worst that might happen. Carthage received this company with tenderness, and rendered them all the services which they could have expected from the most affectionate and tender parents. The rest of the Tyrians, it is said, when they saw no hope of escaping the besiegers, embarked all their property on board the ships in their harbour, and fled thither also, so that on taking the city, the conqueror found nothing worthy of his labour; thus literally fulfilling the prediction of the prophet, which says,

"Yet had he no wages, nor his army, for Tyre,
For the service that he had served against it."

ESAY. XLIX. 18.

At the same time Carthage was desirous of extricating itself from the difficulties with which it was surrounded. The present unhappy state of the republic was considered as the effect of the wrath of the gods; and it was acknowledged to be justly deserved, particularly with regard to two deities towards whom the Carthaginians had been, as they considered, remiss in the discharge of certain duties prescribed by their religion, and which had once been minutely observed. It was a custom, coeval with the city itself, for Carthage to send annually to Tyre the tenth of all the revenues of the republic as an offering to Hercules,

the patron and protector of both cities. The domains, and consequently the revenues of Carthage, having increased considerably, the portion, on the contrary, of the god, had been lessened, and they were far from remitting the tenth. They were seized with a scruple on this point; they made an open and public confession of their guilt, and to expiate it, they sent to Tyre a great number of presents, and small golden shrines of their false gods.

Another offence, which to this superstitious people seemed as flagrant as the former, gave them further uneasiness, and led them deeper into crime. This was the omission of sacrificing children of the best families in Carthage to Saturn. They reproached themselves with having failed to pay to this god the honours which they thought due to him, and with having used fraud towards him, by substituting the children of slaves, or beggars, purchased for that purpose, in their sacrifices. To expiate the guilt of this imagined impiety, a sacrifice was made of 200 children of the first rank, as upwards of 300 persons offered themselves as victims to pacify the wrath of their gods—so low were they sunk into the debasing depths of idolatry; and so true it is, that the dark regions of the earth, those destitute of the light of the gospel, are, in all ages of the world, "habitations of cruelty." "Thrice glorious will that day be when, in the figurative language of the prophet, the gates of the church of Christ "shall be open continually," when "they shall not be shut day nor night, that men may bring unto" her "the forces of the Gentiles," Isa. lx. 11; for then, such deeds of darkness will cease.

After these expiations, expresses were despatched to Hamilcar in Sicily, with the tidings of what had taken place in Africa, and at the same time, to request immediate succours. He commanded the deputies to observe the strictest silence on the subject of the victory of Agathocles, and spread a contrary report, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all destroyed, and his whole fleet taken by the Carthaginians, and in confirmation of this report, he showed some ionic vessels, which it was pretended had been taken and sent to him. This report was believed in Syracuse, and the majority were for capitulating, when a gallery of thirty oars, built in haste by Agathocles, arrived in the port, and forced its way to the besieged. The news of Agathocles' victory immediately flew through the city, and restored alacrity and resolution to the inhabitants. Hamilcar made a last effort to storm the city, but he was repulsed; and he then raised the siege, and sent 5,000 men to the relief of his country. Some time after, having resumed the attempt, and hoping to surprise the Syracusans by attacking them in the night, his design was discovered, and falling into the enemy's hands, he was put to death with the most cruel tortures.

To these foreign enemies, was joined a domestic one, who was still more to be feared: this was Bomilear, their general, who was then in possession of the first post in Carthage. He had long meditated the establishment of himself as tyrant of Carthage, and attaining the sovereign authority there; and he imagined that the present

troubles offered him the wished-for opportunity. He therefore entered the city, and being surrounded by a small number of citizens, and a body of foreign soldiers, he proclaimed himself tyrant, and sustained the character he had taken, by slaying all the citizens whom he met in the streets. A tumult arising in the city, it was thought that the enemy had taken it by some treachery; but when it was known that Bomilear caused it, the young men took up arms, and from the house-tops discharged darts and stones upon the soldiers' heads. When Bomilear saw an army marching against him, he retired with his troops to an eminence, with a design to make a vigorous defence, and to sell his life as dear as possible. To spare the lives of the citizens, a pardon was proclaimed for all, without exception, who should lay down their arms. They surrendered upon this proclamation, and all enjoyed the benefit of it, Bomilear, their chief, excepted; for the Carthaginians, without regarding their oath, condemned him to death, and fastened him to a cross, where he expired, reproaching them for their injustices, ingratitude, and perjury.

Agathocles had allured to his interest by the promise of the empire of Africa, a powerful king of Cyrene, named Ophellas; but as he did not scruple to commit the most dreadful crimes, when he thought them conducive to his interests, the credulous monarch had no sooner put himself and his army in his power, than he perfidiously caused him to be murdered, in order that the army of Ophellas might be entirely at his service. Several nations were now joined in alliance with Agathocles, and several strongholds garrisoned by his forces; and as he now saw his affairs in Africa in a flourishing condition, he thought it proper to look after those of Sicily; accordingly, leaving the command of his army to his son Archagathus, he returned thither. His renown went before him, and on his arrival in Sicily many towns were revolted to him; but adverse news soon recalled him to Africa. His absence had altered the face of things there; and all his endeavours proved incapable of restoring them to their former condition. His strongholds had surrendered to the enemy, the Africans had deserted him, some of his troops were lost, and those remaining were unable to oppose the enemy, and, as he had no ships to transport them into Sicily, as the enemy were masters at sea, and he could not hope for either peace or treaty, he stole away with a few followers into Syracuse. His soldiers, seeing themselves thus betrayed, revenged their wrongs upon his sons, whom they murdered, and then they surrendered to the enemy. He himself was soon after poisoned by one Menon.

Within this period, another event, as related by Justin, may be recorded. The fame of Alexander's conquests made the Carthaginians fear that he might hereafter turn his arms towards Africa. The hapless fate of Tyre, whence they derived their origin, and which he had recently destroyed; the building of Alexandria upon the confines of Africa and Egypt; the uninterrupted successes of that prince, whose ambition and good fortune were boundless; all this naturally alarmed the Carthaginians. To discover his inclinations, therefore, Hamilcar, surnamed Rhodanus, pretending to have been driven from his country by

the rebels of his enemies, went over to the camp of Alexander, and offered him his services. Hamilcar was well received by the king, and had several conferences with him, the result of which he transmitted secretly to his country; but notwithstanding he served his country thus devotedly, and at the expense of his own honour, after Alexander's death, he was considered its betrayer to that prince, and was condemned to die.

The next wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily were in the time of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, who married the daughter of Agathocles. The Romans, to whom the designs of that ambitious prince were known, in order to strengthen themselves against any attempts he might make upon Italy, had renewed their treaties with the Carthaginians, who, on their side, were no less afraid of his crossing into Sicily. To the articles of the preceding treaties, there was added an engagement of mutual assistance, in case either Rome or Carthage should be attacked by Pyrrhus.

The foresight of the Romans was well founded. Pyrrhus turned his arms against Italy, A.C. 280; he continued there and in Sicily six years, and gained many victories. The Carthaginians, in consequence of the last treaty, thought themselves bound to assist the Romans, and they accordingly sent a fleet of sixscore sail, under the command of Mago. This general, in an audience before the senate, signified to them the interest which his superiors took in the war waged against the Romans, and proffered their assistance. The senate returned thanks for the obliging offer, but at present thought fit to decline it.

Some days after, Mago repaired to Pyrrhus, upon pretence of offering the mediation of Carthage, for terminating his quarrel with the Romans. The real purport of his visit was, however, to discover, if possible, his designs with regard to Sicily, which report said he was going to invade. The Carthaginians were afraid that either Pyrrhus or the Romans would interfere in the affairs of that island, and transport forces thither for its conquest. With reference to Pyrrhus, their fears were well grounded, for soon after he invaded Sicily. At first his conquests were so rapid, that he left the Carthaginians, in the whole island, only the single town of Lily-beum. He laid siege to this town also, but meeting with a vigorous resistance, was compelled to raise the siege; his affairs, however, recalled him to Italy. As he was embarking, he turned his eyes back to Sicily, and exclaimed, "What a fine field of battle do we leave the Carthaginians and Romans!" a prediction which was soon verified in all its awful consequences.

After his departure, A.C. 275, the chief magistracy of Syracuse was conferred on Hiero, who afterwards obtained the name and dignity of king. Hiero was appointed to carry on the war against the Carthaginians, and obtained some advantages over them. But now a common interest united them against a new enemy, who began to appear in Sicily, to the alarm of both powers: these were the Romans, who, having crushed all their enemies in Italy, were now powerful enough to attempt foreign conquests; and Sicily was so near and commodious, that they formed a resolution to establish themselves there. This invasion caused the rupture between the Romans

and the Carthaginians, and gave rise to the first Punic war, the particulars of which will be recorded in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF CARTHAGE FROM THE FIRST PUNIC WAR TO ITS DESTRUCTION.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR.

THE first Punic war commenced 264 years B.C., and it continued for twenty-three years. It had its origin in the following cause. Some Campanian soldiers, in the service of Agathocles, the Sicilian tyrant, having entered as friends into Messina, soon after murdered part of the townsmen, drove out the rest, married their wives, seized their effects, and remained masters of the city. They then assumed the name of Mamertines. In imitation of them, and by their assistance, a Roman legion treated the city of Rhegium, lying directly opposite to Messina, in the same barbarous manner. These two cities supporting one another, rendered themselves formidable to their neighbours, and especially Messina, which became very powerful, and gave great uneasiness and offence, both to the Syracusans and Carthaginians, who possessed part of Sicily. As soon as the Romans had conquered the enemies they had so long contended with, and particularly Pyrrhus, they thought of punishing the crime of their citizens, who had so wantonly outraged humanity at Rhegium. Accordingly, they took the city, and slew the greater part of the inhabitants in battle: 300 only were left, and they were carried to Rome, whipped, and then publicly beheaded in the forum. The view which the Romans had in this execution, was, to prove to their allies their own sincerity and innocence. Rhegium was immediately restored to its lawful possessors. The Mamertines, who were considerably weakened by the ruin of their confederate city, as well as by recent losses sustained by the attacks of the Syracusans, with Hiero at their head, thought it time to provide for their safety; but divisions arising among them, one part surrendered the citadel to the Carthaginians, whilst the other solicited the aid of the Romans, and resolved to put them in possession of the city.

The Roman senate looked upon this affair in a two-fold light. On the one hand, they considered that it was unworthy the Roman senate to undertake the defence of traitors, whose perfidy was the same as that of the Rhegians, which they had visited with exemplary punishment: on the other, they thought it of the utmost consequence to stop the progress of the Carthaginians, whose thirst for sway was such, that they would obtain all Sicily, if suffered to possess themselves of Messina, from whence they might easily pass over into Italy itself. These latter reasons appeared very strong; but motives of honour and justice prevailed, in this instance, over those of interest and policy, and the senate decided against affording them any assistance. The pro-

ple, however, were not so scrupulous; for, in an assembly called to discuss this question, it was resolved that the Mamertines should be assisted. The consul Appian immediately set forward with his army, and, eluding the vigilance of the Carthaginian general, boldly crossed the strait, and obtained, partly by force and partly by stratagem, possession both of the citadel and the city. The Carthaginians and Hiero prepared to besiege the town, but the consul defeated them separately, and laid waste the neighbouring country. This was the first expedition which the Romans made out of Italy, and this was the first step by which they ascended to that height of military renown for which they became so celebrated.

Hiero, having reconciled himself to the Romans, and entered into alliance with them, the Carthaginians bent all their thoughts on Sicily, and sent numerous armies thither. Agrigentum was their rendezvous, which being attacked by the Romans, was taken, after they had besieged it seven months, and gained one battle.

The advantage of this victory, and the conquest of so important a city, was great; but the Romans were sensible that, whilst the Carthaginians continued masters at sea, the maritime places in the island would always co-operate with them, and place it out of their power to expel them from Sicily. Besides, they were not pleased to see Africa enjoy peace and tranquillity at a time when Italy was visited by the frequent incursions of its enemies; they, therefore, now first formed the design of obtaining a fleet, and of disputing the empire of the sea with the Carthaginians. The undertaking was bold, and in appearance rash. They were not at that time possessed of a single vessel which they could call their own, and the ships which had transported their forces into Sicily had been borrowed of their neighbours. They were, moreover, inexperienced in sea affairs, had no mechanics acquainted with the building of ships, and knew not even the shape of the quinqueremes, or galleys with five oars, in which the strength of fleets at that time consisted. They had, however, the year before seen one upon the coast of Italy, and fired with ambition, they applied themselves with ardour to building ships of the same form. In the mean time, they collected a set of rowers, seated them on benches arranged as those in the galleys, and taught them an exercise and discipline unknown before. In two months, 100 galleys of five benches of oars, and twenty of three benches, were built, and the fleet put to sea under the command of the consul Duilius.

The Romans met with the Carthaginians near the coast of Myla, and both sides prepared for an engagement. As the Roman galleys were clumsily built they were not easy to steer, but this inconvenience was supplied by a machine afterwards known by the name of the *corvus*, crow, or crane; by the help of which they grappled the enemy's ships, boarded them, and immediately came to a close engagement. The signal was given. The Carthaginian fleet consisted of 130 sail, under the command of Hannibal. He himself was on board a galley of seven benches of oars, which had once belonged to Pyrrhus. Despising enemies, who were igno-

rant of sea affairs, the Carthaginians came forward boldly, believing that the victory was theirs. They were, nevertheless, surprised when they saw the *corvus* thrown forcibly into their vessels and grappling them in spite of all resistance. By this means, the form of the engagement was changed, the Carthaginians were compelled to struggle with the enemy as though they were on land, and they were unable to sustain the attack. A fearful slaughter ensued; the Carthaginians lost fourscore vessels, among which was the admiral's galley, he himself escaping in a small boat with difficulty. This event occurred 260 years B.C.

No great and unexpected victory raised the courage of the Romans, and redoubled their eagerness for the continuance of the war; and, growing still stronger at sea during the next two years, they meditated the design of carrying the war into Africa, and of combating the Carthaginians in their own country. There was nothing the latter dreaded more; and to avoid this evil, they resolved to meet the enemy, whatever might be the consequence.

The Romans had elected M. Atilius Regulus and L. Manlius consuls for this year, (B.C. 256.) Their fleet consisted, according to Polybius, of 330 vessels, while that of the Carthaginians, who set sail at the same time, to intercept the consuls in their passage, consisted of twenty more, and was more numerous than theirs. The two fleets came in sight of each other near Ecnomus in Sicily, and they soon met in combat. As the courage on both sides was equal, the victory was long doubtful, but at length the Carthaginians were overcome, more than sixty of their ships were taken, and thirty sunk. The Romans lost only twenty-four.

The result of this victory, as the Romans perceived, was their sailing to Africa, and landing there. They commenced hostilities by taking a town called Cypsa—a name derived from *cypus*, a shield—which possessed a commodious haven. From thence, after having sent an express to Rome to give advice of their landing, and to receive orders from the senate, they overran the country, making dreadful havoc, bringing away flocks of cattle, and 20,000 prisoners.

After taking several castles, Regulus laid siege to Adia, one of the strongest fortresses in Africa. The Carthaginians, exasperated at seeing their enemies thus laying waste their lands, at length took the field, and marched against them, to force them to raise the siege. With this view, they posted themselves on a hill overlooking the Roman camp, and which was convenient for annoying the enemy. At the same time, however, it rendered one part of their army useless, namely, that of their horses and elephants, which are of no service but in plains. Regulus, taking advantage of this mistake, fell upon them, and after meeting with a feeble resistance, put them to flight, plundered their camp, and laid waste the adjacent country; then, having taken Tunis, (now the seat of a Turkish bey, and the capital of a large territory called the kingdom of Tunis,) which brought him near Carthage, he encamped his army there.

The Carthaginians were in the utmost alarm. Everything had been disastrous: their forces had

been defeated by sea and land, and upwards of 200 towns had surrendered to the conqueror. Besides this, the Numidians made greater havoc in their territories than even the Romans. They expected every moment to see their capital attacked; and their apprehensions were increased when they saw peasants from all quarters, with their wives and children, flock to Carthage for safety; for they expected from thence a famine in case of a siege. Regulus, afraid of having the glory of his victory torn from him by a successor, made some proposals of an accommodation to the vanquished enemy; but the conditions were such that they could not be accepted. As he did not doubt of his being soon master of Carthage, he would not abate anything in his demands; but, by an insatiation which is almost inseparable from great and unexpected success, he treated his foes with haughtiness, and pretended that everything he suffered them to possess ought to be esteemed a favour, adding this insult, "That they ought either to overcome, like brave men, or learn to submit to the victor." Such harsh and disdainful treatment only increased their resentment, and they resolved rather to die than to accept any terms which might derogate from the dignity of Carthage.

Reduced to this fatal extremity, they received a reinforcement of auxiliary troops from Greece, having at their head, Xanthippus the Laedemonian, who had been educated in the discipline of Sparta, and learned the art of war in that school. When he had heard the circumstances of the last battle, had clearly discerned the occasion of its being lost, and perfectly informed himself in what the strength of Carthage consisted, he declared publicly that the misfortunes of the Carthaginians were owing to the incapacity of their generals. This was reported to the council, and its members requested him to attend them. He enforced his opinion with such strong and convincing reasons, that the oversights committed were apparent to every one; and he proved as clearly, that by a conduct opposite to the former, they would not only secure their dominions, but drive the enemy out of them. The courage and hopes of the Carthaginians were again revived; and Xanthippus was entreated, and, in some measure, compelled to accept the command of the army.

The Carthaginian army was composed of 12,000 foot and 4,000 horse, and about 100 elephants. That of the Romans, as near as can be discovered, consisted of 15,000 foot and 300 horse.

The success of this battle, however inconsiderable it may appear from the paucity of the numbers, was nevertheless to determine the fate of Carthage. The combatants came in sight of each other, and the two armies being drawn up with all the skill their respective generals could exercise, they waited only for the signal. At length Xanthippus ordered the elephants to advance to break the ranks of the enemy, and commanded the two wings of the cavalry to charge the Romans in flank. At the same time, the latter, clashing their arms, and shouting after their usual wont, advanced against the enemy. Their cavalry being so much inferior to that of the Carthaginians, could not stand the onset long.

The infantry in the left wing, to avoid the attacks of the elephants, and show how little they feared the mercenaries, who formed the enemy's right wing, attacked it, put it to flight, and pursued it to the camp. Those in the first ranks, who were opposed to the elephants, were, however, broken and trodden under foot; and when the rear, attacked by the enemy's cavalry, was obliged to face about and receive it, and those who had broken through the elephants met the phalanx of the Carthaginians, which had not yet engaged, and which received them in good order, the Romans were routed on all sides and defeated. Only 2000 escaped; all the rest, Regulus and 500 prisoners excepted, were left dead on the field. The Carthaginians, after having stripped those who had been slain, entered Carthage in triumph, dragging after them the unfortunate Regulus and the rest of the prisoners; after which, the whole city crowded to the temples of their false gods to return thanks, and then devoted several days to festivities and rejoicings. The date of this event was 256 years B.C.

Xanthippus, we are told by Polybius, who had contributed so much to this change, had the wisdom to withdraw shortly after, from the apprehension lest his glory, which had hitherto been unsullied, might, after this first blaze, insensibly fade away, and leave him exposed to the darts of envy and calumny, in a foreign country, and among a cruel and treacherous people. We read in Appian, however, that the Carthaginians were jealous of his honour, and that, unable to endure the thought that they should stand indebted to Sparta for their safety, upon pretence of conducting him and his attendants back with honour to his own country, gave private orders to have them all put to death on their passage; as though with him they could have buried in the waves for ever the memory of his services, and their ingratitude. It is a matter of doubt which of these historians is correct, but the former statement seems the most probable, though the perfidy of the Carthaginians was proverbial.

The disaster which the Romans met with in Africa by no means discouraged them. They made, indeed, greater preparations than before to retrieve their loss, and put to sea with 360 vessels. The Carthaginians sailed out to meet them with 200, but were repulsed in an engagement fought on the coasts of Sicily, with the loss of 114 ships.

The Romans, after this, sailed to Africa, to take in the few soldiers who had escaped the pursuit of the enemy after the defeat of Regulus, and who had defended themselves in Clypea against all opposers. On their return, the Romans were overtaken by a storm which destroyed nearly the whole of their fleet. A similar misfortune attended them also during the following year; but they consoled themselves for this double loss by a victory which they gained over Hasdrubal, from whom they took nearly 140 elephants. This news being brought to Rome, filled the whole city with joy, and it was deemed expedient to make a greater effort than ever, in order to finish, if possible, a war which had continued fourteen years. The two consuls accordingly set sail, A.C. 251, with a fleet of 200 ships, and arriving

in Sicily, formed the bold design of besieging Lilybæum.

The town of Lilybæum was the strongest which the Carthaginians possessed in Sicily, and the loss of it would have been attended with that of every part of the island, and would have opened to the Romans a free passage into Africa. Great exertions were therefore made for its retention. Imilco was governor there, with 10,000 regular forces, exclusive of the inhabitants; and Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, brought him as many more from Carthage.

The Romans lost no time. Having brought forward their battering rams, they demolished several towers; and gaining ground daily, they made such progress as excited in the besieged fears for the event. The governor saw, indeed, that the city would be lost, if the engines of the Romans were not destroyed. Accordingly, he prepared his forces for this enterprise; he sent them out at daybreak with torches, tow, and all kinds of combustible material; and at the same time attacked all the engines. The Romans exerted their utmost efforts to repel them, and the engagement was very fatal, every one as valiant as well as defendant, stood to his post, and chose to die rather than retreat. At length, after a long resistance, the besieged sounded a retreat, and left the Romans in possession of their works. The conflict being over, Hannibal embarked secretly in the night, and sailed for Drepanum, a commodious port about 120 furlongs from Lilybæum, where Adherbal commanded for the Carthaginians.

Animated by their late successes, the Romans renewed the attack with greater vigour than heretofore. But they were to suffer a reverse. A furious wind rising suddenly, some of the mercenaries represented to the governor, that it was a favourable opportunity for them to fire the engines of the besiegers, especially as the wind blew against them; and they seconded their representation by offering themselves for the enterprise. The offer was accepted, and being furnished with every thing necessary, they sailed forth from the city. They succeeded in their design: in a moment the fire caught all the engines, and the Romans could not extinguish it, because, the flames spreading every where, the winds carried the sparks and smoke full in their faces, so that they could not see where to apply a remedy. Through this event, the Romans lost all hopes of being able to carry the place by force; they therefore turned the siege into a blockade, raised a strong line of contravallation round the town, and dispersing their army in every part of the neighbourhood, resolved to effect by time what they could not perform by force.

When the transactions of the siege of Lilybæum, and the loss of a part of their forces, were known at Rome, the citizens redoubled their exertions; every man strove to be foremost in the muster-roll; so that, in a very little time, an army was raised of 10,000 men, who, crossing the strait, marched by land to join the besiegers.

At the same time, P. Claudius Pulcher, the consul, formed a design of attacking Adherbal in Drepanum, B.C. 249. Flushed with hope, the better to conceal his design, he sailed out with his fleet in the night. But he had to cope

with a general, whose vigilance he could not elude, and who did not even give him time to draw up his ships in line of battle, but fell vigorously upon him, whilst his fleet was in confusion. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory. Of the Roman fleet, only thirty vessels escaped; the rest, amounting to ninety-three, were, with all on board them, taken by the enemy, a few soldiers excepted.

Junius, the colleague of P. Claudius Pulcher, was neither more prudent nor fortunate; for he lost his whole fleet by misconduct. Endeavouring to atone for his misfortune by some great action, he held a secret correspondence with the inhabitants of Eryx,* and by that means obtained possession of the city. On the summit of the mountain stood the temple of Venus Erycina, so called from being worshipped at Eryx, the most beautiful as well as the richest of all the Sicilian temples. The city stood a little below the summit of this mountain, and the only access to it was by a long and rugged road. Junius posted one part of his troops upon the top, and the remainder at the foot of the mountain, imagining that he had in that position nothing to fear. He was soon undeceived; for Hamilcar, surnamed Barca, father of the celebrated Hannibal, who was now (B.C. 247) placed at the head of the Carthaginian army, found means to get into the city, which lay between the two camps of the Romans, and there fortified himself. From this position he harassed the Romans for two years incessantly.

During the next five years, nothing memorable was performed on either side. The Romans had imagined that their land forces would be capable of finishing the siege of Lilybæum; but, as they saw it protracted, they returned to their original plan, and made extraordinary efforts to fit out a new fleet. The public treasury was at a low ebb; but this want was supplied by individual zeal; every man, according to his circumstances, contributed to the common expense, and advanced money upon public security, by which means 200 ships were in a little time prepared for a new enterprise. The command was given to Lutatius, the consul, B.C. 242. The enemy's fleet had retired into Africa; the consul, therefore, easily seized upon all the advantageous posts in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, and foreseeing an engagement, omitted no precautions to insure success.

He was soon informed that the Carthaginian fleet drew near. This fleet was under the command of Hanno, who landed in a small island called Hiera, opposite to Drepanum, with the design to reach Eryx undiscovered by the Romans, to reinforce his troops, and to take Barca on board to assist him in the expected engagement. But the consul suspected his intention; and having assembled all his best forces, he sailed for the small island Ægusa, or Ægates, which lay near Hiera. He acquainted his officers with the design he had of attacking the enemy on the

* It must be observed here, that the port of Drepanum lay north of Lilybæum at the foot of Mount Eryx. The city of Eryx stood on the declivity of the mountain, and the temple of Venus on the summit. Thus the port, city, and the temple were united. The mountain is now called Monte de San Julian, and is reckoned the highest in Sicily, Altho excepted.

morning; and, accordingly, at daybreak he prepared to do so. It being reported that the Romans were in motion, the Carthaginians had put to sea a fleet fitted out in haste, the soldiers being all mercenaries, newly levied, without any experience, resolution, or zeal. This soon appeared in the engagement; for they could not sustain the first attack. Fifty of their vessels were sunk, and seventy taken, with all on board. The rest, favoured by a wind, made the best of their way to Hiera. The consul sailed immediately for Lilybeum, and joined his forces to those of the besiegers.

When the news of this defeat arrived at Carthage, it occasioned the greatest surprise and alarm. The senate, however, did not lose their courage, though they saw themselves unable to continue the war. As the Romans were now masters of the sea, it was not possible for the Carthaginians to send either provisions or reinforcements to their armies in Sicily. An express was, therefore, immediately despatched to Barca, the general there, empowering him to act as he should think proper. Barca, so long as he could entertain hope, had done everything that could be expected from the most intrepid courage, and the most consummate wisdom. But having now no resource left, he sent a deputation to the consul, in order to treat about a peace. "Prudence," says Polybius, "consists in knowing how to resist and yield at a seasonable juncture." Lutatius was not insensible how tired the Romans were become of a war, which had exhausted their resources, and thinned the ranks of their citizens; and the awful consequences which had attended on the inexorable conduct of Regulus were fresh in his memory: he therefore complied without difficulty, and dictated the following treaty:—"There shall be peace between Rome and Carthage—in case the Roman people approve of it—on the following conditions: the Carthaginians shall evacuate all Sicily; shall no longer make war upon Hiero, the Syracusans, or their allies; they shall restore to the Romans without ransom all the prisoners which they have taken from him; and pay them within twenty years, 2200* Euboic talents of silver."

When these conditions were brought to Rome, the people, disapproving of them, sent ten commissioners to Sicily to terminate the affair. These made no alteration as to the substance of the treaty; only shortening the time appointed for the payment, reducing it to ten years; 1000 talents were added to the sum that had been stipulated, which were to be paid immediately; and the Carthaginians were required to depart out of all the islands situate between Italy and Sicily. Sardinia was not comprehended in this treaty; but they resigned it by another which was made some years afterwards.

Such was the conclusion of a war, one of the longest mentioned in history. We see in the perusal of it, traces of the fallen nature of man, written, as it were, in characters of blood. Ambition and revenge—these were the sources from whence it arose, and by which it was continued, through this long period of time. Nor could these passions be appeased till seas of blood

were shed, thousands of parents left childless, thousands of wives made widows, thousands of children fatherless, and one of the commanding powers saw itself on the brink of ruin. Then, when all these evils, and more, had occurred, ambition descended from its towering height, revenge repressed its resentment, and peace, that gladdens the fair creation of God by its hallowed influence, was eagerly sought for and obtained. But such is the state of man in all ages, and in all countries, where the ever-blessed gospel of Christ has not enlightened the mind, and renovated the heart. In the Christian's heart, where peace is obtained through the blood of the cross, there love will prevail; and when all nations are governed by the principles of the gospel, war will cease. Under its hallowed influence, men take up the burden of the song of the angels, when the "Prince of peace" was born, and sing, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill toward men;" or, as a commentator well paraphrases this passage: "Glory be to God in the highest heavens; let all the angelic beings resound his praises; for, with the Redeemer's birth, peace and all manner of happiness are come down to dwell on earth; yea, the overflowings of Divine goodwill and favour are now exercised toward men."

THE LIBYAN WAR, OR AGAINST THE MERCENARIES.

The Carthaginians were not long permitted to enjoy peace. They had often hired a foreign sword, to carry desolation into distant countries, and now, scarcely had peace been agreed upon, when that same sword was turned against themselves in the very heart of their republic. The mercenary troops who had served under them in Sicily, waged a war against them for three years and a half, which was conducted with such cruelty and barbarity, on both sides, as scarcely meets with a parallel in the voluminous annals of history. The occasion of it was as follows.

As soon as the treaty was concluded with the Romans, Hamilcar, having carried to Lilybeum the forces which were in Eryx, resigned his commission, and left to Gisgo, governor of the place, the care of transporting the mercenary forces to Africa. Gisgo, as though he foresaw what would happen, sent only a portion at a time, in order that they might be paid and sent home before the arrival of the rest. This conduct evinced great foresight in Gisgo, but it was not seconded at Carthage. As the treasury of the republic had been exhausted by the long war, the forces were not paid as they arrived, but it was deemed expedient to wait for the rest, in the hopes of obtaining from all a remission of some part of the arrears. This was a great oversight; for these soldiers, having been long accustomed to a licentious life, caused great disturbances in the city; to remedy which it was proposed to their officers, to remove them all to a little neighbouring town called Sicca, and there supply them with whatever was necessary for their subsistence, till their companions arrived. The Carthaginians committed another error in refusing to let them leave their baggage, wives, and children, in Carthage, as they desired; for, if they had, these

* 515,000*l.* English money.

would have been as so many hostages, and would have insured peace.

At length, being all met together at Sicca, they composed the arrears of their pay, which they made amount to more than was due, and they added to the compensation the promises received at different times, as an encouragement to do their duty. Hanno, who was the governor of Africa, and had been sent to them from the magistrates of Carthage, proposed to them to consent to an abatement of arrears, in consideration of the distress to which the commonwealth was reduced. This proposal was received with disdain. Complaints, murmurs, seditious and insolent clamours, were heard on every side; and the troops being composed of different nations, who were strangers to each other's language, were incapable of hearing reason when they once murmured. Finally, transported with rage, they marched towards Carthage, to the number of twenty thousand, and encamped at Tunis, not far from that city.

When it was too late, the Carthaginians discovered their error; and there was no compliance how grovelling sycamore, to which they did not stoop to soothe the exasperated soldiers. But this was of no avail: they took advantage of their fear, and practised every art which could be devised to obtain money from them. As nothing could be settled, the Carthaginians with great difficulty prevailed on them to refer themselves to the opinion of some general who had commanded in Sicily. Accordingly they fixed upon Gisco, who had always been very acceptable to them. This general harangued them in a mild and inculcating manner, reminding them of the long time they had been in the Carthaginian service, the sums they had received from the republic, and then granted almost the whole of their demands.

The treaty was upon the point of being concluded, when two mutineers occasioned a tumult. One of these was Spendius, a Capuan, who had been a slave at Rome, and had fled for protection to the Carthaginians. The fear this man felt of falling into the hands of his former master—by whom, according to custom, he would have been put to death—prompted him to break off the agreement. In this act, he was seconded by one Matho, who had been very active in forming the conspiracy. These two represented to the Africans, that the instant after their companions should be discharged and sent home, they being left alone, would fall a sacrifice to the rage of the Carthaginians, who would take vengeance upon them for the common rebellion. This again, roused their fury, and they immediately made choice of Spendius and Matho for their leaders. No remonstrances were heard, or allowed to be heard, and they commenced hostilities by plundering Gisco's tent, and by dragging that general himself, with all his attendants, after treating them with the utmost indignities, to prison. All the cities of Africa, to which they had sent deputies to exhort them to recover their liberty, came over to them, Utica and Hippo were excepted, which cities they immediately besieged.

Carthage had never before been exposed to such imminent danger. The citizens drew their

subsistence from the rents or revenues of their lands, and the public expenses from the tribute paid by Africa, and these supplies were now stopped. Also they found themselves destitute of arms and forces; of all necessary preparations either for sustaining a siege or equipping a fleet; and, to complete their misfortunes, without any hopes of foreign assistance either from friends or allies.

In some degree they might impute to themselves the distress to which they were reduced. During the last war, they had treated the natives of Africa with the utmost rigour, by imposing excessive tributes on them, and exacting them even from squalid poverty. Hence no great efforts were needed to prevail upon the Africans to engage in this rebellion. It broke out, and became general, at the very first signal made. The women, who had often seen their husbands dragged to prison for non-payment, were more exasperated than the men, and cheerfully gave up all their ornaments towards the expenses of the war; so that the chiefs of the rebels, after paying all they had promised the soldiers, found themselves still in the midst of plenty. An instructive lesson, says Polybius, to rulers, how a people should be treated, as it teaches them to look not only to the present, but to extend their views to futurity.

But notwithstanding their present distress, the Carthaginians did not despair. They made the most extraordinary efforts to raise an army, the command of which was given to Hanno. Nor were the rebels less active in their exertions. Their army was now increased to 70,000 men, and, after detachments had been drawn from it to carry on the sieges of Utica and Hippo, they pitched their camp at Tunis, and thereby held Carthage in a kind of blockade, and filled it with perpetual alarms.

Hanno marched to the relief of Utica, and gained a considerable advantage, which, had he made a proper use of it, might have proved decisive; but entering the city, and only diverting himself there, the mercenariness, who had retreated to a neighbouring hill covered with trees, being how careless the enemy were, poured down upon them, took and plundered the camp, and seized upon all the supplies that had been brought from Carthage for the relief of the besieged. Nor was this the only error committed by Hanno, and therefore Hamilcar was appointed to succeed him. This general soon obliged the rebels to raise the siege of Utica; and he then marched against their army, which was encamped near Carthage, defeated part of it, and seized almost all their advantageous posts; which successes revived the courage of the Carthaginians.

A young Numidian nobleman, Naravasus by name, who had lately arrived to the aid of Carthage, out of esteem for Hamilcar, with 2000 Numidians, was of great service to that general. Animated by this reinforcement, he fell upon the rebels who had encamped him in a valley, and repulsed them with great slaughter, taking 4000 prisoners. The young Numidian distinguished himself greatly in this conflict. Hamilcar took into his troops as many of the prisoners as were desirous of being enlisted, and gave the rest

liberty to go wherever they pleased, on condition that they should not again wage war against the Carthaginians; otherwise, that every one, if taken, should be put to death; an act which proved the wisdom of that general.

Spendius, fearing that this affected lenity of Hamilcar might occasion a defection among his troops, thought that the only expedient left him to prevent it, would be to strike some signal blow, which would deprive them of all hopes of a reconciliation. Accordingly, after having read some fictitious letters, by which advice was given him of rescuing Gisco and his companions from prison, he brought them to the barbarous resolution of putting them to death. Accordingly, this unfortunate general, and 700 prisoners who were confined with him, were brought to the front of the camp, and there sacrificed in the most cruel manner that revenge could devise. The Carthaginians sent a herald to demand their remains, in order to inter them, but they were refused; and the herald was further told, that whoever came again upon such an errand should meet with Gisco's fate. The rebels, indeed, came to the resolution of treating all such Carthaginians as should fall into their hands in the same barbarous manner; and they decreed further, that if any of their allies were taken, they should, after their hands were cut off, be sent back to Carthage; which cruel resolution was carried into effect on all the prisoners afterwards taken.

The Carthaginians were just beginning to recover themselves, when they were plunged again into fresh dangers. A division arose among their generals; the provisions which were coming to them by sea, and of which they were in extreme need, were cast away in a storm; and Utica and Hippacra, the only cities which had hitherto maintained their allegiance inviolate, revolted.

Animated by these circumstances, the rebels laid siege to Carthage, but they were obliged immediately to raise it. They continued the war, however; and having drawn together into one body their own troops and those of the allies, making upwards of 50,000 men, they watched the motions of Hamilcar's army, but kept their own on the hills; carefully avoiding coming down into the plains, as they feared the enemy's cavalry and elephants. Hamilcar never exposed himself to any of their attacks, but, taking advantage of their oversights, often dispossessed them of their posts, and at length surprised them, and shut them up in a post, so situate, that it was impossible for them to escape. Not daring to venture a battle, they fortified their camp, and surrounded it with ditches and entrenchments. But an enemy among themselves, and which was much more formidable, had reduced them to the greatest extremity. This was hunger, which was so raging, that they at last devoured one another; Divine Providence, says Polybius, thus revenging upon themselves the cruelty they had exercised on others.

The rebels had now no resources left, and they knew too well the punishments which would be inflicted on them should they fall into the hands of the enemy. After such cruelties as they had committed, they at first did not dream of peace, or of proposing an accommodation. In the

mean time, the famine increased daily. They had first eaten their prisoners, then their slaves, and now their fellow-soldiers only were left. Their chiefs, no longer able to resist the complaints of the multitude, who threatened to put them to death if they did not surrender, went themselves to Hamilcar, after having obtained a safe conduct from him. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Carthaginians should select any ten of the rebels, and treat them as they pleased, and that the rest should be dismissed with only one suit of clothes each. When the treaty was signed, the chiefs themselves were arrested and detained by the Carthaginians, which showed their peculiar characteristic, namely, a lack of truth and sincerity. The rebels hearing this, and knowing nothing of the convention, suspected that they were betrayed, and immediately took up arms; but Hamilcar, having surrounded them, brought forward his elephants, and either trod them under foot, or slew them with the sword, to the number of more than 40,000.

The immediate result of this victory was, the reduction of almost all the cities of Africa, which returned to their allegiance. Hamilcar, without loss of time, marched against Tunis, which had been, since the commencement of the war, the asylum of the rebels. He invested it on one side, whilst Hannibal, who was joined in the command with him, besieged it on the other. Then advancing near the walls, and ordering crosses to be erected, he hung Spendius on one and his companions on the others, where they all expired. Matho, the other chief, who commanded in Tunis, saw plainly by this what he might expect, and for that reason was very attentive to his defence. Perceiving that Hannibal, confident of success, was negligent in all his motions, he attacked him, killed many of his men, took several prisoners, amongst whom was Hannibal himself, and plundered his camp. Then taking Spendius from the cross, he put Hannibal in his place, after having made him suffer inexpressible torments. He also sacrificed around the body of Spendius thirty citizens of the first quality in Carthage, as so many victims of his vengeance, as though there had been a mutual emulation between the contending parties, which of them should surpass the other in acts of cruelty. But such is ever the effect of paganism; Christianity alone can teach mankind true humanity.

Hamilcar, being then at a distance, it was long before the news of his colleague's misfortune reached him, and the road lying between the two camps being impassable, it was impossible for him to advance hastily to his assistance. At Carthage, the disaster caused great consternation; and it was thought advisable to make one bold effort. Accordingly, all the youth capable of bearing arms were pressed into the service. Hanno was sent to join Hamilcar, and thirty senators were deputed to conjure those generals in the name of the republic to forget past quarrels, and sacrifice their resentment to their country's welfare. This request was complied with; they embraced, and were reconciled.

The Carthaginians were successful in all their undertakings from this time; and Matho, who in every attempt after this came off with disad-

vantage, at length was obliged to hazard a battle, an act which the Carthaginians desired. The leaders on both sides animated their troops, as though they were going to fight a battle which would for ever decide their fate. An engagement ensued, and victory declared itself in favour of Carthage. The rebels were almost all slain, and those who escaped the sword were taken prisoners. Mitho was taken alive and carried to Carthage, where, with the rest of the prisoners, he was executed. All Africa returned immediately to its allegiance, except the two cities Utica and Hippacra, which had lately revolted, and they were soon forced to surrender at discretion.

Such was the conclusion of the war (B.C. 218) against the mercenaries, after having continued three years and four months. "It furnished," says Polybius, "an ever memorable lesson to the natives, not to employ in their service a greater number of mercenaries than citizens, nor to rely for the defence of their state on a body of men who are united to it neither by interest nor affection." A more important lesson than this is, however, conveyed to nations in this history. It teaches them, not to hire the sword to destroy, lest, by a righteous retribution, it be afterwards ordained that it should destroy themselves. The psalmist said,

"Verily he is a God that judgeth in the earth."
Psa. lxxv. 11.

And David's Lord has declared, that "all they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," Matt. xxvi. 52.

THE AFFAIRS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SARDINIA.

The Carthaginians suffered other disasters from the revolt of the mercenaries. Transactions occurred in Sardinia at the same time which were in a great measure dependent on, and resulting from the war in Africa. They exhibit, also, the same violent methods to promote rebellion, and the same excess of cruelty; as though the winds of heaven had carried the spirit of discord and fury from the one country to the other.

When the news arrived there of what Mitho and Spendius were doing in Africa, the mercenaries in that island revolted. They began their rebellion by the murder of Bostar, their general, and of the Carthaginians under him. A successor was sent, but all the forces which he carried with him went over to the rebels, and hung their general on a cross. Throughout the whole island, the Carthaginians were now put to the sword, after having been made to endure much cruel suffering. The rebels then besieged all the cities, one after another, and obtained possession of the whole country. Discord, however, arising between the natives and the mercenaries, the latter were driven out of the island, and took refuge in Italy. Thus the Carthaginians lost Sardinia, which, on account of its extent and fertility, was of great importance to them.

Ever since the treaty, the Romans had behaved towards the Carthaginians with great justice and moderation. A slight breach had been made on account of some Roman merchants who were seized by the Carthaginians for having supplied their

enemies with provisions; but these merchants being restored on the first complaint of wrong, the Romans, who prided themselves upon their justice and generosity, were reconciled to the Carthaginians. They served them, indeed, to the utmost of their power; they forbade their merchants to furnish any other nation with provisions; and even refused to listen to the proposals made by the rebels in Sardinia, who invited them to take possession of the island.

But this conduct degenerated by degrees, and Cæsar's testimony to their honesty and plain dealing could not, with propriety, be applied here. "Although," said he, "in all the Punic wars, the Carthaginians, both in peace and during truces, had committed a number of detestable actions, the Romans could never—how inviting never the opportunity might be—be prevailed upon to retaliate such usage, being more attentive to their own glory than to the revenge they might have justly taken on such perfidious enemies." The mercenaries, who, as we have seen, retired into Italy, brought the Romans to the resolution of sailing into Sardinia to take possession of the island. The Carthaginians were deeply afflicted at this news, pretending that they had a better title to Sardinia than the Romans; and they therefore prepared to take revenge on those who had excited the people of that island to take up arms against them. The Romans pretended that these preparations were made, not against Sardinia, but Rome; and they therefore declared war against the Carthaginians. But the latter, exhausted in every respect, were in no condition to sustain war, and they were forced to yield to their powerful rival. By a treaty, to which necessity compelled them to agree, they gave up Sardinia to the Romans, and obliged themselves to a new payment of 1200 talents. This injustice of the Romans, however, was the cause of the second Punic war, as related in the next portion of our narrative.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

The second Punic war, which commenced 218 years B.C., is one of the most memorable recorded in the page of history; if we consider the boldness of the enterprises; the skill displayed in their execution; the obstinate efforts of two rival nations, and the ready resources they found in their greatest misfortunes; the variety of uncommon events; and the instructive lessons that occur in its narrative, concerning war, policy, government, and, above all, the human heart. Never had two more powerful, or at least more warlike states, been opposed to each other; and scarcely ever had these attained to a more exalted pitch of power and glory; Rome and Carthage at that time were, doubtless, the two first states in the world. Having already tried their strength in the first Punic war, and thereby made an essay of each other's power, they knew each other's strength; but great as the forces of these two nations were, their mutual hatred exceeded it. The Romans, on one side, could not without indignation see the vanquished presuming to attack them; and the Carthaginians, on the other, were exasperated at the rapacious and harsh treatment which they imagined

they had received from the victor. Their ancient enmity, moreover, excited them to the fearful conflict.

Before we speak of the declaration of war betwixt these two powers, it is necessary to explain whence it arose, and to point out by what steps the rupture was so long preparing before it was made manifest. That man, says Polybius, would be mistaken, who should look upon the taking of Saguntum by Hannibal as the cause of the second Punic war. The regret of the Carthaginians for having so tamely given up Sicily, by the treaty which terminated the first Punic war; the injustice and violence of the Romans in disposing the Carthaginians of Sardinia, and of imposing on them a new tribute when they were in difficulties; and the success and conquests of the latter in Spain;—these were the true causes of the violation of the treaty. Hamilcar, indeed, was highly exasperated on account of this last treaty, to which the necessity of the times had compelled the Carthaginians to submit; and he meditated the design of breaking it on the first favourable opportunity. When the troubles of Africa were appeased, he was sent upon an expedition against the Numidians, in which giving fresh proofs of his courage and abilities, his merit raised him to the command of the army which was to act in Spain, 237 B.C. Hannibal, his son, at that time but nine years of age, importuned to attend him on this occasion, for which purpose he employed all those infantine arts which have so much power over a tender parent. Hamilcar could not refuse him, and having made him swear upon the altar that he would declare himself an enemy to the Romans, as soon as age would allow him to do it, he granted him his request.

This act, to a Christian reader, may appear strange, but it was a common practice among the ancient heathen, and seems to have been considered by them as a virtue. Its fatal effects, however, as exhibited to us in the narrative, show that it was one of their darkest deeds. Besides, to the humane, there is something fearful in the thought of instilling revenge into the breast of an infant. There is something also unjust towards that infant. Why should a parent, who loves his child as his own soul, seek to implant that principle in his breast, which has been his own torment, and probably will be his own ruin? The fearful consequences of such a practice are discovered in many transactions recorded in ancient history. Powerful families, by this means, have been divided from age to age, and the son has made the sword of his sire bright to revenge his quarrels, till destruction has fallen upon his own head.

But this evil is not confined to the ancients; for notwithstanding we are taught by the ever blessed Jesus, who "spoke as never man spake," to love our enemies, there are those now who not only hate their enemies themselves, but teach their children to hate them and their descendants also, and thus aim to perpetuate their quarrels through many generations. It is true, that evils to the same extent do not follow the moderns as they did the ancients; but this is, in many instances, rather the effect of the wholesome restraints put upon us by the laws of our country; take

these away, and the deadly strife in which ancient families were involved, will be renewed among ourselves. Human nature is the same in all countries, and in all ages of the world; great need have we, therefore, to pray for the saving influences of God's Holy Spirit, that so we may sojourn below as good citizens of the world, loving and beloved.

Hamilcar possessed all the qualities which constitute the great general, according to the estimation of the world. To an invincible courage, and the most consummate prudence, he added an engaging and insinuating behaviour. In a very short time, he subdued the greater part of the nations of Spain, either by the terror of his arms, or his engaging conduct; and after enjoying the command there nine years, he died in arms, serving the cause of his country.

The Carthaginians appointed Hasdrubal, his son-in-law, to succeed him. This general, to strengthen himself in the country, built a city, which became very considerable. It was called New Carthage, and is at this day known by the name of Carthagenæ.

From the several steps of these two generals, it was easy to perceive that they were meditating some great design. The Romans were sensible of this, and reproached themselves for their indolence, at a time that the enemy were rapidly pursuing their victories in Spain, which might one day be turned against them. They would have been very glad to have stopped their career; but the fear of another enemy, the Gauls, whom they expected to see shortly at their very gates, prevented their taking any such measures. They, therefore, had recourse to negotiations, and concluded a treaty with Hasdrubal, in which, without taking any notice of the rest of Spain, they contented themselves with introducing an article, by which the Carthaginians were not permitted to attend their conquests beyond the Iberus.

Hasdrubal, in the mean time, still pushed on his conquests; taking care, however, not to pass beyond the stipulated limits: but by a courteous and engaging behaviour, he won over the chiefs of the several nations, and furthered the interests of Carthage more than he could have done by the force of arms. But Hasdrubal, after having governed Spain eight years, was treacherously murdered by a Gaul, who took this revenge upon him, because his master had fallen by the hand of that general.

Three years before his death, he had written to Carthage to desire that Hannibal, then twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him. To this request—after much opposition from Hanno, one of the senators, who represented that Hannibal, being so ambitious and so young a man, should still be kept under the eye of the magistrates, that he might learn obedience and modesty—the Carthaginians acceded. Hannibal, accordingly, set sail for Spain, and immediately on his arrival there, he drew upon himself the attention of the whole army, who fancied they saw Hamilcar his father revive in him. He seemed to dart the same fire from his eyes; the same martial figure displayed itself in his form; and he possessed the same features and engaging carriage. But his personal qualities endeared him still more. He

possessed almost every talent that constitutes the great man. His patience in labour was invincible, his temperance surprising, his courage in the greatest dangers undaunted, and his presence of mind in the heat of battle wonderful: and, a still more wonderful circumstance, his disposition was so flexible, that nature had formed him equally for commanding or obeying; so that it was doubtful whether he was dearer to the soldiers or the generals.

Hannibal served three campaigns under Hasdrubal; and upon the death of that general, the suffrages of both the army and the people concurred in raising him to the supreme command. The moment he was created general, true to his unhallowed vow, he turned secretly his whole mind upon war with Rome, and the means of obtaining possession of Italy. In Spain, he captured several towns, and conquered many nations. But he still forbore laying siege to Saguntum, carefully avoiding giving offence to the Romans, till he should have taken every step which he judged necessary for so important an enterprise. He applied himself particularly to engage the affections of the citizens and allies, and to gain their confidence, by allotting them a large share of the plunder taken from the enemy, and by scrupulously paying them all their arrears.

The Saguntines, on their side, sensible of the danger with which they were threatened, informed the Romans of the progress of Hannibal's conquests. Upon this, deputies were nominated by the latter, and ordered to go and acquaint themselves with the state of affairs upon the spot: they commanded them, also, to lay their complaints before Hannibal, if it should be thought proper; and in case he should refuse to do justice, that they should go directly to Carthage, and make the same complaints.

In the mean time, Hannibal, foreseeing the great advantages which would accrue from the taking of Saguntum, laid siege to that city. He was persuaded that this would deprive the Romans of all hopes of carrying on the war in Spain; that this new conquest would secure those already made; that as no enemy would be left behind him, his march would be unobscured; that he should find money enough in the city for the execution of his designs; that the plunder of the city would inspire his soldiers with greater cheerfulness, and that the spoils which he should send to Carthage would gain him the favour of the citizens. Animated by these motives, he carried on the siege with vigour; he set an example to his troops, was present at all the works, and exposed himself to the greatest dangers.

It was soon told at Rome that Saguntum was besieged; but the Romans, instead of hastening to its relief, lost their time in fruitless debates and deputations. Hannibal sent word to the Roman deputies, that he was not at leisure to hear them; they therefore repaired to Carthage, but met with no better reception: the complaints of the Romans, and the remonstrances of Hanno, who advocated peace, were alike unheeded.

During all the voyages and negotiations, the siege was pursued with vigour; and the Saguntines were now reduced to the last extremity. An accommodation was at length proposed; but

the conditions on which it was offered appeared so harsh, that the besieged could not accept them. Before they gave their final answer, the principal senators, bringing their gold and silver, and that of the public treasury, into the market-place, threw both into the fire lighted for that purpose, and afterwards rushed headlong into it themselves. At the same time, a tower, which had been long assaulted by the battering ram, falling with a dreadful noise, the Carthaginians entered the city by the breach, made themselves masters of it, and slew all the inhabitants who were of age to bear arms. The Carthaginians obtained a very great booty. Hannibal, however, did not reserve to himself any part of the spoils, but applied them solely to the carrying on his enterprises. Polybius observes, that the capture of Saguntum was of service to Hannibal, as it awakened the ardour of his soldiers, and reconciled all Carthage to him, by the large presents he made to the state out of the spoils. Saguntum was taken 219 years B.C.

When the news reached Rome, the greatest grief and consternation prevailed among its inhabitants. Compassion for its fate; shame for having failed to succour such faithful allies; indignation against the Carthaginians, the authors of these calamities; a strong alarm, raised by the successes of Hannibal, whom the Romans fancied as already at their gates;—all those sentiments caused so violent an emotion, that, during the first moments of their agitation, the Romans were unable to come to any resolution. They gave way to the torrent of their passion, and shed tears for the fate of a city which fell a victim to its inviolable fidelity to them, and had been betrayed by their own indolence. But when they were a little recovered, an assembly of the people was called, and war was decreed unanimously against the Carthaginians.

That no ceremony might be wanting, deputies were sent to Carthage, to inquire whether Saguntum had been besieged by the order of the republic, and if so, to declare war; or, in case the siege had been undertaken solely by the authority of Hannibal, to require that he should be delivered up to the power of the Romans. The deputies, perceiving that the senate gave no direct answer to their interrogatories, one of them, taking up the folded lapet of his robe, "I bring here," said he, in a haughty tone, "either peace or war: the choice is left to yourselves." The senate answered, that they left the choice to him: "I give you war, then," said he, unfolding his robe. "And we," replied the Carthaginians, with the same haughtiness, "as heartily accept it, and are resolved to prosecute it with the same cheerfulness."

Thus lightly could the ancient heathen speak of an event which would bring the utmost misery upon thousands, and cause all of both nations to suffer; for all suffer, even in a successful war; the victor and the vanquished taste alike of its bitter fruits. Would that many, calling themselves Christians, did not speak as lightly of warfare, with all its calamities! But there are those, even in Christendom, who speak lightly of war, who only think of the glitter and the pomp that attend it, but who forget the innumerable evils, public and private, which it inflicts on

families and nations, whether successful or unsuccessful. But there will come a day, when all these false disguises shall be laid aside, when man will respect the rights and life of his fellow-man, though he may meet with him in the wilds of Africa; when all mankind shall look upon each other as brothers, as members of one family, whose Creator and Father is God. Thus it will be when Christ shall reign, as we know from prophecy he will, in and over the hearts of men; when the knowledge of the Lord shall spread over the earth, as the waters cover the sands of the ocean.

This war was proclaimed 218 years B.C., and it continued during the seventeen succeeding years. When it was resolved upon, Hannibal, before he discovered his design, thought it incumbent upon him to provide for the security of Spain and Africa. With this view, he removed the forces out of the one into the other, so that the Africans served in Spain, and the Spaniards in Africa. He was prompted to this from a persuasion, that each army being at a distance from their respective countries, would be fitter for service, and more firmly attached to him, as they would be hostages for each other's fidelity. The forces which he left in Africa amounted to about 40,000 men, and those in Spain to about 15,000. The command of the Spanish forces was given to his brother Hasdrubal, with a fleet of about sixty ships to guard the coasts.

Livy observes, that Hannibal, before he set forward on this expedition, went to Cadiz to discharge some vows which he had made to Hercules; and that he engaged himself by new oaths, in order to obtain success in the war upon which he was entering; a practice very common among the ancient heathens. Polybius gives us a clear idea of the distance of the several places through which Hannibal was to march on his way to Italy. From New Carthage, whence he set out, to the Iberus, 2600 furlongs. From the Iberus to Emporium, a small maritime town, which separated Spain from the Gauls, according to Strabo, were 1600 furlongs. From Emporium to the pass of the Rhone, the like space of 1600 furlongs. From the pass of the Rhone to the Alps, 1400. From the Alps to the plains of Italy, 1200 furlongs. Thus from New Carthage to the plains of Italy were 8400 furlongs; or, allowing 625 feet to the furlong, 944 English miles, and almost one-third.

This celebrated march of Hannibal's is one of the most important and interesting events recorded in the page of history, if we consider the greatness of its design, its boldness, and its difficulty, the comprehension and mental energy displayed in its plan and execution, and its final consequences. Accordingly, from the days of Polybius to the present hour, it has been the theme of praise, and the subject of wonder and admiration. The classical student is absorbed in his earliest career in its contemplation, and perhaps there is scarcely a reader who peruses the story, but, notwithstanding it exhibits a thirst for revenge at which humanity shudders, feels much delight. In fancy he accompanies the warrior—attends his every step—shares and sighs over his dangers—climbs with him the Alpine steep—gazes on their perpetual snows, and scales their

ragged summits—views in the distance the fertile plains of the Po, and the direction of Rome—and finally descends with him from the lofty summits, treads the verdant fields, and enjoys the balmy air of Italy.

Hannibal commenced his march late in the spring. His army then consisted of about 100,000 men, of which 12,000 were cavalry; he had also about forty elephants. Having crossed the Iberus, he soon subdued the several nations which opposed him in his march; but he lost a considerable part of his army. He left Hanno to command all the country lying between the Iberus and the Pyrenean hills, with 11,000 men, who were appointed to guard the baggage of those that were to follow him. He dismissed a similar number, sending them back to their respective countries; thus securing to himself their affection when he should want recruits; and offering to the rest a hope that they should be allowed to return whenever they should desire it. He passed the Pyrenean hills, and advanced as far as the banks of the Rhone, at the head of 50,000 foot and 9000 horse.

Being arrived within about four days' march from the mouth of the Rhone, Hannibal attempted to cross it, because the river in this place took up only the breadth of its channel. He bought up all the ships, boats, and small vessels he could meet with, of which the inhabitants, being commercial, had a great number; he likewise built a number of boats, vessels, and rafts. On his arrival, he found the Gauls encamped on the opposite bank, and prepared to dispute the passage. There was no possibility of attacking them in front, and, therefore, he ordered a considerable detachment of his forces, under the command of Hanno, the son of Bomilear, to pass the river higher up; and, in order to conceal his march and the design he had in view from the enemy, he obliged them to set out in the night. All things succeeded as he wished, and they passed the river the next day without opposition.

They passed the rest of the day in refreshing themselves, and in the night advanced silently towards the enemy. In the morning, when the signals agreed upon had been given, Hannibal prepared to attempt the passage. Part of his horses, completely accoutred, were put into boats, that their riders might on landing, immediately charge the enemy. The rest of the horses swam over on both sides of the boats, from which one man held the bridles of three or four. The infantry crossed the river, either on rafts, or in small boats, and in a kind of gondolas, or trunks of trees made hollow. The great boats were drawn up in a line at the top of the channel, in order to break the force of the waves, and facilitate the passage to the rest of the small fleet. When the Gauls saw it advancing on the river, they, according to their custom, uttered dreadful cries and howlings; and clashing their bucklers over their heads, one against the other, let fly a shower of darts. But they were greatly astonished, when they heard a noise behind them, perceived their tents on fire, and saw themselves attacked both in front and rear. They had no means of escape but by flight, and they, accordingly, retreated to their respective villages. After

this, the rest of the troops crossed the river without molestation.

The elephants occasioned much trouble. They were sent over the next day in the following manner.—From the bank of the river was thrown a raft, 200 feet in length, and fifty in breadth. This was fixed strongly to the banks by large ropes, and covered over with earth, so that the elephants, deceived by its appearance, thought themselves upon firm ground. From this raft they proceeded to a second, which was built in the same form, but only 100 feet long, and fastened to the former by chains that were easily loosened. The female elephants were put upon the first raft, and the males followed after, and when they were placed upon the second raft, it was loosened from the first, and by the help of small boats towed to the opposite shore.

At what part of the Rhone this passage was made, has been a matter of dispute for many ages, among those interested in the subject. From recent researches, however, it is clearly shown, that it was at the modern town of Roque-maure. The arguments in support of this fact are briefly these. From the point where Hannibal crossed the Rhone to the commencement of the ascent of the Alps is reckoned by Polybius to be 1400 stadia, or 175 Roman miles. Of this space 800 stadia are assigned as the distance, from the *Nivus*, or Peninsula, to the coast, leaving 600 stadia from the passage of the river to the *Insula Allobrogum*, or *Arar*, just mentioned. Now, Roque-maure is exactly this distance from Port Harer, where the *Insula Allobrogum* begins. Again, Polybius has assigned a distance of four marches up the river to where Hannibal crossed it, and if we estimate a day's march at fifteen miles as was usual in ancient times, this would give sixty miles from the confluence of the river, and Roque-maure is sixty-four miles distant from the sea. This difference is not much when we recollect, that the Rhone is the most rapid river in Europe, having a descent of 1200 English feet from the *Laman* lake, being six feet of average descent per mile on a horizontal line of 200 English miles. From this cause, it must have brought down with its rapid current such a quantity of debris, as must have added, during the space of 2000 years which has intervened, considerably to the land at the mouth of the river. Another circumstance that favours the supposition that Hannibal crossed the river at Roque-maure, is, that the Rhone is thickly studded with islands, the channel, therefore is consequently broad, and the rapidity and force of the current diminished and broken; whereas, from Caderousse to Roque-maure, a distance of three miles, the river flows in one unbroken current, and is unfordable. This is more particularly the case at Roque-maure, and Hannibal, says Polybius, made a passage across the stream, where it flowed in one collected and unbroken current, and where it was unfordable from its depth. Again, the position of Roque-maure was very favourable to Hannibal's plan of leaving the sea behind. To have attempted a passage below the confluence of the Durance with the Rhone, would have been dangerous at all times, and impracticable when the Durance was swollen by the melting snows: besides, had he crossed below

the junction of these two streams, he could not have been four days' march from the sea; and had he crossed above Roque-maure, he could scarcely have found one collected stream, and the distance to the *Insula Allobrogum* would not have been 600 stadia. A final proof that Hannibal crossed the Rhone at Roque-maure, is deduced from the coincidence of the distance from Emporium, or Ampurias, which Polybius states to be 1600 stadia, or 200 Roman miles. The distance from Emporium to Nemausus at Nîmes is 17½ Roman miles, and from thence to Roque-maure is twenty-eight more, making a total of 204 miles.

The two Roman consuls had, in the beginning of the spring, set out for their respective provinces, P. Scipio for Spain, with sixty ships, two Roman legions, 14,000 foot, and 1200 horse of the allies. Tiberius Sempronius for Sicily with 160 ships, two legions, 16,000 foot, and 1500 horse of the allies. The Roman legion consisted at that time of 10,000 foot, and 800 horse. Sempronius had made extraordinary preparations at Lilybæum, a seaport town in Sicily, with the design of crossing over directly into Africa. Scipio was equally confident that he should find Hannibal still in Spain, and make that country the seat of war; he was greatly astonished, therefore, when, on his arrival at Marsedius, a seaport and city in France, advice was brought him that Hannibal was upon the banks of the Rhone, and preparing to cross it. He then detached 300 horse to view the posture of the enemy, and Hannibal detached 500 Numidian horse for the same purpose, during which some of his soldiers were employed in bringing over the elephants.

At the same time, Hannibal gave audience, in the presence of his whole army, to one of the princes of that part of Gaul which is situated near the Po, who assured him, by an interpreter, in the name of his subjects, that his arrival was looked for, and that the Gauls were ready to join him, and march against the Romans; he himself offered to conduct the army through places where they should meet with a plentiful supply of provisions. When this prince had retired, Hannibal, in a speech to his troops, magnified this deputation from the Gauls, extolled the bravery which his forces had shown hitherto, and exhorted them to sustain their reputation and glory. The soldiers, inspired with fresh ardour and courage, declared their readiness to follow whithersoever he pleased to lead them. Accordingly, he appointed the next day for his march, and, after offering up vows, and making supplications to the gods for the safety of his troops, he dismissed them, desiring at the same time that they would take the necessary refreshments.

Whilst this occurred, the Numidians returned. They had met with, and charged the Roman detachment. The conflict was very obstinate, and the slaughter great, considering the small number of the combatants, 160 of the Romans were slain, and more than 200 of their enemies. But the honour of the skirmish fell to the Romans; the Numidians having retired and left them the field of battle. This action was interpreted as an omen of the fate of the whole war, as promising Gaul success, after a fearful struggle, to the

Romans. It may, in fact, be said to have shown the genius and spirit of the two nations; the Africans the most impetuous, the Romans the most persevering; both courageous and rendered fierce by mutual hatred. On both sides, those who had survived this engagement, returned to inform their respective generals of what they had discovered.

Hannibal, as he had designed, decamped the next day, and crossed through the midst of Gaul, advancing northward: not that this was the nearest way, but, as it led him from the sea, it prevented a meeting with Scipio, and by that means favoured the design he had of marching all his forces into Italy, without having them weakened by a battle.

Though Scipio marched with the utmost expedition, he did not reach the place where Hannibal had passed the Rhone till three days after his departure. Despairing, therefore, of overtaking him, he re-embarked his troops, resolving to wait for Hannibal at the foot of the Alps. But in order that he might not leave Spain defenceless, he sent his brother Cneius thither, with the greater part of his army, to oppose Hasdrubal; and he set forward immediately for Genoa, intending to oppose the army which was in Gaul, near the Po, to that of Hannibal.

In four days from the commencement of his march, Hannibal, after crossing the Rhone at Roquemaure, reached the Neros, or Insula Allobrogum, at the Port l'Isere. At this place, he found two brothers contending for the sovereignty. The arrival of Hannibal was a happy circumstance for the elder brother, for he reinstated him in his dominions. Hannibal also profited by this event; for, grateful for such assistance, the barbarian supplied his army with every necessary, whether of clothing or provision, to enable them to cross the Alps; he even attended it in person, as an escort, and covered their rear from the attacks of the Allobroges—who, however, kept at some distance—till Hannibal had reached the foot of the Alps, whither in ten days he arrived.

Hannibal encamped at Chevelu, or Lavisca, the very entrance of the pass over the Mont du Chat, ninety-eight miles distant from Port l'Isere. This pass is much lower than any other part of the mountain, and the very place through which alone an army could pass.

From Chevelu to the summit is two miles of ascent, where there is an esplanade of 300 yards square. The ascent is easy, and over it the Austrian army passed, with all their baggage and artillery, in 1815. Here Hannibal found the enemy posted, but discovering by his guides and scouts that they retired from thence in the night and returned at dawn of day, he occupied the pass during the night with his light troops, which, when the Allobroges saw in the morning, they desisted at first from making any opposition, and the army commenced their way through the defile. But the road was rough and stony, and the horses and beasts of burden could with difficulty keep their feet. This the Allobroges foresaw would be the case, and therefore they made a furious charge upon Hannibal from the adjacent heights. They were however soon repulsed by Hannibal and the light troops down a sloping side of the eminence, which they had seized

during the preceding night. Hannibal followed up his success, and stormed their chief town, Bourget, where he found a valuable supply of horses, cattle, provisions, and beasts of burden.

After the capture of this town, the army halted a day, and then entered the fertile plain of Chambéry. From this city, the road proceeds to Montmélian and the valley of the Isere, along which, till the fourth day, the army passed unmolested. At the end, however, of six days, on entering a difficult and precipitous defile, they were suddenly attacked by the very people who had professed great friendship to Hannibal, who had taken several of them as his guides during the two preceding days. With some difficulty, and great loss, Hannibal repulsed these treacherous Gauls, and he passed the night on a strong white rock. The next morning, the seventh day from the capture of Bourget, and the ninth from the passage of the Mont du Chat, he led his army to the summit of the highest ridge of the Alps.

The place where Hannibal was attacked, is in the vicinity of the village and plain of Seex, a short distance to the west of the Petit, or Little St. Bernard. This is proved by the fact that, from Seex, the passage of the Little St. Bernard appears so directly in front as not to be mistaken. On both sides of the road from Seex thither, the mountains are lofty, steep, and covered with snow, while the pass of the Little St. Bernard presents itself beneath; the attack was consequently made from the lofty heights lining this defile. From the foot of the St. Bernard descends an Alpine torrent called the Reclus, which passes by the village of Seex. This torrent is very often dry, and on its left bank stands a white rock of gypsum, to which the name of La Roche Blanche, or The White Rock, has been universally given. This is the identical rock on which Hannibal passed the night, to cover the passage of his army. This rock is admirably calculated for defensive operations. It commands the whole plain of Seex, and would have enabled Hannibal to act equally against the enemy on the heights above St. Germain, and on both sides of the line of the old Roman road. From hence it is clear that Hannibal crossed the Alps into Italy by the Little St. Bernard. It is proved also by the fact that large bones, which must be the bones of elephants, have been repeatedly discovered by the peasants, when the soil on the margin of the Reclus has been washed away by an Alpine flood.

It was, as before seen, on the ninth day that Hannibal gained the summit of the Little St. Bernard. On this summit there is a plain two miles and a half in length, on which he rested his army two days. As it was now autumn, a great quantity of snow had lately fallen,* and covered all the roads, which caused a consternation among the troops, and disheartened them very much. Hannibal perceived this, and halting on a hill from whence there was a prospect of all Italy, he showed them the fruitful plains watered by the Po,† telling them that they had but one

* The snow begins to fall there generally in autumn, and winter begins at Michaelmas.

† This circumstance has been started as an objection against the hypothesis of the Little St. Bernard being the pass by which Hannibal entered Italy, but if the objection

effort more to make before they arrived thither. He represented to them that a battle or two would put a period to all their toils, and enrich them for ever, by giving them possession of the capital of the Roman empire. This speech, filled with such pleasing hopes, and enforced by the sight of Italy, inspired the dejected soldiers with fresh vigour and alacrity: they therefore pursued their march. But the road became more craggy than ever: and as they were now on a descent, the difficulty and danger increased. The ways were narrow, steep, and slippery in most places, so that the soldiers could neither keep upon their feet as they marched, nor recover themselves when they made a false step, but stumbled, and beat down one another.

They were now arrived at a more dangerous place than they had yet met with. This was a path naturally very rugged and craggy, but which having been made more so by a late falling in of the earth, terminated in a frightful precipice above 1000 feet deep. Here the cavalry suddenly halted. Hannibal, wandering at the career, ran to the place, and perceiving the danger, was for making a circuitous route; but this also was found impracticable. As upon the old snow, which was grown hard by lying, there was some newly fallen, of no great depth, the feet, at first, by their sinking into it, found a firm support; but this snow being soon dissolved by the treading of the foremost troops and beasts of burden, the soldiers marched on nothing but ice, which was so slippery that they could find no firm footing, consequently the greatest danger ensued. Besides this difficulty, the horses, striking their feet forcibly into the ice to keep themselves from falling, could not draw them out again, but were caught as in a gin. The army was therefore forced to seek some other expedient.

Hannibal resolved to pitch his camp, and to give his troops some days' rest on the summit of this hill, which was of considerable extent, after they should have cleared the ground, and removed all the old as well as the new fallen snow, which was a work of great labour. He afterwards ordered a path to be cut into the rock itself, which work was carried on with much patience and ardour. To open and enlarge this path, all the trees thereabouts were cut down and piled round the rock, after which they were set on fire. By these, and various other methods, Hannibal surmounted all difficulties, and at length gained the fruitful fields of Italy. Eighteen days, in the whole, were spent in crossing

the range from Chevela to Donas, where it terminates.

We pause here for a moment to reflect upon this mighty movement. The reader will, doubtless, admire the patience, the ardour, and the mental energy displayed at every step which the warrior took. But he must stop here. When we have thus admired Hannibal, we have given him his due meed of praise. The ends he had in view in this enterprise, and his recklessness of the lives of those under his command, must meet with censure, and we must look upon him as one of those scourges which the Almighty sometimes permits to visit the human race for their iniquities. We must look upon him, also, as becomes Christians, with pity. It is, indeed, lamentable to see a man possessed of such a capacious mind, and capable of benefiting his fellow man to a vast extent, using those powers under the withering influences of paganism, only to their destruction, and the wasting of God's fair earth. Such we shall see, were the evils attendant upon his every step in the beautiful land of Italy.

When Hannibal entered Italy, his army was by no means so numerous as when he left Spain. It had sustained great losses during the march, either in the battles it was forced to fight, or in the passage of rivers. But at his departure from the Rhone, it still consisted of 35,000 foot, and above 8000 horse. The march over the Alps, however, destroyed nearly half this number, so that he had now remaining only 12,000 Africans, 5000 Spanish foot, and 6000 cavalry. This account he himself caused to be engraven on a pillar near the promontory called Læminum. It was five months and a half since his first setting out from New Carthage, including the eighteen days he employed in marching over the Alps, when he set up his standards in the plains of the Po, at the entrance of Piedmont. It was probably then about September.

Hannibal's first care was to give his troops rest, but as soon as he perceived that they were fit for action, he began his wild career of slaughter. The inhabitants of the territories of Turin refusing to conclude an alliance with him, he marched and encamped before their city, carried it in three days, and put all his opposers to death with the sword. This expedition struck the barbarians with so much dread, that they all came and surrendered at discretion. The rest of the Gauls would have done the same, had they not been awed by the terror of the Roman arms, which were now approaching. Hannibal concluded, therefore, that he had no time to lose; that it was his interest to march up into the country, and attempt some great exploit, such as might inspire those who should have an inclination to join him with confidence.

The rapid progress which Hannibal had made, alarmed Rome, and caused the greatest consternation throughout the city. Scipionius was ordered to leave Sicily, and hasten to the relief of his country, and P. Scipio, the other consul, advanced by forced marches towards the enemy, crossed the Po, and pitched his camp near the Ticinus, a small river now called Pesino, near Lombardy.

The armies being now in sight, the generals

be valid, as regards the Little St. Bernard it is equally so with reference to all the other passes of the Alps. But it is not necessary to suppose that the army saw the plains of the Po from the pass itself; or that the entire army saw the plains at all, whether from the pass or the surrounding heights. There were, however, several peaks from which such of the army as chose might enjoy the view of Italy as described by Polybius. The rarity of the atmosphere at great elevations is well known to enable the eye to pierce the clouds, and Bishop Berkeley says of the air of Italy, that when he first went there, its purity caused him to believe that many places were at hand, which were, nevertheless, many leagues distant. To have seen Rome itself from the loftiest summit of the Alps, would have been impossible, but for them to see the direction in which Rome lay, and that from the Little St. Bernard itself, is within the bounds of belief from the cause noticed.

on each side made a speech to their soldiers preparatory to the engagements, in which speeches each endeavoured to inspire his followers with a desire of doing valiantly, or, in other words, to revenge their country's wrongs, either real or imaginary, upon the enemy. When these were concluded, both sides prepared to engage.

Scipio posted in the first line the troops armed with missile weapons, and the Gaulish horse; and forming his second line of the flower of the confederate cavalry, he advanced slowly. Hannibal advanced with the whole of his cavalry, in the centre of which he posted the troopers who rode with bridles, and the Numidian horsemen, who rode without saddles or bridles, on the wings, in order to surround the enemy. The officers and cavalry being eager to engage, a charge and dreadful slaughter ensued. The battle continued a long time with equal success. Many troopers on both sides dismounted, so that the battle was carried on between infantry as well as cavalry. In the mean time, the Numidians surrounded the enemy, and charged the rear of the light armed troops, who at first had escaped the attack of the cavalry, and trod them under the horses' feet. The centre of the Roman forces had hitherto fought with great bravery. Many were killed on both sides, and even more on that of the Carthaginians. But the Roman troops were thrown into disorder by the Numidians, who attacked them in the rear; and especially by a wound the consul received, which disabled him from continuing the combat. This general, however, was rescued out of the enemy's hands by the bravery of his son, then but seventeen years of age, and who afterwards was honoured with the surname of Africanus, for having put a period to this war.

The consul, though dangerously wounded, retreated in good order, and was conveyed to his camp by a body of horse, who covered him with their arms and bodies; the rest of the army followed him thither. He hastened to the Po, which he crossed with his army, and then broke down the bridge, by which means Hannibal was prevented from overtaking him.

Immediately after the battle of the Ticinus, all the neighbouring Gauls seemed to contend who should submit themselves first to Hannibal, furnish him with ammunition, and enlist in his army. This indeed, Polybius says, was what induced that general, notwithstanding the small number and weakness of his troops, to hazard a battle; because nothing else would oblige the Gauls to declare in his favour, and he regarded their assistance as his only refuge.

Sempronius, the consul, upon the orders he had received from the senate, had now returned from Sicily to Ariminum. From thence, he marched towards the Trebia, a small river of Lombardy, which falls into the Po, a little above the Placentia, where he joined his forces to those of Scipio. Hannibal advanced towards the camp of the Romans, between which only that small river intervened. The armies lying so near one another, gave occasion to frequent skirmishes, in one of which Sempronius, at the head of a body of horse, gained some advantage over a party of Carthaginians. This he construed into a complete victory. He boasted of his

having vanquished the enemy in the same kind of fight in which his colleague had been defeated, and that he thereby had revived the courage of the dejected Romans. He was, now, therefore, resolved to come to a decisive battle as soon as possible, and he consulted Scipio, out of courtesy, upon the subject. Scipio entertained a different opinion from himself. He represented, that if time should be allowed for disciplining the new troops during the winter, they would be much fitter for service during the campaign; that the Gauls, who were sickle and inconstant, would disengage themselves from Hannibal; that as soon as his wounds were healed, his presence might be of some use in such a weighty affair; in a word, he besought him earnestly to forego his design.

These reasons, though just, made no impression upon Sempronius. He saw himself at the head of 16,000 Romans, and 20,000 allies, exclusive of cavalry, when both consuls joined their forces. The troops of the enemy amounted to nearly the same number. He thought the juncture exceedingly favourable for him. He declared that all the officers and soldiers were desirous of a battle, except his colleague, whose mind, he observed, "being more affected by his wound than his body, could not for that reason endure the thought of an engagement. But still," he continued, "is it just to let the whole army languish with him? What would Scipio expect more? Did he flatter himself with the hopes that a third consul and a new army would come to his assistance?" Such were the expressions he employed among the soldiers, and even about Scipio's tent. The time for the election of new generals drew near, and Sempronius was afraid a successor would be sent before he had put an end to the war, and therefore it was his opinion that he ought to take advantage of his colleague's illness to secure to himself the honour of the victory. "As he had no regard," says Polybius, "to the time proper for action, and only to that which suited his own interest, he could not fail of taking wrong measures. He therefore ordered his army to prepare for battle."

Hannibal held it as a maxim, that a general who has entered a foreign country, or one possessed by the enemy, and has formed some great design, has no other refuge left than continually to raise the expectation of his allies by some fresh exploits; and therefore he was pleased with this movement. Besides, knowing that he should have to deal only with newly-levied and inexperienced troops, he was desirous of taking advantage of the ardour of the Gauls, who were eager to engage, and of Scipio's absence. Mago was therefore ordered to lie in ambush with 2000 men, consisting of horse and foot, on the steep banks of a small rivulet which ran between the two camps, and to conceal himself among the bushes growing thickly on that spot. He afterwards caused a detachment of Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia, with orders to advance at break of day as far as the very barriers of the enemy's camp, in order to provoke them to battle; and then to retreat, and repass the river, in order to draw the Romans after them. What he had foreseen came to pass. Sempronius immediately detached his whole cavalry against the Numidians, and then 6000 light-armed troops,

who were soon followed by all the rest of the army. The Numidians fled designedly; upon which the Romans pursued them with great eagerness, and crossed the Trebia without resistance, but not without great difficulty, being forced to wade up to their very arm-pits through the rivalet, which was swollen with the torrents that had fallen in the night from the neighbouring mountains. It was then about the winter solstice, that is, in December. It happened to snow that day, and the cold was excessively piercing. The Romans had left their camp fasting, and without having taken the least precaution; whereas, Hannibal's army had by his order refreshed themselves, got their horses in readiness, rubbed themselves with oil, and put on their armour by their fires.

They were thus prepared to meet the Romans, who now drew near, half spent with hunger, fatigue, and cold. The Romans defended themselves valiantly for a considerable time; but their cavalry was at length broken by that of the Carthaginians, which was superior in numbers: the infantry also were soon in great disorder. The soldiers in ambuscade, rallying out at a proper time, rushed on a sudden upon their rear, and completed the overthrow. A body of above 10,000 men resolutely fought their way through the Gauls and Africans, of whom they made a dreadful slaughter; but as they could neither assist their friends, nor return to the camp, the way to it being cut off by the Numidian horse and the river, they retreated in good order to Placentia. Most of the rest lost their lives on the bank of the river, being trampled to death by the horses and elephants. Those who escaped joined the body above mentioned, and the next night Scipio also retired to Placentia. The Carthaginians gained a complete victory, and their loss was inconsiderable, except that a great number of their horses and all their elephants but one were destroyed by the cold, rain, and snow.

In Spain, the Romans had better success in this and the following campaign; for Cn. Scipio extended his conquests as far as the river Iberus, defeated Hanno, and took him prisoner.

Hannibal took the opportunity, whilst he was in winter quarters, to refresh his troops, and gain the affection and co-operation of the natives. For this purpose, after having declared to the prisoners whom he had taken from the allies of the Romans, that he was not come with a view of making war upon them, but of restoring the Italians to their liberty, and protecting them against the Romans, he sent them all home to their own countries, without requiring a ransom. *a.c.* 217.

As soon as the winter was over, Hannibal set off towards Tuscany, whither he resorted for two reasons: first, to avoid the ill effects which would arise from the ill-will of the Gauls, who were tired of the long stay of his army in their territories, and were impatient of bearing the whole burden of a war, in which they had engaged with no other view than to carry it into the country of their common enemy; secondly, that he might, by some bold exploit, increase the reputation of his arms in the sight of all Italy, by carrying the war to the very gates of Rome,

and at the same time reanimate his troops and the Gauls, his allies, by the plunder of his enemy's lands. But in his march over the Apennines, he was overtaken by a dreadful storm, which destroyed great numbers of his men. The cold, the rain, and the winds of heaven appeared to conspire for his ruin; so that the fatigues which his army had endured in crossing the towering Alps seemed light in comparison to those they now suffered. He therefore marched back to Placentia, where he again fought with Sempronius, who was returned from Rome; in which contest the loss on both sides was nearly equal.

Whilst Hannibal was in these winter quarters, he adopted a true Carthaginian stratagem. He was surrounded with seditious and inconstant natives, and the friendship he had contracted with them was but of recent date; he had reason, therefore, to apprehend a change in their disposition, and, consequently, that attempts would be made upon his life. To secure himself from these apprehended dangers, he ordered clothes to be made, and false hair, suited to every age. Of these he sometimes wore one, sometimes another, and so disguised himself, that even his most intimate acquaintance could scarcely recognise him.

At Rome, Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius had been appointed consuls. Hannibal, having advice that the latter was advanced already as far as Arretium, a town of Tuscany, resolved to meet him. Two ways being shown him, he chose the shortest, though almost impassable, by reason of a fen which he was compelled to pass over. Here his army suffered incredible hardships. During four days and three nights, they marched mid-leg in water, and consequently could obtain no rest. Hannibal himself, who rode upon the only elephant left, could hardly surmount the danger. His long want of sleep, and the thick vapours which exhaled from that place, together with the unhealthiness of the season, cost him one of his eyes.

Hannibal, having extricated himself from this dangerous situation, and refreshed his troops, marched onwards, and pitched his camp between Arretium and Fesule, in the richest and most fruitful part of Tuscany. His first endeavours were to discover the disposition of Flaminius, in order that he might take advantage of his weak side, which, Polybius says, should always be the chief study of a general. He was informed that Flaminius was conceited of his own merit, bold, enterprising, rash, and fond of glory. To plunge him the deeper in these excesses, to which he was by nature prone, Hannibal inflamed his impetuosity, by laying waste and burning the whole country in his sight.

Flaminius was not of a temper to continue inactive in his camp, even if Hannibal had not thus wantonly provoked him. But when he saw the territories of his allies laid waste, he thought it would reflect disgrace upon him should he suffer the enemy to ransack Italy without control, and even advance to the very walls of Rome without meeting any resistance. He rejected with scorn the prudent counsels of those who advised him to wait for his colleague, and to be satisfied for the present with checking the devastations of the enemy.

In the mean time, Hannibal was still advancing towards Rome, having Cortona on the left, and the lake Trasymenus on his right. When he saw that the consul followed close after him, with the design to give him battle, in order to prevent his march, having observed that the ground was convenient for an engagement, he thought only of making preparations for it. The lake Trasymenus and the mountains of Cortona form a very narrow defile, which leads into a large valley, lined on the side with hills of a considerable height, and closed at the outlet by a steep hill, of difficult access. On this hill Hannibal, after having crossed the valley, came and encamped with the main body of his army, posting his light-armed infantry in ambuscade on the hills on the right, and part of his cavalry behind those on the left, as far almost as the entrance of the defile, through which Flaminius was obliged to pass. Hannibal, having permitted him to advance with his forces above half-way through the valley, and seeing the Roman vanguard near him, gave the signal for battle, and commanded his troops to appear from their hiding-place, in order that he might attack them from all quarters.

They were not yet drawn up in order of battle, nor had they their arms in readiness, when they found themselves attacked on every hand. In a moment, all were thrown into disorder. Flaminius, alone undaunted in so general a consternation, animated his soldiers, and exhorted them to cut themselves a passage with their swords through the midst of the enemy. But the tumult which reigned everywhere, the dreadful shouts of the enemy, and a fog that had risen, prevented his being seen or heard. The Romans, however, when they saw themselves surrounded by the enemy at the lake, without hope of escape, commenced the struggle with ardour. So great was the fury of the combatants, that not a soldier in either army perceived the shocks of an earthquake, which happened in that country at the time, and buried whole cities in ruins. At length, Flaminius being slain by one of the Insubrian Gauls, the Romans fled. Great numbers, endeavouring to save themselves, leaped into the lake; whilst others, directing their course to the mountains, fell into the enemy's hands. Six thousand only, by dint of courage, escaped from the field, and the next day they also were taken prisoners. In this battle 15,000 Romans were slain. Hannibal sent back the Latins, who were allies of the Romans, into their own country, without demanding a ransom. He commanded search to be made for the body of Flaminius, in order to give it burial; but it could not be found. He afterwards put his troops into quarters for refreshment, and solemnized the funerals of thirty of his chief officers, who were killed in the battle. He lost in all but 1500 men, most of whom were Gauls.

Immediately after, Hannibal despatched a courier to Carthage, with the news of his success. This caused the greatest joy for the present, gave birth to the most promising hopes for the future, and revived the courage of all the citizens. They now prepared, with great ardour, to send necessary succours into Italy and Spain.

On the contrary, Rome was filled with univer-

sal grief and alarm, as soon as the praetor had pronounced from the Rostra the following words: "We have lost a great battle." The senate, studious of nothing but the public welfare, thought that recourse must now be had to extraordinary remedies. They therefore appointed Quintus Fabius dictator, a person as conspicuous for his wisdom as his birth. It was the custom at Rome, that the moment a dictator was nominated, all other authority ceased, that of the tribunes of the people excepted. M. Minusius was appointed general of his horse.

After the battle of Trasymenus, Hannibal, not thinking it prudent to march directly to Rome, contented himself with wasting the country. He crossed Umbria and Picenum, and after ten days' march, arrived in the territory of Adria. He obtained a considerable booty in this march. Inspired with implacable and unrighteous enmity to the Romans, he cruelly commanded that all who were able to bear arms should be put to the sword; and meeting no obstacle, he advanced as far as Apulia, plundering the countries which lay in his way, and carrying desolation wherever he came, in order to compel the natives to disengage themselves from their alliance with the Romans; and to show all Italy, that Rome itself yielded him the palm of victory.

Fabius, followed by Minusius, and four legions, had marched from Rome in quest of the enemy, but with a firm resolution not to let him take the least advantage, nor to advance one step till he had first reconnoitred every place, nor hazard a battle till success should be certain.

As soon as both armies were in sight, Hannibal, to terrify the Roman forces, offered them battle, by advancing almost to their very intrenchments. Finding, however, everything quiet, he retired; blaming, in appearance, the cowardice of the enemy, whom he upbraided with having lost the valour which had so much distinguished their ancestors; but fretting inwardly to find he had to do with a general whose temperament was so different to that of his predecessors; and that the Romans, instructed by their defeat, had at last made choice of a commander capable of opposing Hannibal.

Hannibal perceived that the dictator would not be formidable to him by the boldness of his attacks, but by the prudence and regularity of his conduct, which he foresaw would embarrass him much. The only circumstance he now wanted to know was, whether the new general had firmness enough to pursue steadily the plan he appeared to have adopted. He endeavoured, therefore, to shake his resolution by the different movements which he made, by laying waste the lands, plundering the cities, and burning the towns and villages. At one time, he would raise his camp with precipitation, and at another, stop short in some valley out of the common route, to try whether he could not surprise him in the plain. Fabius, however, still kept his troops on the hills, but without losing sight of Hannibal, never appearing near enough to come to an engagement; nor yet keeping at such a distance as might give him an opportunity of escaping. He never suffered his soldiers to stir out of the camp, except to forage, nor even on those occasions without a numerous convoy. If ever he engaged,

it was only in slight skirmishes, and so very cautiously, that his troops had always the advantage. By this conduct, he insensibly revived the courage of his soldiers, and enabled them to rely, as they had done formerly, on their valour and good fortune.

Hannibal having obtained an immense booty in Campania, left that country, in order that he might not consume the provisions he had laid up, and which he reserved for the winter season. Besides, he could no longer continue in a country of gardens and vineyards, which were more agreeable to the eye than useful for the subsistence of an army; a country where he would have been forced to take up his winter quarters among marshes, rocks, and so on, while the Romans would have drawn plentiful supplies from Capua, and the richest parts of Italy. He therefore resolved to winter there.

Fabius naturally supposed that Hannibal would be obliged to return the same way he came, and that he might easily annoy him during his march. He began by throwing a considerable body of troops into Casilunum, and thereby securing that small town, situate on the Volturnus, which separated the territories of Paestum from those of Capua; he afterwards detached 4,000 men to seize the only outlet through which Hannibal could pass; and then, according to his usual custom, posted himself with the remainder of the army on the adjoining hills.

The Carthaginians arrived and encamped in the plain at the foot of the mountains. And now the crafty Hannibal fell into the snare he had laid for Flaminius at the defile of Thiasymenus, and it seemed impossible for him to extricate himself from this difficulty, there being but one pass, of which the Romans were possessed. Fabius, imagining himself sure of his prey, was only contriving how to seize it. He flattered himself, and probability was in his favour, with the hopes of putting an end to the war by a single battle. He thought fit, nevertheless, to defer the attack till the next day.

Hannibal perceived that his own artifices were now employed against him. In such junctures as these a general has need of unusual presence of mind and fortitude, to view danger in its utmost extent without being dismayed, and promptly to find out expedients. Hannibal showed himself equal to this; he immediately caused 2000 oxen to be collected, and ordered small bundles of vine branches to be tied to their horns; and towards the dead of the night, these vine branches were set on fire, and the oxen driven with violence to the top of the hills where the Romans were encamped.

As soon as the poor animals felt the flame, the pain rendered them furious, and they flew up and down on all sides, and set fire to the shrubs and bushes they met in their way. A number of light-armed soldiers accompanied the oxen, who had orders to seize upon the summit of the mountain, and to charge the Romans, if they should meet them. Everything happened as Hannibal had foreseen. The Romans who guarded the defile, seeing the fires spread over the hills which were above them, and imagining that it was Hannibal making his escape by torchlight, quitted their post, and ran up to the mountains to oppose his

passage. The main body of the army not knowing what to think of this tumult, and Fabius himself not daring to move while it was dark, for fear of a surprise, waited for the return of the day. Hannibal embraced this opportunity, marched his troops and the spoils through the defile, which was now unguarded, and rescued his army out of a snare, in which, had Fabius been more vigorous, it would have been destroyed, or greatly weakened.

The Carthaginian army returned to Apulia, still pursued and harassed by the Romans. The dictator being obliged to take a journey to Rome, on account of some religious ceremonies, before his departure earnestly intreated Minucius not to venture an engagement. This intreaty was disregarded, the very first opportunity that offered itself, whilst part of Hannibal's troops were foraging, Minucius charged the rest, and gained some advantage. He immediately sent advice of it to Rome, as if he had obtained a considerable victory. The news of this, with what had just before occurred at the passage of the defile, raised complaints at the slow movements and timorous circumspection of Fabius. Matters, indeed, were carried so far, that the Roman people gave his general of horse an equal authority with him, a circumstance never known before. The dictator was upon the road when he received advice of this, for he had left Rome in order that he might not witness what was contriving against him. His constancy, however, was not shaken. He was sensible that though his authority was divided, his skill in the art of war was superior.

Minucius, grown arrogant at the advantage gained over his colleague, proposed that each should command a day alternately, or even a longer time. But Fabius rejected this proposal, as it would have exposed the whole army to danger whilst under the command of Minucius. He therefore chose to divide the troops, in order that it might be in his power to preserve, at least, that part of the army which he commanded.

Hannibal, informed of all that passed in the Roman camp, was rejoiced to hear of this discussion between the two commanders. He therefore laid a snare for the rash Minucius, into which he fell. He engaged the enemy on an eminence, in which an ambuscade was concealed. His troops were soon thrown into disorder, and were upon the point of being destroyed, when Fabius, alarmed by the cries of the wounded, called aloud to his soldiers, "Let us hasten to the assistance of Minucius; let us flee and snatch the victory from the enemy, and extort from our fellow-citizens a confession of their fault." This succour was very seasonable; for it compelled Hannibal to sound a retreat. The latter, as he was retiring, said, "That the cloud which had been long hovering on the summit of the mountains, had at last burst with a loud crash, and caused a mighty storm." This important service rendered by the dictator opened the eyes of Minucius; he acknowledged his error, and returned immediately to his duty and obedience.

THE STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

In the beginning of this campaign, Cn. Scipio

having suddenly attacked the Carthaginian fleet commanded by Hamilcar, defeated it, and took twenty-five ships, with a quantity of rich spoils. This victory made the Romans sensible that they ought to be particularly attentive to the affairs of Spain, because Hannibal could draw from thence supplies both of men and money. Accordingly, they sent a fleet thither, the command whereof was given to P. Scipio, who, after his arrival in Spain, having joined his brother, did the commonwealth very great service. Till that time, the Romans had never ventured beyond the Ebro; but now they crossed it, and carried their arms much farther up into the country.

The circumstance which contributed most to promote their progress in Spain, was the treachery of a Spaniard in Saguntum. Hannibal had left there the children of the most distinguished families in Spain, whom he had taken as hostages. Abelo, for so this Spaniard was called, persuaded Hostar, the governor of the city, to send back these young men into their country, in order, by that means, to attach the inhabitants more firmly to the Carthaginian interest. Abelo prevailed, and was charged with the commission; but instead of conducting them home, he delivered them to the Romans, who afterwards presented them to their parents, by which means they acquired their amity.

THE AFFAIRS IN ITALY RESUMED.

The next spring, (216 years B.C.) C. Terentius Varro and L. Æmilius Paulus were chosen consuls at Rome. In this campaign, which was the third of the second Punic war, the Romans formed their army into eight legions, which they never did before, each consisting of 5000 men, exclusive of the allies. As for the troops of the allies, their infantry was equal to that of the legions, but they had three times as many horse. Each of the consuls had commonly half the troops of the allies, with two legions, in order for them to act separately, and it was very seldom that all these forces were used at the same time, and in the same expedition.

Varro, at his setting out from Rome, had declared openly, that he would meet the enemy at the first opportunity, and put an end to the war; adding, that it would never be terminated so long as such men as Fabius should head the Roman armies. An advantage which he gained over the Carthaginians greatly increased his arrogance, and confirmed him in his determination. Hannibal, however, regardless still of human suffering, considered this loss a real advantage; being persuaded that it would serve as a bait to the consul's rashness, and prompt him to a battle. It was afterwards discovered that Hannibal was reduced to such a scarcity of provisions, that he could not have subsisted ten days longer. The Spaniards, moreover, were already meditating leaving him; so that he must have retreated from Italy, had not Varro been thrown in his way.

The two armies came in sight of each other near Cannæ, a little town in Apulia, situate on the river Aufidus. As Hannibal was encamped in a level country, and his cavalry superior to that of the Romans, Æmilius did not think proper

to engage in such a place: he wished to draw the enemy into a spot, where the infantry might have the greatest share in the action; but his colleague who was inexperienced, was of a contrary opinion. Such is the inconvenience of a divided command; jealousy, a disparity of temper, or a diversity of views, seldom failing to create dissension.

In accordance with his resolve, without consulting his colleague, Varro, one day when he had the command, (for the two consuls ruled absolute on alternate days,) prepared for battle. Hannibal had now his wish, and after observing to his soldiers, that being superior in cavalry, they could not possibly have met with a more favourable place to engage in, he, supposing that the powers above delighted in the conflicts of man below, exclaimed: "Return thanks to the gods for having brought the enemy hither, that you may triumph over them; and thank me also, for having reduced the Romans to the necessity of coming to an engagement. After three great successive victories, is not the remembrance of your own actions sufficient to inspire you with courage? By the former battles, you are become masters of the open country; but this will put you in possession of all the cities, and (I presume to say it) of all the riches and power of the Romans. It is not words that we want, but action; I trust in the gods, that you will soon see my promises verified." This speech, so flattering, so full of hope, and so suited to the desires of his army, inspired it with ardour.

The two armies were very unequal in number. That of the Romans, including the allies, amounted to 80,000 foot, and about 6000 horse; that of the Carthaginians to 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse. Æmilius commanded the right wing of the Romans, Varro the left, and Servilius, one of the consuls of the last year, was posted in the centre. Hannibal, who possessed the art of turning every incident to advantage, had posted himself so that the wind Vulturinus, (a wind answering to the modern sirocco, or hot wind which blows from the quarter of Africa for many days together,) which rises at stated seasons, should blow directly in the faces of the Romans during the fight, and cover them with dust; then keeping the river Aufidus on his left, and posting his cavalry in the wings, he formed his main body of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry, which he posted in the centre, with half the African heavy-armed foot on their right, and half on their left, on the same line with their cavalry. His army being thus drawn up, he placed himself at the head of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry, and having drawn them out of the line, advanced to give battle, rounding his front as he drew nearer the enemy, and extending his flanks in the shape of a half-moon, in order that he might leave no interval between his main body and the rest of the line, which consisted of the heavy-armed infantry.

The result of this battle was dreadful. The Romans were conquered, and, according to Livy, 43,000 human beings perished. Hannibal himself, great as his thirst was for revenge and slaughter, seems to have been at this time satisfied; for he cried out several times to his soldiers, "Spare the vanquished." Among the slain were Æmilius, Servilius, and Minucius, the late general of horse to

Fabius, two quæstors, one and twenty military tribunes, many who had been consuls, and four-score senators. Ten thousand men, who had been left to guard the camp, surrendered to the enemy Varro, the consul, through whose rashness this disaster had occurred, escaped with the remnant of the army into the adjacent cities. Thus Hannibal remained master of the field, he being chiefly indebted for this, as well as for his former victories, to the superiority of his cavalry over that of the Romans.

Maharbal, one of the Carthaginian generals, advised Hannibal to march without loss of time to Rome, promising him, that within five days they should sup in the capital. Hannibal answered, that it was a matter which required mature deliberation. I see," replied Maharbal, "that the gods have not endowed the same man with all talents. You Hannibal do know how to conquer, but not to make the best use of a victory."

It is asserted that this delay saved Rome, and the empire. It did not must not be attributed to the error of Hannibal, as some have supposed. His will was to raze the very foundations of Rome to the ground, but, restrained by a higher Power, who ruleth unseen, and sometimes unknown among men, he was fearful of prosecution, at this time the desire of his heart. Hence we may safely affirm that he was saved by the interposition of Divine Providence.

Soon after the battle of Cannæ Hannibal had despatched his brother Mago to Carthage with the news of his victory. At the same time he demanded succours, in order that he might be enabled to put an end to the conflict.

On his arrival Mago, in full senate made a lively speech in which he extolled his brother's exploits, and displayed the great advantages he had obtained over the Romans. And to give a more lively idea of the greatness of the victory, he poured out in the middle of the senate a shed of gold rings which had been taken from the fingers of such of the Roman nobility as had fallen in the battle of Cannæ, with the intention, no doubt, of inflaming their avarice for which they were proverbial that he might the more readily obtain his demands for he concluded his speech with demanding money, provisions and reinforcements.

Mago, by this deed, showed that he understood the weak point of the senate, most of them were struck with an extraordinary joy, and Imileo, a great friend to Hannibal, fancying he had a fair opportunity to mislead Hanno, the chief of the contrary faction, who was opposed to the general, he asked him, whether they were still dissatisfied with the war they were carrying on against the Romans, and were still for having Hannibal delivered up to them? Hanno replied, that his opinion was unaltered, and that the victories of which they so much boasted (supposing them real) could, not give him joy, but only in proportion as they should be made subservient to an advantageous peace. He then undertook to prove that the mighty exploits of which they so much boasted were fallacious. "I have cut to pieces," says he, continuing Mago's speech, "the Roman armies, send me some troops. What more could you ask, had you been conquered?

I have twice seized upon the enemy's camp, full, no doubt, of provisions of every kind, send me provisions and money. Could you have talked otherwise, had you lost your camp?" He then asked Mago, whether any of the Latin nations had come over to Hannibal, and whether the Romans had made him any proposals of peace. To this Mago answered in the negative. "I then perceive," replied Hanno, "that we are no farther advanced, than when Hannibal first landed in Italy. The inference he drew from hence was, that neither men nor money ought to be supplied. But Hannibal's faction prevailing, no regard was paid to Hanno's remonstrances, which were treated as the effects of pride and jealousy, and orders were given for laying, without delay, the required supplies. Mago set out immediately for Sybaris to raise 24,000 foot, and 4000 horse in that country, but these levies were afterwards stopped, and sent to another quarter, so that it was the contrary faction to oppose the designs of a general whom they abhorred. While in Rome, a consul, who had fled, was thanked because he had not deserted of the commonwealth at Carthage, people were almost angry with Hannibal for being victorious. Thus, being more jealous for the honour of his own opinions than for the good of his country, and a greater enemy to Hannibal than the Romans. Hannibal did all in his power to prevent future success, and to render that which had been already gained of no avail.

Thus weak and inconsistent is man by nature, and so various are the ways in which he tortures his fellow. Think once conceived and cherished there is no man unjust, and cruel except to that to which he will not frequently resort, think him full of his vengeance. But how different is it when we are born in by the spirit of love. Then the ferocity of the fallen nature of man is beguiled and by his hallowed influence it excites a delicate and peaceful disposition, and men whose dispositions are of an opposite nature associate together in harmony and love, each striving to administer to his brother's happiness, for the sake of their one common Lord.

The birth of Hannibal, drew over to his interest the city of Tarentum, with the city of Lucania and thus wrested from the Romans their most ancient allies, among whom the Capuans held the first rank. The city, by the fertility of its soil, its advantageous situation, and the blessings of a long peace, had risen to great wealth and power. Luxury and a love of pleasure, the usual attendants on wealth, had corrupted the minds of its citizens, who, from their natural inclinations, were much inclined to voluptuousness.

Hannibal made choice of this city for his winter quarters, and here it was, according to Livy, that those soldiers who had not led the hardest toil, and braved the most formidable dangers, were weakened and softened by luxury. Their courage was so greatly enervated in this bewitching retirement, that all their after efforts were rather owing to the time and splendour of their former victories, than to their present strength. When Hannibal marched his forces out of the city, one

would have taken them for other men than those who had entered it under his command. Accustomed during the winter season to commodious lodgings, to ease and plenty, they were no longer able to bear hunger, thirst, long marches, watchings, and the varied toils of war; and obedience and discipline were entirely laid aside.

It is doubtful if Livy be correct in imputing all these fatal consequences to the delights of Capua. It might have been one, and a great cause, (for luxury is the destroyer of man, both soul and body,) but the real cause of the decline of Hannibal's affairs in Italy, was owing to his want of succours from Carthage. The design of Imilco's faction in sending these succours was thwarted by that of Hanno, and those recruits which Mago raised by order of the senate were sent to another quarter. It followed, therefore, that Hannibal was left to depend upon his own personal resources. His army was now reduced to 26,000 foot, and 9000 horse; and it was hence impossible for him, in an enemy's country, to seize on all the advantageous posts; to awe his new allies; to preserve his old conquests, and form new ones; and to keep the field with advantage against two armies of the Romans, which were recruited every year. The truth is, bounds were set to his unhallowed ambition and revenge by a superior Power, and he was to be sent home, not decked with the wreath of a victor, but "clothed with shame."

TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN HANNIBAL, GENERAL OF THE CARTHAGINIANS, AND PHILIP, SON OF DEMETRIUS, KING OF MACEDONIA.

During the second Punic war, about the year B.C. 215, a treaty was concluded between Philip, king of Macedonia, and the Carthaginians, which, as it throws much light on the power, constitution, religion, etc., of the Carthaginians at this period, is here given entire, from the pages of Polybius.

"The solemn treaty which Hannibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barcomar, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have sworn with Xenophanes, the son of Cleomachus, the ambassador deputed by king Philip, the son of Demetrius, in his own name, and in the name of the Macedonians and their allies.

"In the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the deity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules and Iolans; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the gods who are with us in the camp, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, lakes, and waters; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the state of Carthage; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the Macedonian empire, and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the gods who direct the affairs of war, and are present at this treaty; Hannibal the general, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him in the army, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have said:—

"With the consent of you and of us, this treaty of amity and concord shall connect us

together as friends, as kindred, and as brothers, upon the following conditions:—

"King Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them, shall protect and help the people of Carthage, Hannibal the general, and those that are with him; the governors in every place in which the laws of Carthage are observed; the people of Utica, and all the cities and nations that are subject to the Carthaginian sway, together with their armies and their allies; the cities likewise, and all the people with whom we are allied in Italy, Gaul, and Liguria; and all those that shall hereafter enter into an alliance with us in those countries.

"The Carthaginians, on the other hand, the people of Utica, and all the other cities and states that are subject to the Carthaginians, with their allies and armies; the cities also, and all the people of Italy, of Gaul, and Liguria, that are at this time in alliance with us; and all others likewise that shall hereafter be received into our alliance with any of those parts in Italy; shall protect and defend Philip, king of Macedonia, together with those Greeks that are in alliance with him. We will not engage in any ill designs, or employ any kind of treachery the one against the other. But with all alacrity and willingness, without any deceit or fraud, you the Macedonians, shall declare yourselves the enemies of those that are the enemies of the Carthaginians: those kings alone excepted, and those ports and cities, with which you are connected by treaty. And we also, on the other hand, will be the enemies of those that are the enemies of king Philip; those kings, and cities, and nations, alone excepted, to which we are already bound by treaty. You shall be partners also with us in the war in which we are now engaged against the Romans; till the gods give to you and to us a happy peace. You shall supply us with the assistance that is requisite, and in the manner that shall be stipulated between us. And if the gods, refusing success to our endeavours in the war against the Romans and their allies, should dispose us to enter into treaty with them, we shall insist that you also be included in the treaty, and that the peace shall be made upon these expressed conditions:—that the Romans shall at no time make war against you; that they shall not remain masters of Coreyra, Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, Dimallus, Parthia, and Antintania; and that they shall restore also to Demetrius, of Pharos, all the persons of his kindred who are now detained in public custody at Rome. If the Romans shall afterwards make war against you or us, we will mutually send such assistance as shall be requisite to either party. The same thing also will we perform, if any other power shall declare war against us; those states and cities alone excepted with which we are allied by treaty. If at any time it should be judged expedient to add to the present treaty, or to detract from it, it shall be done with mutual consent."

Great expectations doubtless arose from this treaty, but they were disappointed by the activity of the Romans. After concluding it at Tifata, the ambassadors of king Philip made their way back into Bruttium, and embarked

for Greece; but their ship was captured by the Romans, and they, with all their papers, were sent to Rome. Philip sent a second embassy, but the Romans becoming aware of his intentions, resolved to find sufficient employment for him at home by raising a spirit of revolt against him amongst the Ætolians, and such other nations and states as could be engaged in the cause, so as to form a Greek coalition against Macedonia. Philip was never able to fulfil his engagements with the Carthaginians, and when they signed a treaty with the Romans, it was under such humiliating circumstances, that they could only stipulate for themselves no mention was made of Philip.

TRANSACTIONS RELATIVE TO SPAIN AND SARDINIA.

The two Scipios still continued in the command of Spain, (n.c. 214,) and their arms were making considerable progress there, when Hasdrubal, who alone seemed able to cope with them, received orders from Carthage to march into Italy to the relief of Hannibal his brother. Before that general set out, he wrote to the senate to convince them of the necessity of sending a general in his stead who was capable of opposing the Romans. Inuleo was therefore sent thither with an army, and Hasdrubal set out upon his march in order to join his brother. The news of his departure was no sooner known, than the greater part of Spain was subjected by the Scipios. These two generals, animated by such signal success, resolved to prevent Hasdrubal, if possible, from leaving Spain. They considered the danger to which the Romans would be exposed if, being scarcely able to resist Hannibal alone, they should be attacked by the two brothers with their united forces. They therefore pursued Hasdrubal, and overcame him, so that he could neither continue his march for Italy, nor remain in Spain.

The Carthaginians had no better success in Sardinia. Designing to take advantage of some rebellion, which they had fomented in that country, they lost 12,000 men in a battle fought against the Romans, who took a still greater number of prisoners, among whom were Hasdrubal, surnamed Calvus, Hanno, and Mago, (not Hannibal's brother,) who were distinguished by their birth as well as military exploits.

THE AFFAIRS IN ITALY RESUMED.

From the time of Hannibal's abode in Capua, the Carthaginian affairs in Italy no longer supported their former reputation. M. Marcellus, first as pretor, and afterwards as consul, had contributed very much to this revolution. He harassed Hannibal's army on every occasion, (n.c. 211—212,) seized upon his quarters, forced him to raise sieges, and even defeated him in several engagements; so that he was called the Sword of Rome, as Fabius had before been termed its Backler.

But what most affected Hannibal was, to see Capua besieged by the Romans. In order, therefore, to sustain his reputation among his allies by a vigorous support of those who held the chief rank as such, he hastened to the relief of that city, brought forward his forces, attacked the

Romans, and fought several battles to oblige them to raise the siege. At length, seeing all his measures defeated, he marched hastily toward Rome, (n.c. 211,) in order to make a powerful diversion.

Hannibal was not without hope of being able, in the first consternation, to storm some part of Rome, and thus to allure the Roman generals with all their forces from the siege of Capua to the relief of their capital; at least he flattered himself, that if, for the sake of containing the siege, they should divide their forces, their weakness might then offer an occasion, either to the Capuans or himself, of engaging or defeating them.

Rome was surprised at this movement, but not confounded. A proposal being made by one of the senators, to recall all the armies to succour Rome, Fabius declared, that it would be shameful in them to be terrified, and forced to change their measures upon every movement of Hannibal. They therefore only recalled a portion of the army and one of the generals, Q. Fulvius, the pro-consul, from the siege.

Hannibal, after making some devastations, drew up his arms in order of battle before the city, and the consul did the same. Both sides were preparing for the conflict, when a violent storm obliged them to separate. They were no sooner returned to their respective camps than the face of the heavens grew serene, as though pleased with having prevented the strife.

But the circumstances which most confounded Hannibal were, that whilst he lay encamped at the gates of Rome, the Romans had sent out recruits for the army in Spain at another gate, and that the ground whereon his camp was pitched had been sold, notwithstanding that circumstance, for its full value. So barefaced a contempt stung Hannibal to the quick, he, therefore, by way of retaliation, put up to auction the shops of the goldsmiths round the Forum. After this bravado, he retired, and in his march plundered the rich temple of the goddess Ferona, who, according to heathen mythology, presided over groves.

Capua, thus left to itself, held out but very little longer. After such of its senators as had taken the chief share in its revolt, and who could not expect mercy from the Romans, had put themselves to a tragical death by drinking poison, the city surrendered at discretion. The success of this siege fully restored to the Romans their superiority over the Carthaginians, and it showed at the same time how formidable the power of the Romans was when they undertook to punish their perfidious allies, and the feeble protection which Hannibal could afford his friends in the hour of danger.

THE AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

The aspect of affairs was very much changed in Spain n.c. 212. The Carthaginians had three armies in that country; one commanded by Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco; the second by Hasdrubal, son of Hamilcar; and a third under Mago, who had joined the first Hasdrubal. The two Scipios, Cneus and Publius, were for dividing their forces, and attacking the enemy separately, which was the cause of their ruin. They agreed

that Cneus, with a small number of Romans, and 30,000 Celtiberians, (a people of ancient Spain, supposed to have been descended from Celtar, who, in remote times, emigrated from Gaul, and afterwards became mixed with the native Iberians,) should march against Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar; whilst Publius, with the remainder of the forces, composed of Romans and the Italian allies, should advance against the other two generals.

Publius was vanquished first. To the two leaders he had to oppose, Masiussa, elate with the victories he had lately gained over Syphax, joined himself, and was soon to be followed by Indibilis, a powerful Spanish prince. The armies came to an engagement, and the Romans, so long as they had their general at their head, made a courageous resistance; but he being slain, those who had escaped the carnage secured themselves by flight.

The three victorious armies marched immediately in quest of Cneus, in order to put an end to the war by his defeat. Cneus was already more than half vanquished by the desertion of his allies, who all forsook him, and left to the Roman generals this important instruction—never to let their own forces be exceeded in numbers by those of foreigners. Cneus guessed that his brother was slain, and his army defeated, upon seeing such great bodies of the enemy arrive. He survived him but a short time, being killed in the engagement. These two great men were equally lamented by their citizens and allies; and Spain deeply felt their loss, because of the justice and moderation of their conduct.

These extensive countries seemed now inevitably lost; but the valour of L. Marcius, a private officer of the equestrian order, preserved them to the Romans. Soon after, the younger Scipio was sent thither, who severely revenged the death of his father and uncle, and restored the affairs of Rome in Spain to a flourishing condition.

THE AFFAIRS IN ITALY RESUMED.

One unforeseen defeat, which occurred *n.c.* 207, ruined all the measures and blasted all the hopes of Hannibal with regard to Italy. The consuls of this year, which was the eleventh of the second Punic war, were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius. The latter had for his province the Cisalpine Gaul, where he was to oppose Hasdrubal, who, it was reported, was preparing to pass the Alps. The former commanded in the country of the Brutians and in Lucania, that is, in the opposite extremity of Italy, and was there to oppose Hannibal.

The passage of the Alps gave Hasdrubal but little trouble, because Hannibal had made his path clear, and all the nations were disposed to receive him. Some time after this, he despatched couriers to Hannibal, but they were intercepted. Nero found by these letters that Hasdrubal was hastening to join his brother in Umbria. In a conjuncture of so important a nature as this, when the safety of Rome was at stake, he thought himself at liberty to dispense with the established rules of his duty; namely, that no general should

leave his own province to go into that of another.

It was his opinion, that a bold and unexpected blow ought to be struck, a blow which would strike terror into the enemy. Drawing out, therefore, from his own forces 7000 men, who were the flower of his troops, he marched to join his colleague, in order that they might charge Hasdrubal unexpectedly with their united forces.

Nero set out without giving his soldiers notice of his design. When he had advanced so far that it might be communicated without danger, he told them that he was leading them to certain victory; that in war, all things depended upon reputation; that the bare rumour of their arrival would disconcert all the measures of the Carthaginians; and that the whole honour of this battle would fall to their lot.

They marched with extraordinary diligence, and joined the other consul in the night. The army of Porcius, the pretor, was encamped near that of the consul, and in the morning a council of war was held. Livius was of opinion that it would be better to allow the troops some days to refresh themselves; but Nero besought him not to ruin by delay an enterprise to which despatch only could give success, and to take advantage of the error of the enemy, as well absent as present. This advice was complied with, and accordingly the signal for battle was given.

Hasdrubal, advancing to his foremost ranks, discovered by several circumstances that fresh troops were arrived, and he did not doubt but they belonged to the other consul. This made him conjecture that his brother had sustained a considerable loss, and to fear that he was come too late to his assistance. Accordingly, he sounded a retreat, and his army began to march in great disorder. Night overtaking him, and his guides deserting him, he was uncertain which way to go. He marched at random along the banks of the river Metaurus, now called Metaro, and was preparing to cross it, when the three armies of the Romans overtook him. In this extremity, he saw it would be impossible for him to avoid an engagement, and he therefore did everything which could be expected from the presence of mind and the valour of a great captain. The battle lasted a long time, and was obstinately disputed by both parties. Hasdrubal, especially, signalized himself in this engagement, and added reputation to that which he had already gained. He led on his soldiers, trembling and dispirited, against a superior enemy, animating them by his word, supporting them by his example, and with intreaties and menaces endeavouring to bring back those who fled, till at last, seeing that victory declared for the Romans, and being unable to survive the loss of so many thousand men who had quitted their country to follow his fortune, he rushed into the midst of a Roman cohort, and was slain. Polybius states, that 10,000 Carthaginians and 2000 Romans fell in this conflict.

Nero set out upon his march on the very night which followed the engagement. Through every place where he passed in his return, shouts of joy and loud exclamations welcomed him, instead of those fears which his coming had occasioned. He arrived in the camp the sixth day. The

head of Hasdrubal, thrown into the camp of the Carthaginians, informed Hannibal of his brother's unhappy fate, and he thus perceived the falling condition of Carthage. Horace makes him speak thus, in the beautiful ode where this defeat is described:—

"To lofty Carthage I no more shall send
Vanta of my deeds, and herails of my fame;
My boundless hopes almost are at an end,
With all the flowing fortune of our name.
These boundless hopes, that flowing fortune, all
Are dead'd and buried in my brother's fall!"

P. FRANCIS.

These are fit words to put into the mouth of blighted ambition; they aptly show the extent of Hannibal's desires, and the depth of his grief at his frustrated designs. And when we consider that they are a faithful paraphrase of the very words which he did utter, they appear more strikingly pathetic, and better illustrate the character of Hannibal.

Reader, observe what that character is. There is no lamenting for his brother's loss, but as it affected his own honour. His own hopes and fortune are the only things which affected him in the catastrophe; thus betraying a heart void of humanity, and a soul ambitious alone of its own glory. He could adopt the words which Anarch uttered to Satan,—

"—— go and speed,
Havoc, and spoil, and ruin, are my cure."

but, when his armies failed, or he himself was defeated in his designs, like that fiend who, in compassing the ruin of man, found his own,

"Struck with dread and anguish,"

he speaks of

"Joyless triumphs of his hoped success,
Ruin, and desperation and dismay."
(MILTON.)

to his followers; mourning over the loss of glory as for an only child.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR CONCLUDED.

The fate of arms was not more propitious to the Carthaginians in Spain. The prudent vigour of young Scipio had restored the Roman affairs in that country to their former prosperous condition, as the courageous slowness of Fabius had before done in Italy. The three Carthaginian generals in Spain, Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, Hanno, and Mago, having been defeated with their numerous armies by the Romans, in several engagements, Scipio at last possessed himself of the country, and subjected it to the Roman power. About this time, Masinissa, a very powerful African prince, went over to the Romans, and Syphax, on the contrary, to the Carthaginians.

Scipio, on his return to Rome, was declared consul, being then thirty years of age. He had P. Licinius Crassus for his colleague. Sicily was allotted to Scipio, with permission for him to cross into Africa, if he found it convenient. He

set out with all imaginable expedition for his province; whilst his colleague was to command in the country whither Hannibal had retired.

The taking of New Carthage, where Scipio had displayed all the prudence, courage, and capacity, which could have been expected from sage experience, and the conquest of all Spain, were more than sufficient to establish his fame; but he considered these only as so many steps by which he was to climb to a nobler enterprise, namely, the conquest of Africa.

Scipio repaired to Africa, B.C. 204, by which step he made it the seat of war. The devastation of the country, the siege of Utica, one of the strongest cities of Africa, the defeat of the armies under Syphax and Hasdrubal, and afterwards the taking of Syphax himself prisoner, who was one of the most powerful supporters the Carthaginians had left, all these things combined, made them at last turn their thoughts to peace. For this purpose, they deputed thirty of their principal senators, who were elected from that powerful body at Carthage, called the Council of the Hundred.

Being introduced into the Roman general's tent, they all threw themselves prostrate upon the earth, spoke to him in terms of submission, accused Hannibal as the author of all their calamities, and promised, in the name of the senate, implicit obedience to the Romans. Scipio replied, that though he was come into Africa for conquest, he would grant them peace upon these conditions: That they should deliver up all the prisoners and deserters to the Romans; that they should recall their armies out of Italy and Gaul; should never set foot again in Spain; should retire out of the islands between Italy and Africa; should deliver up all their ships, twenty excepted; should give to the Romans 500,000 bushels of wheat, 300,000 of barley, and pay 15,000 talents; and that, in the event of their accepting these conditions, they then might send ambassadors to the senate. The Carthaginians signed compliance, but it was only to gain time till Hannibal should return. A truce was then granted to the Carthaginians, who immediately sent deputies to Rome, and at the same time, an express to Hannibal to order his return into Africa. B.C. 203.

Hannibal was then in the extremity of Italy. Here he received the orders from Carthage, which he could not listen to without groans, and shedding tears; he was exasperated almost to madness to see himself thus forced to quit his prey. Never did a banished man show such regret at leaving his native country, as Hannibal did in departing from that of an enemy. He often turned his eyes towards Italy, accusing gods and men of his misfortune, and calling down imprecations, says Livy, upon himself, for not having marched his soldiers directly to Rome, after the battle of Cannæ, whilst yet the swords of his soldiers were reeking with the blood of its citizens.

At Rome, the senate, dissatisfied with the excuses made by the Carthaginian deputies, in justification of their republic, and the ridiculous offer which they made in its name of adhering to the treaty of Latinius, thought proper to refer the decision of the whole to Scipio, who, being

on the spot, could best judge what conditions the welfare of the state required.

About the same time, Octavias, the pretor, sailing from Sicily into Africa with 200 vessels of burden, was overtaken near Carthage by a furious storm, which dispersed all his fleet. The citizens could not endure the thought of so rich a prey escaping their hands, and therefore they demanded that the Carthaginian fleet might sail out and seize it. The senate, after a faint resistance, complied; and Hasdrubal, sailing out of harbour, seized the greater part of the Roman ships, and brought them to Carthage, although the truce was still subsisting.

Scipio sent deputies to Carthage to complain of this outrage; but they were disregarded. The arrival of Hannibal had revived their courage, and again inspired them with hope. The deputies were even in great danger of being ill-treated by the populace. They therefore demanded a convoy, which was granted them; but the magistrates, who were determined on the renewal of the war, gave private orders to Hasdrubal, who was with the fleet near Utica, to attack the Roman galley when it should arrive in the river Dragada, near the Roman camp, where the convoy was to leave them. Hasdrubal obeyed the order, and sent out two galleys against the ambassadors; but he did not succeed in his treacherous designs.

This was a fresh subject for war between the two states. They were more exasperated against each other than ever, the Romans from a desire of avenging themselves for such perfidy, the Carthaginians from a persuasion that they could not now expect a peace.

We may here mention, that this trait in the character of the Carthaginians was one of the most usual and evil results of ancient paganism. There was no bond in its varied systems to bind men together in honesty of purpose. Some of those systems, indeed, taught that treachery was a necessary evil, in order to obtain a certain good. Hence, actions, which man, taught only by the taper light of reason, would shudder to commit, were committed without compunction, and frequently with a belief that the deed was a virtue. The same bitter fruits result from modern paganism. But how differently are we taught by the Christian system of moral duties. In the Bible, "precept upon precept," "line upon line," teaches us to speak the truth, to avoid deceit, and to act at all times towards our fellow-man under this impression: "Thou God seest me;" and it denounces woes upon those who, blessed with this light, act in opposition to it. How ought we, then, to prize the Bible, and to esteem it as the source of true knowledge, which points our way to heaven as with a sunbeam!

At the same time, Lælius and Folvius, who carried the full powers with which the senate and people of Rome had invested Scipio, arrived in the camp, accompanied by the deputies from Carthage. As the Carthaginians had not only infringed the truce, but violated the law of nations in the persons of the ambassadors, it might have been expected that their deputies would have been seized by way of reprisal: Scipio, however, attentive to the Roman honour, dismissed them without injury. This act of modera-

tion, at such a juncture, shamed and terrified the Carthaginians, and made even Hannibal himself entertain admiration of a general who, to the dishonourable practices of his enemies, opposed only a rectitude and greatness of soul that was more worthy of admiration than all his military virtues.

Hannibal, in the mean time, importuned by his fellow-citizens, advanced into the country, and arriving at Zama, which is five days' march from Carthage, he there pitched his camp. From thence he sent out spies to observe the position of the Romans. Scipio having seized these, instead of punishing them, commanded them to be led about the Roman camp, in order that they might make close observation, and then they were sent back to Hannibal. The latter knew whence so bold an assurance flowed. After the many reverses he had met with, he no longer expected that fortune would again smile upon him; whilst every one, therefore, was exciting him to battle, the destroyer of nations himself meditated only peace. But it was his own glory will that he sought. He flattered himself that the conditions of it would be more honourable, as he was at the head of an army, and as the fate of arms might still appear uncertain. Guided by these motives, Hannibal sent to desire an interview with Scipio, which was complied with, and the time and place fixed.

When those two generals met, they continued for some time in deep silence, as though astonished, and struck with a mutual admiration of each other. At length Hannibal spoke, and after having praised Scipio in the most artful and delicate manner, he gave a lively description of the ravages of war, and the calamities in which it had involved both the victors and the vanquished. He conjured him not to be dazzled by the splendour of his victories. He represented to him, that though he might hitherto have been successful, he ought to be aware of the inconsistency of fortune; that he himself was a proof of what he advanced; that Scipio was at that time what Hannibal had been at Thrasymenus and Cannæ; that he ought to make a better use of opportunity than he himself had done, by consenting to a peace, of which it was in his power to propose the conditions. Hannibal concluded with declaring, that the Carthaginians would willingly resign Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, and all the islands between Africa and Italy, to the Romans; that they must be forced, since such was the will of the gods, to confine themselves to Africa, whilst they should see the Romans extending their conquests to the most remote regions, and obliging all nations to pay obedience to their laws.

Scipio replied in a few words, but not with less dignity. He reproached the Carthaginians for their perfidy, in plundering the Roman galleys before the truce was expired. He implored to them alone, and to their injustice, all the calamities with which the two wars had been attended. After thanking Hannibal for the admonition he had given him, with regard to the uncertainty of human events, he concluded with desiring him to prepare for battle, unless he chose rather to accept of the conditions proposed, to which, he observed, some others would be added, in order

to punish the Carthaginians for their violation of the truce.

Hannibal could not prevail upon himself to accept these conditions, and the generals left one another with the resolution of deciding the fate of Carthage by a general battle. Each commander exhorted his troops to fight valiantly. Hannibal dwelt upon the victories he had gained over the Romans, the generals he had slain, the armies he had annihilated. Scipio represented to his soldiers the conquests of both the Spains, his successes in Africa, and the confession their enemies themselves had made, by the fact of coming to sue for peace. All this he spoke with the tone and air of a conqueror. Never were motives more powerful to prompt troops to behave gallantly. This day was to complete the glory of the one or the other of the generals, and to decide whether Rome or Carthage was to prescribe laws to all other nations.

It would be needless to dwell upon the circumstances of the battle. The reader will naturally conclude that each strove ardently for the victory, and that two such experienced generals did not forget any circumstance which would contribute to secure it to themselves. But it was in vain on the part of Hannibal, thousands of the Carthaginians were slain, and a great number of prisoners taken. Hannibal escaped in the tumult, and entering Carthage, owned that he was conquered, and declared that the citizens had no other choice left than to accept peace upon Scipio's conditions.

Scipio bestowed high eulogiums on Hannibal, with regard to his ability in taking advantages, his manner of drawing out his army, and giving out his orders; and he affirmed that Hannibal had this day surpassed himself in the art of war. With regard to himself, he well knew how to make a proper advantage of the victory, and the consternation which prevailed among the Carthaginians. He commanded one of his lieutenants to march his land army to Carthage, whilst he prepared to conduct the fleet thither.

He was not far from the city, when he met a vessel covered with streamers and olive branches, bringing ten of the most considerable persons of the state as ambassadors, to implore his clemency. These he dismissed, bidding them to come to him at Tunis, where he should halt. The deputies, thirty in number, came to him at the place appointed, and sued for peace in the most submissive terms. Scipio then called a council, the majority of which were for razing Carthage, and treating the inhabitants with the utmost severity. But the consideration of the time which it must necessarily take to capture a city so strongly fortified, and fearing a successor might be appointed whilst he should be employed in the siege, made Scipio incline to mercy, and he granted their petition.

The conditions of the peace dictated by Scipio to the Carthaginians were—That the Carthaginians should continue free, and preserve their laws, their territories, and the cities they possessed in Africa before the war—that they should deliver up to the Romans all deserters, slaves, and prisoners belonging to them; all their ships except ten triremes; all the elephants which they then had, and that they should not train up any

more for war—that they should not make war out of Africa, nor even in that country, without first obtaining leave of the Romans—should restore to Masinissa every thing of which they had dispossessed either him or his ancestors—should furnish money and corn to the Roman auxiliaries, till their ambassadors should be returned from Rome—should pay to the Romans 10,000 Euboic talents of silver in fifty annual payments (that is, about 1,750,000*l.*)—and give 100 hostages, who should be nominated by Scipio. And in order that they might have time to send to Rome, he agreed to grant them a truce, upon condition that they should restore the ships taken during the former war, without which they were not to expect either a truce or peace.

When the deputies were returned to Carthage, they laid before the senate the conditions dictated by Scipio. But they appeared so intolerable to Gisgo, that, in a speech, he endeavoured to dissuade his citizens from accepting a peace upon such humiliating terms. Hannibal, provoked at the calmness with which such an orator was heard, took Gisgo by the arm, and dragged him from his seat. A behaviour so outrageous, and so remote from the manners of a free city like Carthage, raised a universal murmur. Hannibal himself was vexed when he reflected on what he had done, and immediately made an apology. "As I left," says he, "your city at nine years of age, and did not return to it till after thirty-six years' absence, I had full leisure to learn the arts of war, and flatter myself that I have made some improvement in them. As for your laws and customs, it is no wonder I am ignorant of them, and I therefore desire you to instruct me in them." He then expatiated on the indispensable necessity of peace; and he added, that they ought to thank the gods for having prompted the Romans to grant them a peace even upon these conditions. After he, further, had pointed out to them the necessity of a unity of opinion on this subject, the whole city came over to his views; peace was accepted; satisfaction made to Scipio with regard to the ships reclaimed by him; a truce obtained for three months; and ambassadors were sent to Rome.

When these ambassadors arrived at Rome, they were immediately admitted to an audience. Hasdrubal, surnamed Hasdes, who was still an irreconcilable enemy to Hannibal and his faction, spoke first, and after having excused, to the best of his power, the people of Carthage, by imputing the rupture to the ambition of some particular persons, he added, that had the Carthaginians listened to his counsels and those of Hanno, they would have been able to grant to the Romans the peace which they now dictated to the Carthaginians. "But," continued he, "wisdom and prosperity are very rarely found together. The Romans are invincible, because they never suffer themselves to be blinded by good fortune. And it would be surprising should they act otherwise. Success dazzles those only to whom it is new and unusual; whereas the Romans are so much accustomed to conquer, that they are almost insensible to the charms of victory; and it may be said, to their glory, that they have extended their empire, in some measure, more by the humanity they have shown to the conquered, than by the

conquest itself." The other ambassadors spoke in a more plaintive tone, and represented the calamitous state to which Carthage was going to be reduced, and the grandeur and power from which it had fallen.

The senate and people being equally inclined to peace, sent full power to Scipio to conclude it, left the conditions to that general, and permitted him to return to Rome. The ambassadors desired leave to enter the city, to redeem some of their prisoners, and they found about 200 whom they desired to ransom. These the senate sent to Scipio, with orders that they should be restored without any pecuniary consideration, should a peace be concluded.

On the return of their ambassadors, the Carthaginians concluded a peace with Scipio; after which, they delivered up to him more than 500 ships, which he burned in sight of Carthage. The allies of the Latin name, and the Roman citizens who were delivered up to him as deserters, were put to death, after the manner of the ancients.

When the time for the first payment of the tribute arrived, as the funds of the government were exhausted, the difficulty of levying the sum required was great. This threw the senate into deep affliction, and many could not refrain tears. Hannibal, on this occasion, is said to have laughed; and when he was reproached by Hasdrubal Hædrus, for thus insulting his country, in the affliction which he had brought upon it: "Were it possible," he replied, "for my heart to be seen, and that as clearly as my countenance, you would then find, that this laughter, which offends so much, flows not from an intemperate joy, but from a mind almost distracted with the public calamities. But is this laughter more unreasonable than your unbecoming tears? Then, then ought you to have wept, when your arms were ingloriously taken from you, your ships burned, and you were forbidden to engage in foreign wars. This was the mortal blow which laid us prostrate. We are sensible of the public calamity, so far only as we have a personal concern in it; and the loss of our money gives us the most pungent sorrow. Hence it was, that when our city was made the spoil of the victor; when it was left disarmed and defenceless amidst so many powerful nations of Africa, who had at that time taken the field, not a groan, not a sigh, was heard. But now, when you are called on to contribute individually to the tax imposed upon the state, you bewail and lament as if all were lost. Alas! I only wish, that the subject of this day's grief may not soon appear to you the least of all your misfortunes."

This is a remarkable instance of the power of covetousness. Here are men of reverend years, and renowned for their gravity and wisdom, sitting down in sorrow and weeping like infants for the loss of their wealth. They had suffered greater losses before; their sons had been demanded of them, their arms taken away, and their fleet destroyed, all of which calamities they bore with resignation. But now, when their money is required at their hands, it calls forth the deepest vexation of spirit. Truly has the apostle observed, that, "The love of money is the root of all evil," 1 Tim. vi. 10. When it has gained the ascendancy over the minds of men, it leads to crime and folly;

and it brings down ruin upon nations, families, and individuals. This we learn not only from the pages of profane, but of sacred history, and indeed from our own personal observation. The pages of Holy Writ exhibit this vice to our view in its true light. They describe it, as having thrown the world generally into a state of infidel distrust of the Divine Providence, and of dissatisfaction with the Divine allotments; to the truth of which, the history of ancient heathen nations bears its testimony; for they neither prayed to their gods nor laboured themselves for any other than temporal blessings, as their prayers and hymns abundantly show. Those hallowed pages, again, speak of covetousness, as actuating and debasing the character of an entire people, as the Israelites, Tyrians, and Chaldeans. They denounce it as leading to deceit, bribery, and injustice; and to some of the foulest acts and most fearful results that have stained the history of man in public and private life. They speak of it as subversive of the three-fold law of Christian duty, personal, social, and Divine; as being intimately connected with all vices; as destroying the bodies and souls of individuals, as Ananias, Sapphira, and Demas. Finally, they identify covetousness with idolatry, and speak of it as one of the characteristics of the final apostasy of man from God. Its effects are seen daily in our own social circles. There we learn something of its soul-withering influence; for the cry of the world at large is, "Who will show us any good?" to the utter neglect of the "one thing needful;" thus showing, that the heart of man by nature is prone in modern as in ancient times to hew unto itself idols of gold and silver. Great need is there, therefore, for our Lord's caution: "Take heed, and beware of covetousness," Luke xii. 15.

We conclude this section of our history. Scipio, after all his affairs were settled, embarked for Rome. He arrived there safely, (B.C. 201.) and the most magnificent triumph that Rome had ever seen was decreed him: and the surname of Africanus was bestowed upon him; an honour till then unknown, no person before having assumed the name of a vanquished nation.

Thus ended the second Punic war: a war in which all the bad passions of human nature are made manifest in all its stages. To the Christian reader, it affords a melancholy picture of the human heart. It causes him to reflect on the once happy state of man, when there were no jarring elements in his nature; no desire of strife, no ambition, no love of glory, no revenge, when he held converse with angels and with God, and was at rest. But while he sighs over the fallen nature of man, and his descent from so happy a state, he may look forward to his recovery. The sure word of prophecy unfolds an era when swords shall be turned into plough shares, and spears into pruning hooks, when

"Nations shall not lift up sword against nation;
Neither shall they learn war any more."

ISA. II. 4; MIC. IV. 3.

In that day, to adopt the figurative language of Scripture, which sets forth in glowing terms this changed nature of man,

"The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb,
And the leopard shall lie down with the kid,
And the calf and the young lion and the fawning together;
And a little child shall lead them.
And the cow and the bear shall feed,
Their young ones shall lie down together
And the lion shall eat straw like the ox
And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp,
And the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice den
They shall not hurt nor destroy in all God's holy mountain"

(ISA. XLV. 1-9)

This glorious era will be the result of the universal spread of the gospel of peace. Mankind, then, will own the gentle sway of the Lord Jesus Christ. Yes, the Man of sorrows who once trod this earth as a stranger acquainted with grief, and who ended his life by an ignominious death upon the cross, shall one day "see of the travail of his soul, and shall be satisfied," shall one day reign victorious in and over the hearts of all men. The blood that he shed was for the "healing of the nations." He saw them from on high striving with their Maker and with each other in the deadly conflict, and, pitying them, left his Father's throne to reconduct them unto God and to themselves: for he who loveth God, loveth his brother also, and a Christian loves upon all mankind as his brethren. This will be one of the most glorious results of the cross and passion of the Redeemer. Mankind will be restored to peace with God and man, to that happy state which he enjoyed when first he came from the hands of his Creator. Well, therefore, may we take up the language of the poet, and say:

"Come then, and add to this our vision
Peace on earth, the good will to men,
The world at rest, the sword laid down,
And the triumph of the Christian faith,
And over, and its vaults with light and peace shall

THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE SECOND AND THIRD PUNIC WARS.

This interval, including about fifty years, that is, from B.C. 201 to B.C. 149, is very little remarkable as to the events which relate to Carthage. They may be reduced to two subjects, the one relating to the person of Hannibal, and the other to some particular differences between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, King of the Numidians.

Concerning the former, whose history includes the space of twenty-five years, and of whom we shall speak in this division, the following information has been handed down to us. After the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal at first was greatly respected in Carthage, and he filled the first employments of the state with honour and applause. He headed, also, the Carthaginian forces in some wars against the Africans, but the Romans, to whom his very name gave uneasiness, made complaints on that account, and he was recalled to Carthage.

On his return he was appointed pretor, which seems to have been a very honourable dignity, and to have conferred great authority. Carthage, therefore, we shall see, with regard to him, was a new theatre on which he displayed

qualities of a different nature to those he unfolded in the field of battle, and which will finish his portraiture, and in some measure redeem his character.

Eagerly desirous of restoring the affairs of his afflicted country to their former prosperous condition, he was persuaded that the two most powerful methods to make a state flourish, were, an exact and equal distribution of justice to its subjects in general, and scrupulous fidelity in the management of the public finances. The former, by observing an equality among the citizens, and making them enjoy such an undisturbed liberty, under the protection of the laws, as fully secured their honour, their lives, and properties, united the individuals of the commonwealth more closely together, and attaches them more firmly to the state, to which they owe the preservation of all that is most dear and valuable to them. The latter, by a faithful administration of the public revenues, supplies punctually the several wants and necessities of the state, keeps in reserve a never failing resource for sudden emergencies, and prevents the people from being burdened by new taxes, which are rendered necessary by extravagant profusion, and which produce disaffection to the government.

Hannibal saw, with great concern, the irregularities which had crept equally into the administration of justice, and the management of the finances. Upon his being nominated pretor, he had the courage to attempt the reformation of this double abuse, without dreading either the animosity of the old faction that opposed him, or the new enmity which his zeal for the republic must necessarily draw upon him.

The judges exercised the most flagrant extortion with impunity. They were so many petty tyrants, who disposed in an arbitrary manner of the lives and fortunes of the citizens, without the least possibility of a stop being put to their injustice, because they held their commissions for life, and mutually supported one another. Hannibal, as pretor, summoned before his tribunal an officer belonging to the bench of judges, who openly abused his power. This officer, who was of the opposite faction to Hannibal, and had assumed all the haughtiness and pride of the judges, among whom he was to be admitted at the expiration of his present office, insolently refused to obey the summons. Hannibal was not of a disposition to suffer an affront of this nature to pass by unnoticed, he caused him to be seized by a factor, and brought before an assembly of the people, when he impeached the whole bench of judges, whose pride was not to be restrained either by fear of the laws, or a reverence for the magistrates. Hannibal, perceiving that he was heard with pleasure, proposed a law, by which it was enacted, that new judges should be chosen annually; with a clause that none should continue in office beyond that term. This law, at the same time that it obtained for him the friendship of the people at large, drew upon him the hatred of the greater part of the influential citizens.

Hannibal attempted another reformation, which created him new enemies, but gained him great honour. The public revenues were either squandered by the negligence of those who had the management of them, or were plundered by the

chief men of the city and the magistrates; so that money being wanting to pay the annual tribute due to the Romans, the Carthaginians were going to levy it upon the people at large. Hannibal, entering into a long detail of the public revenues, ordered an exact estimate to be laid before him; inquired in what manner they had been applied; the employments, and ordinary expenses of the state: and having discovered by this inquiry, that the public funds had been in a great measure embezzled by the fraud of the officers who had the management of them, he declared that, without laying any new taxes upon the people, the republic should hereafter be enabled to pay the tribute to the Romans. The farmers of the revenues, whose rapine he had detected, having accustomed themselves hitherto to fatten upon the spoils of their country, declaimed vehemently against these regulations, as if their own property had been taken from them, and not that belonging to the state.

This double reformation of abuses raised great clamours against Hannibal, and was the cause of his ruin. His enemies were incessantly writing to the chief men, or their friends, at Rome, to inform them that he was carrying on a secret intercourse with Antiochus, king of Syria; that he frequently received couriers from him; and that this prince had privately dispatched agents to Hannibal, to concert measures for proceeding with the war he was meditating; that as some animals are so fierce that they cannot be tamed, in like manner Hannibal was of so turbulent and implacable a spirit, that he could ill brook ease, and sooner or later would breathe war again. These reports were listened to at Rome; and as the transactions of the preceding war had been begun and carried on almost solely by Hannibal, they appeared the more probable. Scipio, however, strenuously opposed the measures which the senate meditated taking against Hannibal, on receiving this intelligence. He represented that it was derogatory to the dignity of the Roman people, to countenance the hatred and accusations of Hannibal's enemies; to support, with their authority, their unjust passions; and obstinately to persecute him even in the very heart of his country; as though the Romans had not humbled him sufficiently, in driving him out of the field, and forcing him to lay down his arms.

But, notwithstanding these prudent remonstrances, the senate appointed three commissioners to go and make their complaints to Carthage, and to demand that Hannibal should be delivered up to them. On their arrival in that city, though other motives were pretended as the cause of their mission, Hannibal was sensible that he himself was required. Accordingly, in the evening, he quitted Carthage, and retreated on board a ship which he had secretly provided for his own escape; on which occasion, contrary to his usual wont, he bewailed the fate of his country more than his own.

This was the eighth year after the conclusion of the peace, or *a.c.* 193. The first place Hannibal landed at was Tyre, where he was received with great honours. After staying some days here, he set out for Antioch, the capital of Syria, which the king had lately left; and from thence

he waited upon him at Ephesus, a city of Asia Minor, and one of the twelve of the Ionian confederation. The arrival of so renowned a general gave great pleasure to the king, and contributed to settle him in his resolution to engage in war against Rome.

The Carthaginians, justly fearing that Hannibal's escape would draw upon them the arms of the Romans, informed them that he had fled to Antiochus. They also, according to Cornelius Nepos, sent two ships to pursue him, sold his goods, destroyed his house, and, by a public decree, declared him an exile.

The Romans were much disturbed at the circumstance, and had Antiochus made a prompt use of their alarm, he might have turned it to his own advantage. The first advice that Hannibal gave that monarch, and which he frequently repeated afterwards, was to make Italy the seat of war. For this purpose, he required 100 ships, and 11,000 or 12,000 land forces, and he offered to take upon himself the command of the fleet, to cross into Africa, in order to engage the Carthaginians in the war, and afterwards to make a descent upon Italy; during which time the king himself should remain in Greece with his army, holding himself constantly in readiness to cross over into Italy, whenever it should be thought convenient. This was the only thing proper to be done, and the king at first approved of the plan.

Hannibal, in order to engage his friends at Carthage in his views, despatched thither a trusty person, with ample instructions how to proceed. This man was scarcely arrived in the city, but his business was suspected. He was for some time watched, and at last orders were issued for his being seized. He, however, prevented the vigilance of his enemies, and escaped in the night; after having fixed in several public places papers which unfolded the object of his visit. The senate immediately sent advice of this to Rome.

Villius, one of the deputies who had been sent into Asia, to inquire into the state of affairs there, and, if possible, to discover the real designs of Antiochus, found Hannibal in Ephesus. He had many conferences with him, paid him several visits, and affected esteem for him on all occasions. But his chief aim by this designing behaviour was, to cause him to be suspected, and to lessen his credit with the king, in which artifice he succeeded.

Hannibal, sensible of the coldness with which Antiochus received him, since his conferences with Villius, took no notice of it for some time; but at last deemed it advisable to come to an explanation with him, and to open his mind freely to him. "The hatred," says he, "which I bear to the Romans, is known to the whole world. I bound myself to it by an oath, from my most tender infancy. It is this hatred that made me draw the sword against Rome during thirty-six years. It is this, which, even in times of peace, has caused me to be driven from my native country, and forced me to seek an asylum in your dominions. For ever guided and fixed by the same passion, should my hopes be frustrated here, I will fly to every part of the globe, and rouse up all nations against the Romans. I hate them, and will hate them eternally; and know that they bear me no less animosity. So

long as you continue in the resolution to take up arms against them, you may rank Hannibal in the number of your best friends. But if other counsels incline you to peace, I declare to you, once for all, address yourself to others for advice, and not to me." This speech, so frank and sincere in the avowal of his sinful hatred towards the Romans, removed all the king's suspicions, and he was resolved to give Hannibal the command of part of his fleet. But the flattery of his courtiers soon after changed his mind on this subject. He was told that it was imprudent in him to put so much confidence in Hannibal, whose fortune or genius might suggest to him, in one day, a thousand projects; that this very fame which Hannibal had acquired in war, and which he considered as his peculiar inheritance, was too great for a man who fought only under the ensigns of another; that none but the king ought to be the general and conductor of the war; and that it was incumbent on him to draw upon himself alone the eyes and attention of all men; whereas, should Hannibal be employed, he would have all the glory of the successes ascribed to him.

Livy, in commenting upon this circumstance, makes this remark. "No minds," says he, "are more susceptible of envy than those whose merit is beneath their birth and dignity: such persons always abhorring virtue and worth in others for this reason alone, because they are strange and foreign to themselves." This remark was fully verified on this occasion. A low and sordid jealousy, which is the defect and characteristic of little minds, extinguished every generous sentiment in the breast of Antiochus, and Hannibal was now slighted.

In a council held some time after, in which Hannibal, for form's sake, was admitted, he, when it came to his turn to speak, endeavoured chiefly to prove that Philip of Macedonia ought, on any terms, to be engaged to form an alliance with Antiochus. "With regard," said he, "to the operations of the war, I adhere immovably to my first opinion, and had my counsels been listened to before, Tuscany and Liguria would now be all in a flame; and Hannibal—a name that strikes terror into the Romans—in Italy. Though I should not be very well skilled as to other matters, yet the good and ill success I have met with, must necessarily have taught me sufficiently how to carry on a war against the Romans. I have nothing now in my power, but to give you my counsel, and offer you my service. May the gods give success to all your undertakings!" Hannibal's speech was received with applause; but not one of his counsels was acted upon.

Antiochus, deceived by his flatterers, remained at Ephesus after the Romans had driven him out of Greece; not once imagining that they would ever invade his dominions. Hannibal, who was now restored to favour, was constantly assuring him that the war would soon be removed into Asia; that he would soon see the enemy at his gates; and that he must resolve either to abdicate his throne, or oppose vigorously a people who grasped at the empire of the world. The king was prompted by this representation to make some weak efforts; but, as his conduct was

unsteady, after sustaining losses, he was forced to terminate the war by an ignominious peace.

One of the articles of this treaty was, that Antiochus should deliver up Hannibal to the Romans; but that general escaped to Crete, now called Candia, an island facing the African sea.

The Cretians seem to have been notorious for dishonesty and falsehood; hence Cretans are called *cretenses*, to "deceive the deceiver," was a common proverb, with reference to that people. Polybius never mentions them without some severe expression; and their character is also alluded to by the apostle Paul. In the instruction he gave to Titus how to proceed in establishing the Cretians in the faith, he says— "For there are many unruly and vain talkers and deceivers, specially they of the circumcision whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake. One of themselves, even a prophet" (or poet, for the terms poet and prophet were often used indifferently both by the Greeks and Romans) "of their own, said, The Cretians are always liars, evil brawlers, slow belivers." Tit. i. 10—12. or, as the two latter phrases have been interpreted, "brutes" and "lazy gluttons."

But Hannibal showed himself able to cope with the Cretians, with reference to their avarice and deceit. The riches he had brought with him excited their avarice, and he was in some danger of being ruined by them. By a stratagem, however, he eluded their power. He filled several vessels with molten lead, the tops of which were thinly covered over with gold and silver. These he deposited in the temple of Diana, (primarily the moon,) in the presence of several Cretians, to whose honesty, he said, he confided all his treasure. A strong guard was then posted round the temple, and Hannibal left at full liberty, from a supposition that his riches were secured. But he had concealed them in hollow statues of brass, which he carried about with him. After this, embracing a favourable opportunity, he made his escape, and fled to the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia.

Hannibal made some stay in the court of Prusias, who soon engaged in war with Eumenes, king of Pergamus, a professed friend to the Romans. By means of Hannibal, the troops of Prusias gained several victories, both by land and sea. In one of the latter engagements, ever fruitful in invention to obtain the conquests over his opponents, he employed a stratagem of an extraordinary kind. As the enemy's fleet consisted of more ships than his, he put into earthen vessels all kinds of serpents, and ordered these vessels to be thrown into the enemy's ships. His chief aim was to destroy Eumenes, and for that purpose it was necessary to discover in which ship he was. This end he obtained by pretending to send a letter to him; and having gained this point, he ordered the commanders of the respective vessels to direct their attack principally against his ship. They obeyed, and would have taken it, had he not outwitted his pursuers. The rest of the ships of Pergamus sustained the fight with great vigour, till the earthen vessels had been thrown into them, and then, when they saw themselves surrounded with the serpents, which

dashed out of those vessels when they broke to pieces, they were seized with dread, retired in disorder, and yielded the victory to the enemy.

But the career of Hannibal was now drawing to a close. The Romans would not suffer him to rest at the court of Prusias; but deputed Q. Flaminius to that monarch to complain of the protection he afforded him. Hannibal was aware of the motives of this embassy, and therefore did not wait till his enemies had an opportunity of delivering him up to the power of the Romans. He attempted to secure himself by flight; but perceiving that the seven secret outlets which he had contrived in his palace were all seized by the soldiers of Prusias, who, by perfidiously betraying his guest, was desirous of gaining the favour of Rome, he ordered the poison which he had long kept for this melancholy occasion. This being brought him, taking it in his hand, he exclaimed, "Let us free the Romans from the disquiet with which they have so long been tortured, since they have not patience to wait for an old man's death." The victory which Flaminius gains over a man disarmed and betrayed, will not do him much honour. This single day will be a lasting testimony to the great degeneracy of the Romans. Their fathers sent notice to Pyrrhus, to desire he would beware of a traitor who intended to poison him, and that at a time when this prince was at war with them in the very centre of Italy; but their sons have deputed a person of consular dignity to spirit up Prusias impiously to murder one who is not only his friend, but his guest." After this, calling down curses upon Prusias, and having invoked the gods, the protectors of the sacred rights of hospitality, he drank the poison, and died at seventy years of age. The place where Hannibal died, was an obscure village, anciently called Libyssa. This has been generally supposed to be the modern Ghebse, or Ghebza, which is a small, dirty town chiefly inhabited by Turks, at some distance from the northern shore of the Gulf of Nicomedia, and remarkable for a tumulus, or mound, supposed to be the monument of that celebrated commander. A learned antiquary and classical geographer, however, (Col. Leake,) has shown this to be a mistake. He states, that Ghebza, which is pronounced Gheviza by both Turks and Greeks, is more probably the successor of Daciabyza, the word when written in Greek *Kibyza*, being probably the ancient *Daciabyza*, with the omission of the first syllable. He remarks, also, that the thirty-six or thirty-nine Roman miles, placed in the itinerary between Chalcedonia (Scutari) and Libyssa, does not agree so well with the distance from Scutari to Ghebza, as from Scutari to Malsum, which village he takes to be the ancient Libyssa. What would appear to confirm this supposition, is the circumstance of there being a long tongue of land at this village, projecting from the opposite shore, and a ferry called the ferry of the *Dil*, or Tongue, which Plutarch seems to refer to in his description of a sandy place at ancient Libyssa; his description and the promontory exactly corresponding. If Gheviza, therefore, be supposed a corruption not of Libyssa, but of Daciabyza, and if the distance of Malsum corresponds to that stated in the itinerary, and Plutarch's de-

scription of a sandy place at Libyssa has reference to the promontory of Malsum; then that village, and not Ghebse, must be regarded as the ancient Libyssa. It may be mentioned, that a tomb has been lately discovered at Malta with this plain inscription, "Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar;" a circumstance which has raised doubts in the minds of some learned men as to the soundness of the universal opinion, namely, that Hannibal died a voluntary death. Till, however, it can be shown that there was no other Hannibal, son of Hamilcar, it is better to credit the testimony of the ancient historian, which is definite on this point.

The name of Hannibal has been handed down to posterity by secular historians as one of the greatest in the annals of fame. But those who are accustomed to revere the rights of humanity, and to look upon human life as a sacred deposit on earth from God, not to be violated in man's own person, or in that of another, must drop the tear of pity over his memory, and pray that the sun in the heavens may not again shine upon such a character, and that the earth may no more be visited by such a scourge. But his deeds were the effects of that spirit of evil which especially characterizes paganism, though its effects are too often exhibited by nominal Christians. Had "the light of the knowledge of the glory of God," as it is discerned "in the face of Jesus Christ," shone with its healing influences into his heart, he would, perhaps, have been as great a blessing as he was a scourge to mankind. Thrice glorious, then, will that day be, when

"The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord,
As the waters cover the sea,"

ISA. XL. 5;

for the sword shall then rust in its scabbard, and every man shall sit

"Un'er his vine and under his fig-tree
And none shall make them afraid."

MTS. IV. 4.

Peace, through the blood of the cross, shall then flow like a river, and spread its hallowed influence over the face of the whole earth, making it as the garden of Eden, in which man will delight to dwell, and to enjoy communion with his God.

We now proceed to notice the dissensions between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of Numidia. Among the conditions of the peace granted to the Carthaginians, there was one which enacted, that they should restore to Masinissa all the territories and cities he possessed before the war; and farther, Scipio, to reward the zeal and fidelity which that monarch had shown towards the Romans, had added to his dominions those of Syphax. This present afterwards gave rise to disputes between the Carthaginians and Numidians.

These two princes, Syphax and Masinissa, were both kings in Numidia, but reigned over different nations. The subjects of Syphax were called Maassylli, and their capital was Cirta. Those of Masinissa were the Massyli; but they are better known by the name of Numidians, which was a name derived from their original pastoral life, and which was common to both.

The country which these tribes inhabited was bounded by the dominions of Carthage on the east; by the Molacha, or Molechath, the modern Malwa, or Mohalou, on the west; by the Mediterranean on the north; and by the Genui on the south. The Roman province of Numidia was of much smaller extent, this was bounded by the Ampagus on the west, and by the Tusca, corresponding to the eastern part of Algiers, on the east.

In the beginning of the second Punic war, Syphax siding with the Romans, Gais, the father of Massinissa, to check the career of so powerful a neighbour, considered it his interest to join the Carthaginians and accordingly he sent against Syphax a powerful army, under the conduct of his son, at that time but seventeen years of age Syphax being overcome in a battle, in which it is said he lost 30,000 men, escaped into Mauritania. The aspect of affairs was, however, afterwards greatly changed.

Massinissa, after his father's death, was often reduced to the brink of ruin, being driven from his kingdom by an usurper, pursued by Syphax in danger every instant of falling into the hands of his enemies, destitute of forces, money, and of every resource. He was at that time in alliance with the Romans, and the first of Scipio, with whom he had an interview in Spain. But his misfortunes would not permit him to bring great succours to that general. When Lælius arrived in Africa, Massinissa joined him with a few horse, and from that time continued invariably attached to the Roman interest. Syphax, on the contrary having married Sophonisba, daughter of Hadrubal who is celebrated in history for her beauty, went over to the Carthaginians.

The fate of these two princes again changed, but the change was now final. Syphax lost a great battle and was taken alive by the enemy. He was then sent to Massinissa, the victor, besieged Lirta, his capital, and took it. But he met with a greater danger in that city than in the field. This was Sophonisba, whose charms he was unable to resist. To secure this princess, he married her but a few days after he was obliged to send her poison as her nuptial present, this being the only way he could devise to keep his promise with Sophonisba, and preserve her from the power of the Romans. This was a great error, and one that could not fail to disoblige a nation jealous of its authority. But Massinissa according to the notions of those days made some amends for his fault, by the signal services he afterwards rendered to Scipio.

We observed, that after the defeat and capture of Syphax, the dominions of this prince were bestowed upon Massinissa, and that the Carthaginians were forced to restore all that he had previously possessed. This it was that gave rise to the dissensions between the two states.

A territory situate towards the sea-side, near the Lesser Syrtis, was the object of contention. The country was very rich, and the soil extremely fruitful, a proof of which is, that the city of Leptis alone, which belonged to that territory, paid the Carthaginians a talent daily, by way of tribute. Massinissa had seized part of this territory. Each side sent deputies to Rome to plead

the cause of their respective superiors before the senate. This assembly thought proper to send Scipio Africanus, with two other commissioners, to examine the controversy upon the spot; but these returned without coming to any decision.

Ten years after, a.c. 180, new commissioners having been appointed to examine the same affair, they acted as the former had done, and left the whole undetermined.

The Carthaginians brought their complaint about a.c. 170, again before the Roman senate, and with greater importunity. They represented, that besides the lands at first contested, Massinissa had, during the two preceding years, dispossessed them of upwards of seventy towns and castles, that the treaty forbade their making war upon any of the allies of Rome, that they could no longer endure the insolence, avarice, and cruelty of that prince, that they were deputed to Rome with three requests — 1, that the affair ought to be examined and decided by the senate; 2 that they might be permitted to repel force by force; and 3, that if favour were to prevail over justice, they then intreated the Romans to specify which of the Carthaginian lands they were desirous should be given up to Massinissa, that they might know what they had to depend on; and that the Roman people would show some moderation at a time that this prince set so other bounds to his pretensions than his insatiable avarice. The deputies concluded with beseeching the Romans that if they had any cause of complaint against the Carthaginians, since the conclusion of the last peace, they themselves would punish them and not give them up to the caprice of a prince by whom their liberties were made precarious, and their lives insupportable. After ending their speech, pierced with grief, and shedding floods of tears they fell prostrate upon the earth — a spectacle that moved all present with compassion and raised a violent hatred against Massinissa.

Calpurnia the son of Massinissa, was present and being asked what he had to urge in this affair, answered that his father had not given him any instructions, not knowing what would be laid to his charge. He only desired the senate to reflect that the circumstance which drew all this hatred upon him from the Carthaginians was the fidelity with which he had always been attached to the Romans.

The senate after hearing both sides, answered, that they were inclined to do justice to whom it might be due, that Calpurnia should set out immediately with their orders to his father, who was thereby commanded immediately to send deputies with those of Carthage, that they would do all that lay in their power to serve him, but not to the prejudice of the Carthaginians, that it was but just the ancient limits should be preserved, and that it was far from being the intention of the Romans to have the Carthaginians robbed during the peace of those territories and cities which had been left them by the treaty.

But all these assurances were vain. The Romans did not once endeavour to satisfy the Carthaginians, or to do them the least justice, and they evidently protracted the business on purpose to give Massinissa time to establish himself in his usurpation, and to weaken Carthage.

A new deputation, *B.C.* 155, was sent to examine the affairs upon the spot; but nothing could be agreed upon. Cato, the elder, was one of the commissioners at this time. That inflexible old man inspected every part of the great commercial city; and being astonished at the sight of its still remaining wealth and magnificence, persuaded himself that nothing but its ruin could insure the dominion of Rome. Hence the well-known burden of his address to the senate on his return, "Carthage must be destroyed." From that time, indeed, whatever affair was debated in the senate, Cato always added these words to his opinion: "Carthage must be destroyed." Some of the Roman senators, however, and Scipio Nasica among the rest, were for conciliatory measures.

In the mean time, divisions broke out in Carthage. The popular faction, having become more powerful than that of the grandees and senators, sent forty citizens into banishment, and bound the people by an oath never to suffer the least mention to be made of recalling those exiles. They withdrew to the court of Masinissa, who despatched Galussa and Micipsa, his two sons, to Carthage, to solicit their recall. The gates of the city were shut against them, and one of them was closely pursued by Hamilcar, one of the generals of the republic.

This gave occasion to a new war; and accordingly, armies were levied on both sides. A battle was fought, the result of which was, the defeat of the Carthaginians. Scipio, who afterwards ruined Carthage, was a spectator of this strife. During the whole engagement, he stood upon a neighbouring hill; and, if we may credit his own words, beheld the fearful scene with pleasure. He used to say, indeed, that there were but two more who had the pleasure of being spectators of such an action; namely, Jupiter from Mount Ida, and Neptune from Samothrace, when the Greeks and Trojans fought before Troy, alluding to some passages in the *Iliad* of Homer: see Books VIII. and XIII. If Scipio did thus feel pleased, his heart was indeed void of humanity; for many thousands of his fellow-creatures were engaged in destroying each other, a sight sufficient, one would think, to appal the stoutest heart, and to have made him utter sentiments similar to those of the Christian poet:—

"On for a lodge in some vast wilderness,
Some boundless contiguity of shade,
Where rumour of oppression and deceit,
Of unsuccessful or successful war,
Might never reach me more."—*COWPER*.

After the battle was over, the Carthaginians intreated Scipio to terminate their conflict with Masinissa. Accordingly, he heard both parties; and the Carthaginians consented to yield up the territory of Euphorium, which had been the first cause of dispute, to pay Masinissa 200 talents of silver at once, and 800 more at such times as should be agreed. But Masinissa insisting upon the return of the exiles, and the Carthaginians being unwilling to agree to such a proposition, the affair was left undecided.

Immediately after the battle was over, Masinissa had blocked up the enemy's camp, which was pitched upon a hill, whither neither troops nor provisions could come. During this inter-

val, deputies arrived from Rome with orders from the senate to decide the quarrel, should the king be defeated; otherwise to leave it undetermined, and to give him the strongest assurance of their continued friendship. The deputies complied with the last perfidious injunction. In the mean time, the famine increased daily among the Carthaginians, and, to add to their calamity, it was followed by a plague. Being reduced to the last extremity they surrendered to Masinissa, promising to deliver up the deserters, to pay him 5000 talents of silver in fifty years, and restore the exiles. They farther submitted to the ignominious ceremony of passing under the yoke, (two forked poles and a spear laid across,) after which they were dismissed, with only one garment for each. But not all those who had escaped the battle, famine, and the plague, returned home. Galussa, in revenge for the ill treatment which he had previously received from the Carthaginians, notwithstanding these soldiers were unarmed and defenceless, sent out against them a body of cavalry who destroyed great numbers of them. Very few out of 55,000 men returned to Carthage to tell their sad tale of woe.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.

The third Punic war was commenced 149 years *B.C.*, and continued its ravages during the three succeeding years. It is chiefly remarkable for its result; for it ended in the utter destruction of Carthage.

The inhabitants of Carthage knew what they now had to fear from the Romans; and to prevent the consequences of it, Hasdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces, were, by a decree of the senate, impeached as guilty of high treason, for being the authors of a war against Masinissa. They then sent a deputation to Rome, to inquire what opinion that republic entertained of their late proceedings, and what was desired of them. The deputies were answered, that it was the business of the senate and people of Carthage to know what satisfaction was due to the Romans. A second deputation could obtain no clearer reply to their inquiries, and they were filled with alarm. Recollecting their past sufferings, they fancied the enemy was already at their gates, and they endured in imagination all the consequences of a siege, and of a city taken sword in hand.

At Rome, the senate debated on the measures it would be proper for them to take, and the disputes between Cato, the elder, and Scipio Nasica, whose opinions differed on this subject, were renewed. The former, as we have seen, on his return from Africa, had declared, that Carthage, being still a powerful city, ought to be destroyed, in order to secure the safety and pre-eminence of Rome. It is farther said, that, after he had ended his speech, he threw out of the lap of his robe, in the midst of the senate, some African figs; and, as the senators admired their beauty and size, "Know," says he, "that it is but three days since these figs were gathered. Such is the distance between the enemy and us."

Cato and Nasica had each their reasons for voting as they did. Nasica, observing that the

people of Rome had risen to such a height of insolence, as led them into excesses of every kind; that their prosperity had swelled them into a pride which the senate itself could not check; and that their power was become so enormous, that they were able to draw the city into every wild design they might undertake,—thought it was desirable they should continue in fear of Carthage, in order that this feeling might serve as a restraint upon them. It was his opinion that the Carthaginians were too weak to subdue the Romans; and, at the same time, too strong to be considered by them in a contemptible light. Cato, on the other hand, thought that, as his countrymen had become insolent by success, and plunged headlong into profligacy of every kind, nothing could be more dangerous than for them to have for a rival and an enemy, a city that till now had been powerful, but was become, even by its misfortunes, more wise and provident, and consequently more to be feared than ever. He advised, therefore, the removal of the fears of the Romans entirely with regard to a foreign power, that they might freely indulge themselves in excesses of every kind, without fear of molestation.

Which of these two reasoned most wisely, the event showed. "The first Scipio," says Paterculus, speaking of the Romans, "had laid the foundations of their future grandeur; and the last, by his conquests, opened a door to all manner of luxury and dissoluteness. For, after Carthage, which obliged Rome to stand for ever on its guard, by disputing empire with that city, had been totally destroyed, the depravity of manners was no longer slow in its progress, but swelled at once into the utmost excess of corruption."

The senate resolved to declare war against the Carthaginians; and the reasons urged for it were, their having maintained ships contrary to the tenor of the treaty, and their having sent an army out of their territories against a prince who was in alliance with Rome, and whose son they had treated ill, at the time that he was accompanied by a Roman ambassador.

An event which occurred at the time the senate of Rome was debating on the affairs of Carthage, doubtless contributed very much to make them take that resolution. This was the arrival of deputies from Utica, who came to surrender up themselves, their effects, their lands, and their city into the hands of the Romans. Nothing could have occurred more seasonably. Utica was the second city of Africa, very rich, and had a commodious port. It stood within 60 furlongs of Carthage, so that it might serve as a place of arms in the attack of that city. The Romans now hesitated no longer, but formally proclaimed war. M. Manilius and L. Marcian Censorinus the two consuls, were desired to set out as soon as possible; and they had secret orders from the senate not to end the war but by the destruction of Carthage. The consuls immediately left Rome, and stopped at Lilybæum, in Sicily. They had a considerable fleet, on board of which were 80,000 foot, and about 4000 horse soldiers.

The Carthaginians were not yet acquainted with the resolutions which had been taken at

Rome. The answer brought back by the deputies had only increased their fears, and made them pause to know what course to take. At length they sent new deputies, whom they invested with full powers to act as they should think proper, and even to declare, that the Carthaginians gave up themselves, and all they possessed, to the will and pleasure of the Romans. They did not, however, expect any success from this condescension, because, as the Uticans had been beforehand with them on that occasion, this circumstance had deprived them of the merit of a voluntary submission.

The deputies, on their arrival at Rome, were informed that war had been proclaimed, and that the army was sent out. The Romans had despatched a courier to Carthage, with the decree of the senate, and to inform that city that the Roman fleet had sailed. The deputies, therefore, had no time for deliberation, but delivered up themselves, and all they possessed, to the Romans. In consequence of this behaviour, they were answered, that since they had at last taken a right step, the senate granted them their liberty, the enjoyment of their laws, and all their territories, and other possessions, whether public or private, provided that, within thirty days, they should send as hostages, to Lilybæum, 300 young Carthaginians of the first rank, and comply with the orders of the consuls. This last condition filled them with the deepest anxiety, which would not allow them to make a reply, or demand an explanation. They therefore set out for Carthage, and there gave an account of their embassy.

All the articles of the treaty were extremely severe with regard to the Carthaginians; but the silence of the Romans with respect to the cities perplexed them exceedingly. But all they could do was to obey. After the many losses the Carthaginians had sustained, they were by no means able to resist the Romans. Troops, provisions, ships, allies, and everything were wanting, and hope and vigour more than all the rest.

The Carthaginians did not wait till the thirty days were expired, but sent immediately the hostages demanded, in hope of softening the enemy by a willing obedience. These hostages were the flower of the noblest families of Carthage. Never was any spectacle more moving; nothing was heard but cries, nothing seen but tears. The disconsolate mother of each hostage, bathed in tears, tore her dishevelled hair, beat her breasts, and, as if grief and despair had distracted her, yelled in such a manner, as might have moved to pity the most stony heart. But the scene was more touching when the moments of separation was come. Each tender parent persuaded that they should never see their offspring more, bathed them with their tears, clasped them with eager fondness in their embraces, and force alone could dis sever them from their arms. The hostages having arrived in Sicily, were carried from thence to Rome, and the consuls told the deputies, that when they should arrive at Utica, they would acquaint them with the orders of the republic.

Nothing is more painful than a state of uncertainty, which, without descending to particulars,

gives occasion to the mind to picture to itself every species of misery. As soon as it was known that the fleet had arrived at Utica, the deputies repaired to the Roman camp, signifying that they were come in the name of their republic, in order to receive their commands, which they were ready to obey. The consul, after praising their good disposition and compliance, commanded them to deliver up to him, without fraud or delay, all their arms. This they consented to, but besought him to reflect on the pitiable condition to which he was reducing them at a time when Hasdrubal, whose quarrel against them was owing to no other cause than their perfect submission to the orders of the Romans, was advancing to their gates with an army of 20,000 men. The answer returned them was that the Romans would look to that matter.

This order was immediately put into execution: 200,000 complete sets of armour, numerous darts and javelins, and 2000 balistæ, or catapults, were put into the hands of the Romans. They were accompanied by the deputies, the senators and priests of Carthage, who came purposely to move the Romans to compassion. But there was no pity for them. Censorinus, the consul, affected at first some kindness to, and affection for them; but suddenly assuming a severe countenance, he exclaimed, "I cannot but commend the readiness with which you execute the orders of the senate. They have commanded me to tell you, that it is their absolute will and pleasure that you depart out of Carthage, which they have resolved to destroy; and that you remove into any other part of your dominions which you shall think proper, provided it be at the distance of eighty stadia, or twelve miles, from the sea."

The instant this unjust and fulminating decree was pronounced, nothing was heard among the Carthaginians but the most lamentable outcries. They rolled themselves in the dust, tore their hair, and vented their grief by broken sighs and groans. Afterwards, being somewhat recovered, they lifted up their hands with the air of supplicants, one moment towards heaven, and the next to the Romans, imploring their mercy and justice. But being unheeded, they changed their prayers into reproaches and imprecations, bidding the Romans remember that there were avenging deities whose eyes ever observed guilt and treachery. The Romans themselves could not refrain from tears at so moving a spectacle, but their resolution was fixed. The deputies could not even prevail so far as to have the execution of the order suspended till they should have an opportunity of presenting themselves again before the senate, to attempt, if possible, its revocation.

The people waited the return of the deputation with impatience; and when they did return, it was scarcely possible for them to break through the assembled multitude, who flocked around them to hear their answer. When they were come before the senate, and had declared the barbarous order of the Romans, a general shriek told the people of their fate; and from that instant they gave themselves up to despair.

The consuls made no great haste to march

against Carthage, not suspecting that they had now anything to fear. But the despair of the inhabitants again armed them. They took the opportunity of this delay to put themselves into a posture of defence, being unanimously resolved not to quit the city. They appointed as general without the walls, Hasdrubal, who was at the head of 20,000 men, and to whom deputies were sent, accordingly, to entreat him to forget, for his country's sake, the injustice which had been done him, from the dread they were under of the Romans. The command of the troops within the walls was given to another Hasdrubal, grandson of Masinissa. They then applied themselves to the manufacture of arms. The temples, the palaces, the open markets and squares, were all changed into so many arsenals, where men and women worked day and night. Every day were made 140 shields, 300 swords, 500 javelins, 1000 arrows, and a great number of engines for their discharge; and because they wanted material to make ropes, the women cut off their hair to supply the need.

At length, the consuls advanced towards the city in order to besiege it. As they now expected nothing less than a vigorous resistance, the resolution and the courage of the besieged filled them with astonishment. The Carthaginians were ever making the boldest sallies, in order to repulse the besiegers, to burn their engines, and harass their foragers. Censorinus attacked the city on one side, and Manilius on the other. Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, served then as tribune in the army, and distinguished himself above the rest of the officers, both by his prudence and his bravery. The consul, under whom he fought, committed many oversights by refusing to follow his advice; he extricated the troops from many dangers into which the imprudence of their leaders had plunged them; and his enemies did not venture to keep the field when it was his turn to co-operate with the consuls. His valour and his merit, indeed, drew over to the Roman interest Phamæas one of the Carthaginian officers, with above 2000 horse, which band was of great service at the siege.

Calpurnius Piso, the consul, and L. Mancinus, his lieutenant, arrived in Africa in the beginning of the next spring. Nothing remarkable was transacted during this campaign. The Romans were even defeated on several occasions, and the siege of Carthage advanced slowly. The besieged, on the contrary, had recovered their spirits. Their troops were considerably increased; they daily obtained new allies; and even sent an express as far as Macedonia to the counterfeit Philip, who pretended to be the son of Perseus, and was then engaged in a war with the Romans, to exhort him to carry it on with vigour, and promising to furnish him with money and ships.

This news caused great uneasiness at Rome. The people began to doubt the success of this war. As much as they were dissatisfied with the supineness of the generals, and exclaimed against their conduct, so much did they unanimously agree in applauding young Scipio, and extolling his virtues. He was now come to Rome, in order to stand candidate for the edileship. The instant he appeared in the assembly, his name,

countenance, and reputation, led to a general persuasion that he was designed to end the third Punic war, as the first Scipio, his grandfather, had terminated the second. These several circumstances made a very strong impression on the people; and, though it was contrary to law, and therefore opposed by the ancient men, instead of the edibility which he sued for, the consulship was conferred upon him, and Africa assigned him for his province, without casting lots as usual, and as Drusus his colleague demanded.

Scipio soon after arrived in Utica. His first care after his arrival was to revive discipline among the troops, which had been entirely neglected. He drove from the camp all useless persons, settled the quality of the provisions he would have brought in by the sutlers, and allowed only such as were plain and fit for soldiers. After these regulations were made, he prepared to carry on the siege with vigour. Having ordered his troops to provide themselves with axes, levers, and scaling-ladders, he led them silently, in the dead of the night, to that district of the city called Megara; when, ordering them to give a sudden and general shout, he attacked it with great vigour. The enemy were at first in the utmost alarm: they defended themselves, however, so courageously, that Scipio could not scale the walls. But perceiving a tower that was forsaken, and which stood without the city, very near the walls, he detached thither a party of soldiers, who, by the help of pontoons, or a sort of moveable bridge, got from the tower on the walls, and from thence into Megara, the gates of which they broke down. Scipio entered it immediately, and drove the Carthaginians out of that post terrified at this unexpected assault, and imagining that the whole city was taken, they fled into the citadel, whither they were followed by the forces that were encamped without the city.

It will be proper to give here some account of the situation and dimensions of Carthage, which in the beginning of the war against the Romans contained 700,000 inhabitants. It stood at the bottom of a gulf, surrounded by the sea, and in the form of a peninsula, whose neck, that is, the isthmus which joined it to the continent, was twenty-five stadia, or a league and a quarter, in breadth. The peninsula was 360 stadia, or forty-five miles round. On the west side, there projected from it a long neck of land, half a stadium, or about seventy feet broad; which, advancing into the sea, divided it from a morass, and was fenced on all sides with rocks and a single wall. On the south side, towards the continent, where stood the citadel called Byrsa, the city was surrounded by a triple wall, thirty cubits, or about forty-five feet, high, exclusive of the parapets and towers with which it was flanked all round at equal distances, each interval being fourscore fathoms, or about 480 feet. Every tower was four stories high and the walls but two; they were arched, and in the lower part were stalls to hold 300 elephants with their fodder, and over these were stables for 4000 horses, and lofts for their food. There, likewise, was room enough to lodge 20,000 foot, and 4000 horse soldiers. All these were contained within the walls alone.

In one place only the walls were weak and low, and that was a neglected angle which began at the neck of land above mentioned, and extended as far as the harbours which were on the west side. Of these there were two, which communicated with each other, but had only one entrance, seventy feet broad, shut up with chains. The first was appropriated for the merchants, and had several distinct habitations for the seamen. The second, or inner harbour, was for the ships of war, in the midst of which stood an island called Cothon, lined, as the harbour was, with large quays, in which were distinct receptacles for sheltering from the weather 220 ships. Over these were magazines, or storehouses, wherein was lodged whatever was necessary for arming and equipping fleets. The entrance into each of these receptacles was adorned with two marble pillars of the Ionic order; so that both the harbour and the island represented on each side two magnificent galleries. In this island was the admiral's palace; and as it stood opposite to the mouth of the harbour, he could from thence discover whatever was doing at sea; but no one from thence could discern the transactions within the harbour. The merchants, in like manner, had no prospect of the men-of-war; the two ports being separated by a double wall, each having its particular gate, that led to the city, without passing through the other.

Hasdrubal, perceiving at daybreak the ignominious defeat of his troops, in order that he might be revenged on the Romans, and at the same time deprive the inhabitants of all hopes of accommodation and pardon, brought all the Roman prisoners he had taken upon the walls, in sight of the whole army. He there put them to the most exquisite tortures, and then threw them down from the battlements. The Carthaginians themselves were filled with horror at the sight; but he did not spare even them; he destroyed many senators who had ventured to oppose his tyranny.

Finding himself master of the isthmus, Scipio burned the camp which the enemy had deserted, and built a new one for his troops. It was of a square form, surrounded with large and deep intrenchments, and fenced with strong palisades. On the side which faced Carthage, he built a wall twelve feet high, flanked at proper distances with towers and redoubts; and on the middle tower he erected a very high wooden fort, from whence could be seen all that was doing in the city. This wall was equal to the whole breadth of the isthmus, that is, twenty-four stadia, or four miles and three quarters. The enemy who were within bow-shot of it, employed their utmost efforts to stop this work; but as the whole army were employed upon it constantly, it was finished in twenty-four days. Scipio reaped a twofold advantage from this work: first, his forces were lodged more securely than heretofore; secondly, he cut off all provisions from the besieged, except those which were brought by sea. This was one of the chief causes of the famine which soon after raged in the city.

To distress them still more by the want of provisions, Scipio attempted to stop up the mouth of the haven by a mole beginning at the above-mentioned neck of land, which was near the

harbour. At first, the besieged looked upon this attempt as ridiculous, and they insulted the workmen; but at last, seeing them make an astonishing progress every day, they began to fear the result, and to take such measures as might render the attempt unsuccessful. Every one, even the women and children, worked, but so secretly, that all Scipio could learn from the prisoners was, that they heard a great noise in the harbour, but did not know the occasion of it. At length, the Carthaginians opened on a sudden, a new outlet on the other side of the haven, and appeared at sea with a numerous fleet, which they had just then built with the old materials found in their magazines. It is thought, that had they attacked the Roman fleet directly, they must have taken it, inasmuch as it was unarmed; but the ruin of Carthage, says the historian, was decreed: having only offered a bravado to the Romans, they returned into the harbour.

Two days after, they appeared again for the purpose of taking the Roman fleet, but they found the enemy ready for them. This battle was to determine the fate of both parties. The conflict was fearful, each exerting themselves to the utmost. During the battle, the Carthaginian brigantines running along under the large Roman ships, broke to pieces sometimes their sterns, and at other times their rudders and oars; and when attacked, they retreated with surprising swiftness, and as swiftly returned to the charge. At length, after the two armies had fought with equal success till sunset, the Carthaginians retired. Part of their ships not being able to run swiftly enough into the harbour, by reason of its narrow mouth, took shelter under a spacious terrace which had been thrown up against the walls to unload the goods, on the side of which a small rampart had been raised to prevent the enemy from possessing themselves of it. Here the strife was renewed with redoubled vigour, and the Carthaginians suffered very much; but few ships escaped, and they sailed to the city for refuge. The next morning, Scipio attacked the terrace, and carried it; after which, he made a lodgment there, fortified himself on it, and built a brick wall close to that of the city, of the same height. When it was completed, he commanded 4000 men to get on the top of it, and to discharge from it a perpetual shower of darts and arrows which did great execution. With this achievement this campaign was closed.

During the winter, Scipio endeavoured to overpower the enemy's troops without the city. For this purpose he attacked a neighbouring fort, called Nephesis, where they sheltered themselves. In this action, a great number of Carthaginians and peasants who had enlisted were slain, and the fort was taken after sustaining a siege of twenty-two days. The capture of this fort was followed by the surrender of almost all the strongholds in Africa; and it contributed very much to the downfall of Carthage itself, into which, from that time, it was almost impossible to introduce any provisions.

Early in the next spring, Scipio attacked, at the same time, the harbour called Cothon and the citadel. Having possessed himself of the wall which surrounded this port, he threw himself into the great square of the city that was

near it, from whence was an ascent to the citadel, up three streets, on each side of which were houses, from the top whereof a shower of darts was discharged upon the Romans, who were obliged, before they could advance farther, to force the houses they came first to, and post themselves in them, in order to dislodge from thence the enemy who fought from the neighbouring houses. The combat was carried on for six successive days, during which time a dreadful slaughter was made.

There was every reason to fear that the siege would last much longer, and occasion a still greater effusion of blood; but on the seventh day there appeared a company of men in the posture and habit of suppliants, who desired no other conditions than that the Romans would please to spare the lives of those who should be willing to leave the citadel. This request was complied with, the deserters only excepted. Accordingly, there came out 50,000 men and women, who were sent into the field under a strong guard. The deserters who were about 900, finding they would not be allowed quarter, fortified themselves in the temple of Esculapius, (the god of medicine in ancient mythology,) with Hasdrubal, his wife, and two children; where, though their number was but small, they might have withstood the enemy a long time, because the temple was situate upon high rocks, the only ascent to which was by sixty steps. But at length, exhausted by hunger and watching, and oppressed with fear, they lost all patience, abandoning the lower part of the temple, they retired to the uppermost story, resolving not to quit it, but with their lives.

Hasdrubal, however, being desirous of saving his own life, came down privately to Scipio, carrying an olive-branch in his hand, and threw himself at his feet. Scipio showed him immediately to the deserters, who, transported with rage at the sight, vented bitter imprecations against him, and set fire to the temple. Whilst it was kindling, it is said, that Hasdrubal's wife, dressing herself as splendidly as possible, and placing herself and two children in sight of Scipio, addressed him with a loud voice thus: "I call not down curses upon thy head, O Roman; for thou only takest the privilege allowed by the laws of war: but may the gods of Carthage, and thou in concert with them, punish according to his deserts, the false wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife, his children!" Then directing herself to Hasdrubal, "Perfidious wretch," said she, "thou basest of men, this fire will presently consume both me and my children, but as to thee, unworthy general of Carthage, go, adorn the gay triumph of thy conqueror; suffer in the sight of all Rome the tortures thou so justly deservest." She had no sooner pronounced these words, than seizing her children, she slew them, cast them into the flames, and afterwards rushed into them herself; in which act she was imitated by all the deserters.

Reader, this tragical act which the wife of Hasdrubal committed, is one of the most appalling incidents recorded in the pages of this history. A sacred writer has spoken of the abandonment of her offspring by a fond mother as next to as

impossibility; but in this instance they perish by a mother's hand. Evil, indeed, must that source be, which can produce such bitter fruits as these. We say bitter; for though the heathen world looked upon such deeds with complacency, and even as the results of heroism and high-born virtue, to a Christian, whose standard of heroism and virtue is far more exalted than theirs, such a deed as this must be considered one of the foulest crimes that ever stained the annals of paganism. Christian parents, rejoice in that ye are blessed with the light of the gospel dispensation—in that ye are taught to suffer evils with such exalted patience as to possess your souls; to regard your offspring with filial love and tenderness, and as the gifts of a beneficent Creator unto whom you are responsible for your treatment of them. Your system of moral duties both towards God and towards man is pure indeed! Study them, and act up to them, as unfolded in the pages of Holy Writ, and they will not only preserve you from crime, but impart unto you happiness in time and in eternity.

And, with regard to Scipio, when he saw this celebrated city, which had flourished for 700 years, entirely ruined, he could not forbear weeping at its hapless fate. He reflected, that cities, nations, and empires, are liable to revolutions no less than private men—that a similar fate had befallen Troy, anciently so powerful; and in later times the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, whose dominions were once of such vast extent; and very recently, the Macedonians, whose empire had been so glorious throughout the world. Full of these mournful ideas, he repeated the following lines from Homer:—

"The day shall come, that great avenging day,
Which Troy's proud glories in the dust shall lay;
When Priam's powers, and Priam's self shall fall,
And one predigious ruin swallow all."—*Pora.*

He thereby pronounced the future destiny of Rome, as he himself confessed to Polybius, who desired Scipio on that occasion to explain himself.

Had Scipio been a Christian, he would have discovered what we are taught by the wise son of Sirach. "Because of unrighteous dealings," says he, "injuries and riches got by deceit, a kingdom is translated from one people to another." He would have exclaimed,

"Say among the heathen, that the Lord is length"
Psa. xcvi. 10.

Carthage is destroyed because its idolatry, avarice, perfidiousness, and cruelty have attained their utmost height; and when the measure of the iniquities of Rome is filled up; when its luxury, pride, and unjust usurpations, concealed beneath a specious glare of justice and virtue, have reached their limits, it will experience a similar fate. The sovereign Lord, the disposer of empires, who "patteth down one and setteth up another," shall give the universe an important lesson in its downfall.

Carthage being thus taken, Scipio gave the plunder of it—the gold, silver, statues, and other offerings in the temples excepted—to his soldiers. He afterwards bestowed several military rewards on them, as well as on the officers, two of whom

Tiberius Gracchus and Caius Flaminius, had particularly distinguished themselves. After this, adorning a small ship with the enemy's spoils, he sent it to Rome, with the news of the capture of Carthage. This event occurred 146 years A.C.

At the same time, he invited the inhabitants of Sicily to come and take possession of the paintings and statues of which the Carthaginians had plundered them in the former war. When he restored to the citizens of Agrigentum the famous bull of Phalaris, he told them that this bull, which was at once a monument of the cruelty of their ancient kings, and of the lenity of their present rulers, ought to make them sensible which would be most advantageous for them, to live under the yoke of the Sicilians, or the government of the Romans.

Having exposed to sale part of the spoils of Carthage, he commanded his family not to take or even buy any of them; so careful was he to remove from himself, and all belonging to him, the least suspicion of avarice.

When the news of taking Carthage was brought to Rome, the people abandoned themselves to the most immoderate transports of joy, as though the public tranquillity had not been secure till that instant. They revolved in their minds all the calamities which the Carthaginians had brought upon them in Sicily, Spain, and Italy; for seventeen years together; during which time Hannibal had plundered 400 towns, destroyed, in different engagements, 500,000 men, and reduced Rome itself to the verge of ruin. Amidst the remembrance of these evils, the people in Rome would ask one another whether it were really true that Carthage was in ashes. All ranks and degrees of men strove who should show the greatest gratitude towards their idol gods; and the citizens were for many days employed in solemn sacrifices, public prayers, games, and spectacles.

After this the senate sent ten commissioners into Africa, to regulate, in conjunction with Scipio, the fate and condition of that country for the future. Their first care was to demolish whatever was still remaining of Carthage, which they did by fire. Rome, though mistress of almost the whole world, could not believe herself safe as long as even the name of Carthage was in being. So true it is, that an inveterate hatred, fomented by long and soul-hardening wars, lasts even beyond the time when all cause of fear is removed; and does not cease till the object that occasions it is no more.

But the enemy of Rome did not stop here. Orders were given in the name of the Romans that it should never be inhabited again; and dreadful imprecations were denounced against those who, contrary to this prohibition, should attempt to rebuild any part of it, especially those called Byrsa and Megara. In the mean time, every one who desired it, was admitted to see Carthage; Scipio being well pleased to exhibit the ruins of a city which had contended with Rome for empire. The commissioners decreed farther, that those cities which, during this war, had joined with the enemy, should all be razed, and their territories given to the Roman allies. They particularly made a grant to the citizens of Utica of the whole country between Carthage

undid it. All the rest they made arbitrary, and reduced it into a Roman province, whither a praetor was sent annually.

These offices being settled, Scipio returned to Rome, where he made his entry in triumph. Such a magnificent day had never been seen before; it exhibited the statues, invaluable paintings, and other curiosities which the Carthaginians had for many years been collecting in other countries; not to mention the money carried into the public treasury.

Notwithstanding the great precautions which were taken to hinder Carthage from being rebuilt, in less than thirty years after, one of the Gracchi, to ingratiate himself with the people, undertook to found it anew, and conducted thither a colony consisting of 6000 citizens for that purpose. The senate, hearing that the workmen had been terrified by many unlucky omens, at the time they were tracing the limits and laying the foundation of the new city, would have suspended the attempt; but the tribune, not being scrupulous in such matters, carried on, and completed the work. This was the first Roman colony that was ever sent out of Italy.

There are still remains to be seen on this coast which are generally believed to be those of Roman Carthage. The town was called Colonia Carthago. It stood on the south-east part of the peninsula between Cape Carthage and Goletta, and it occupied but a small part of the site of the old city. It rose to considerable splendour, had its Cothon, or harbour, and became the first city of Africa while that continent was under the sway of the Romans. It is known in Christian history for its councils, and for the spiritual labours of St. Augustine. It was taken by the Vandals under Genseric, A.D. 439; retaken by Belisarius, A.D. 533; and finally destroyed by the Saracens, in 869, after existing about seven centuries.

In concluding this history, it may not be uninteresting to glance at the various causes which led to the downfall of Carthage: for Carthage had its "decline and fall" the same as Rome; and it was the work of ages to complete its destruction.

The epoch at which the internal decay of Carthage must be dated, was its first peace with Rome. The seeds of evil, however, were sown at a much earlier date: these were the bribery practised at elections, and the accumulation of several high offices in the same person. These, doubtless, had a pernicious effect upon the community, although it is clear that the spirit of the constitution of Carthage had not degenerated before the first war with Rome. At that time it was that the seeds of corruption were sown, and the man who sowed them was Hamilcar Barca; the founder of that house which so manfully sought to prop up the tottering fabric of the state. It was Hamilcar Barca who signed the treaty which deprived the republic of its great bulwark, Sicily; and he it was that gave rise to the Libyan war, by making too large promises to those soldiers who fought under him in Sicily. For this he was impeached, and to secure himself from danger he formed for himself a party among the people. Hamilcar was acquitted; and, sup-

ported by the populace, he became sole general of the Carthaginians. It was in this manner that an aristocratic and a democratic party were formed in the republic; and the latter prevailed. The constitution, during the wars with the Romans, became, as Polybius observes, chiefly democratical; and he describes the victory of the Romans to this cause. How far the people succeeded in gaining power is proved by the fact that Hamilcar Barca, their leader, undertook the expedition into Spain without the consent of the senate; and he was only exasperated by the aristocracy from its fortunate results. It was the prosecution of this project, however, that shook the entire fabric of the Carthaginian republic to its foundation. The silver of Spain, the ancient Peru, flowed into the treasury of Carthage; but at the same time Hamilcar used some to keep alive the spirit of his faction. Hamilcar died, but his spirit lived in his son Hasdrubal. It was in his time that the power of the Barcine faction began to exhibit itself in an alarming manner. The wealth of Spain still flowed towards Carthage, but Hasdrubal used it likewise for his own aggrandisement. He built a new capital, with regal splendour—New Carthage; he married the daughter of one of the kings of Spain; and he endeavoured to lay the foundation of an independent dominion in that country. In the midst of his visions of glory Hasdrubal was cut off by assassination, and Hannibal, his brother, was named his successor, first by the army, and afterwards by the senate. But at this time the aristocratic party found means to gain over the people, and designed to bring those persons to account whom the bribes of Hamilcar and Hasdrubal had so much enriched. Hannibal, therefore, was in danger of having his power undermined; for it was on their partisans that the family of Barca mainly rested at this time for their support. At its origin, indeed, the Barcine faction espoused the cause of the people, but the wealth of Spain had changed their policy. They corrupted the senate, in which the Barcas had decided preponderance, if not at the first, yet at the commencement of the second war with Rome. But that Hannibal had a strong party in the senate on his accession to the government in Spain is manifest from the fact that he commenced the war with Rome sooner than he otherwise would have done, in order to maintain himself and party from the danger of the coalition formed by his opponents in the senate with the people. His heroic valour in the first war with Rome put them to silence, and henceforth himself and his party ruled dominant in Carthage. Armies and supplies were sent him on demand from the senate through all his struggles against the Romans, whether he fought with them in Spain, or in Italy. Faction, therefore, was one of the leading causes of the downfall of Carthage. It not only corrupted the people by bribes, but it led to a war the issue of which was certain from the beginning. For, though the family of the Barcas were lion-hearted generals, and possessed consummate skill in war, yet they had not the materials to work with whereby they could insure success. As Heron observes: "Rome trusted to itself and its sword; Carthage to its gold and its mercenaries."

then. The greatness of Rome was founded upon a rock; that of Carthage upon sand and gold-dust."

Such were the leading causes which led to the downfall of Carthage. But Carthage perished not by chance. Its crimes may have sown the seeds of its dissolution, but there was an overruling Power which permitted them to predominate, and to bring forth their bitter fruits. The measure of the iniquity of this pagan republic was filled up; and it was one of the

appointed works of Rome to effect its overthrow. For, though pagan herself, yet the voice of prophecy had, ages anterior to her existence, pointed her out as the scourge of nations—as the rod with which the Almighty punished nations and states for their iniquities. Rome did this effectually; and then that great city—

"when mighty kingdoms curled to,
Like a tortoise and desperate anemone,
Did dreadful execution on herself."

